Abyssinians Are Blacks, Prof. Says

Relies Not On Anthropological and Ethnological Studies But On the Bible

COLUMBIA, S. C.—Relying not on anthropological and ethnological studies, but simply on the Bible, Professor J. J. Adam of the department of Romance languages at Allen University, takes issue in an open letter this week with the editor of the State, South Carolina's leading daily, on the question "Are the Abyssinians Blacks?"

The question, used as the subject of an editorial in the State, which was published shortly after the coronation of Ras Tafari, was apparently designed to raise some doubts as to the racial relationship between the Abyssinians and the Negro or Negroid group.

Professor Adam states that if the Abyssianians are black, they are Negroes, for the adjective Negro means blacks, and that no matter how much or how little black blood they have they remain blacks or Negroes in the light of current theories that one drop of black blood makes a Negro. He challenges the assumption of the editor of the State that there are varying shades of blacks, some not related to the Negro, with the declaration that nobody says that a Chinese is not a Chinese, or a Japanese not a Japanese, because some are more tanned than others.

But if, as the State editor suggests, the Abyssinians cannot be claimed by the black race, can they be claimed by the white? asks Professor Adam. To this question he supplies a negative answer and indicates that the Abyssinians, or Ethiopians, have always claimed the blacks of other countries as their brothers. When the Emporer Menelik, who defeated the Italians at Adowa, wanted a secre-
de-de-camp, he sent for
Haitian, Benito Sylvain.
the same Menelik desired a
ian, he called for a black
man, Dr. Vitalien. A black
chman was secretary to the Abyssinian delegation to the League of Nations.

The Abyssinian rulers claim their descent from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, called also Makeda. Their son, Menelik, was the first King of Abyssinian; a new name which foreigners imposed on the country, the old and proper name being Ethiopia. In a church at Addis Abada today one may see a tableau representing the Queen of Sheba on one side, King Solomon on the other, and the dark child in the center. His features are unmistakably those of a black. It is known that Ethiopia, between 790 and 653 B. C., gave several Negro rulers to Egypt in Kaschta, Pianky, Schabaka, Shabataka, Tithaka and Tanutamon. All were great rulers. The Sphinx on the banks of the Nile bears witness to the fact that the Negroes of Ethiopia once ruled Egypt. The wife of Moses was so dark that his brother's wife refused to accept her as a Jewess.

The Abyssinians who are different from Negroes or Negroids are the descendants of nomadic Semitic tribes which spilled over into Ethiopia from Egypt on many occasions. All students of Egyptian history admit this to be a fact.

ETHIOPIA OFFERS STAMPS.

Nation Would Sell Its Remaining Stock of Four Issues.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 18.—The government of Ethiopia is offering for sale its complete stock of stamps remaining from the four issues since the establishment of the Ethiopian international postal service, Consul General Southard at Addis Abeba has reported to the Department of Commerce.

The stock consists of 284,738 stamps of the first issue of 1894; 1,469,788 stamps of the second issue in 1908; 1,048,221 stamps of the third issue in 1917 and 4,153,394 of the fourth issue in 1928. Bids for the complete lot are being asked by the Minister of Foreign Affairs on terms of cash on delivery. Interested philatelists should direct all communications to that office in English or French.

ETHIOPIAN EMPEROR IS GRATEFUL FOR PRAYERS

WASHINGTON, Feb. 5.—(ANP)—Prayers offered by the Right Reverend James E. Freeman, white, bishop of the Episcopal diocese of Washington, at the time of the coronation of the emperor of Ethiopia, in behalf of the emperor and his country, have been acknowledged by Hajle Selassie with gifts to the bishop.

Adison E. Southard, white, minister of Addis Ababa, has received from the Ethtiopian minister of foreign affairs, a letter, a Bible, and a cross for the bishop. The Bible is a hand-some copy of the New Testament, written and illuminated by hand on parchment. The cover is massive gold and silver work by native artisans. The cross, of gilded silver, is a large one of the ancient form used in Ethiopian churches.

The emperor's letter to the bishop read, in part:

"Our heart was touched with joy and appreciation when His Excellency, Mr. Southard, minister of the United States in our city of Addis Ababa, told us of the prayer you had made for us the day we were crowned.

"Just as Our Lord, Jesus Christ, gave his grace to all that believed in Him, both near and far, without distinction, likewise you, without distinction as to country and sovereign, made a prayer equally for a Christian King and country, thus proving you are a true follower of Christ.

"And we, as an inspiration of your Christian deed, are sending you a gospel, with a gold and silver decorated cover, and a gilded silver cross, and we shall be greatly pleased if you will keep them in Washington Cathedral as a remembrance of us and Ethiopia.

"We request you not to forget us and our country in your prayers."

Recent reports from Ethiopia indicate that the emperor is not resting easily upon his throne so recently acquired. There are signs that there is a restless opposition party to him which distrusts his modern ideas and feels that he is a usurper Menelik's grandson, Lidj Yasu, the real emperor, is being kept in exile.

Sixth Child Born to Abyssinian Empress

[Chicago Defender Foreign News Service]

ADDIS ABABA, Abyssinia, March 4.—The sixth child was born recently to the Empress Etoga Menen, consort of Haile Selaissie I, emperor of Ethopia, but according to an old national custom the public will have to wait until after the baptism before it will know the name and the sex of the new addition to the royal family. If the baby is a boy baptism will be within 40 days after the birth, if a girl, 60 days.

No official feast accompanied the princeling's birth, as the court was still in mourning for the recent death of one of the imperial princesses.

J. A. ROGERS REVEALS 'INSIDE' STORY

Says Ras Tafari Wired to Washington Before "Firing Colonel"—Rogers Writes He Likes Julian, But "As Liar He Is Incomparable."

(Exclusive Dispatch to The Pittsburgh Courier)

PARIS, France, Feb. 26—Through exclusive information supplied by J. A. Rogers, a former resident of New York City but now European correspondent for several American Negro newspapers, it was learned here last week that Col. Hubert Julian, who has created much international excitement in winning and losing the reputed $800 a month job as chief of his majesty's air force in Abyssinia, took faked aviator's licenses to Abyssinia and presented them to King Ras Tafari, now Emperor Halassie I, when he got the job from which he abruptly resigned last October after crashing the emperor's plane and himself suffering personal injuries. Col. Julian is now in New York, awaiting word from his wife, who arrived in Abyssinia a few days ago, it is reported, to plead with the emperor that her husband be given his old job back.

The sensational information was made public by Mr. Rogers in a statement, in which he took exception to a story published in The Courier several weeks ago, in which Col. Julian criticised Rogers for syndicating a story in the American Negro press charging Julian lost his job because "he talked too much."

Mr. Rogers, whose Paris address is 19 Rue Champollion, said:

"I note in The Courier a defense of Hubert Julian. Partly for the reason that I did not have the exact information about Julian, I dealt mildly with him. Here are the facts as I learned them:

"JULIAN IS NO AVIATOR.

"HE WENT TO ABYSSINIA WITH FAKED LICENSES.

"WHEN HE SMASHED THE EMPEROR'S PLANE, THEY TELEGRAPHED TO WASHINGTON, AND FOUND THAT HE HAD LIED, THEREFORE HE WAS DRIVEN OUT, WHICH WAS A MILD PUNISHMENT."

Rogers was not positive in his statements, however, adding: "This I have reason to believe is the true version, and were I not so busy I would have investigated the matter fully, but did not take enough interest in it then. (I have just received a letter from Mr. Alexander, an American in Abyssinia, repeating what I have said.) He had two aviators' licenses, and it would be easy, if you wish to tell the truth, to verify it in America."

Rogers was indignant that any defense should have been made of Julian. He continued his statement: "Now do you believe that such conduct should be defended, especially since the emperor had received him so splendidly, and which I think was partly to show other Aframericans how welcome they would be in his country? In my opinion, it was a d—— shame. On the whole, there is much about Julian that I like, but as a liar he is incomparable, and nothing that he says is to be believed. I feel that such conduct should not be defended, no matter what the consideration. It hurts too many other people. The few Aframericans in Abyssinia are naturally mad at Julian's conduct.

"The Negro group has no need of such adventurers, much less defense of them. I have written off to Abyssinia for the exact truth, and in the meantime take my advice and believe nothing that he says. Even in what The Courier carried was a lot of falsehood. Personally, what Julian said matters nothing to me. It is true that while here he took me to several places and treated me rather finely, but one owes a duty

to his readers, doesn't he?"

Mr. Rogers, in a letter to the Editor of The Courier a few days ago, said: "Julian poses as being a defender of the Abyssinians, but have they not demonstrated that they are perfectly able to take care of themselves? The white people and the Abyssinians get along together without any trouble, at least outwardly. There is no color line and the higher class of Europeans and Abyssinians meet socially. Addis Ababa is an orderly town and if a European strikes an Abyssinian all that the latter has to do is take the matter to the courts, as he would in New York. When, however, the white press says that Julian was thrown into prison and that he ate too much, that is not true."

Mr. Rogers visited Abyssinia last October, at the time of the coronation of the emperor, and saw Col. Julian as he was leaving the country after the accident.

ETHIOPIAN Negus SCHOLAR ON 6-26-31 U. S. VISIT St. Louis, Mo.

TAAMARAT EMMANUEL

NEW YORK, June 24.—A little more than half a century ago a French ethnologist discovered the Falashas, a group of Jews who live in Abyssinnia. From time almost immemorial they had tilled the soil and fought in the armies of the Ethiopian rulers, unaware that coreligionists live in other parts of the world, but clinging to their religion and customs handed down from the days of Abraham, Jacob and Moses.

At the present time a Falasha, the first ever to see these shores, is in New York. He is Taamarat Emmanuel, director of the Falasha school at Addis Abeba, a linguist, a scholar and a graduate of institutions in several European countries. His manners and mode of speech are gentle and cultured, but he looks more like a North African chieftain, a man of the sword and lance, than the man of peace and refinement that

His father was a warrior in the service of the Negus Teodros. His ancestors were men of Israel who fought against the hordes of the Philistines and who went south when their brethren were led to the Chosen Land.

70,000 in Group Now

When Professor Joseph Halevy of the Sorbonne, Paris, went to Abyssinia in 1867 he found these people of Jewish faith and extraction living in scattered communities, tilling the soil and working as artisans. The Abyssinians call them Falashas, meaning "stranger". They call themselves "Beta Israel," meaning "the House of Israel. Today there are from 50,000 to 70,000 Falashas in that part of the world.

The discovery of Professor Halevy and the subsequent work undertaken by Dr. Jacques Faitlovitch aroused intense interest, not least among the Jews of Europe and America. Taamarat Emmanuel is here as the guest of the American Pro Falasha Committee, 305 Broadway, of which Dr. Israel Goldstein is the chairman.

Speaking faultless French, Taamarat Emmanuel explained yesterday some of the history of his people. He was in a tight-fitting white garb and wore a black cloak, sleeveless, and held together with a silver buckle. His shoes and headgear alone were the Occidental pattern. In one of the meeting rooms of the Young Men's Hebrew Association Lexington avenue and Ninety-second street, he told of the many legends of Abraham and Moses that have been handed down from father to son from a time that nobody can determine.

He looks Semitic, in the sense that a well-bred Moroccan or Bedouin chieftain looks Semetic. His skin is very dark, his beard and hair curly, his teeth white and strong, his eyes flashing. The Falashas, he said, lived for centuries believing themselves to be the last remnant of a once all-powerful race, proud, tenacious of purpose and of tradition.

Are Loyal to Abyssinia

Withal, he went on, the Falashas are patriotic subjects of Abyssinia. They have fought against Christians and they have withstood attempts of missionaries to convert them to faiths which they ignored and did not wish to embrace. In times of peace they have lived industriously as tillers of the soil, artisans, such as blacksmiths, masons, potters, weavers, tanners, saddlers and basket-makers.

When Dr. Faitlovitch of the University of Geneva went to Abyssinia he found two promising young lads and decided to have them educated in Europe. One of them was Taamarat Emmanuel. He was taught Italian, French, German, Hebrew, the arts and sciences. His native language was the Amhara dialect, one of the two major languages of Abyssinia. But as a boy he had read the Falasho Bible in Gheez, the classical language of the Abyssinians. He knew the Ten Commandments, that there is but one God, that the Sabbath must be observed—in short the Code of Moses.

"Our people," he said, "are pure Jews. It is somewhat curious that we are not a race of merchants, however. This has been explained by the belief that our people followed the course of the Nile and eventually settled in Africa. And there we have remained until we, too, were discovered."

The Falashas, he continued, are artisans, while the Abyssinians are either soldiers or farmers.

The ancient rituals of the Jewish people are strictly observed by the Falashas, he said. Although they have no rabbis and their synagogues are "just huts", the services are never neglected. He has himself installed a sort of oratory in his school at Addis Abeba. The school, founded by Dr. Faitlovitch in 1923, has anywhere from fifteen to thirty pupils. During the director's absence a 17 year-old pupil and a caretaker look after the first Western institution of the Falashas.

"There is no race prejudice in Abyssinia," he declared, "and we are treated as brothers. Our Emperor is an enlightened man, most humane and understanding, who is anxious to make reforms for the good of his people, without using revolutionary means to do so."

Taamarat Emmanuel said that he expected to remain in New York for several weeks before returning to his home.

CONSTITUTION Enjoins IS ADOPTED BY BLACK EMPEROR Houston, Texas

Addis Abeba, Abyssinia.—(CNS)—By his own free will, Emperor Ras Tafari, Haile Selassie of Abyssinia, has stepped from the rank of absolute ruler of his kingdom and granted a constitution to his subjects, it was announced here Wednesday.

Speaking from the throne at a brilliant ceremony in the palace, the emperor announced he had decided to establish a two-chamber parliament with responsible ministers to carry out its decisions henceforth, he declared, he would rule Abyssinia in conformity with the constitution, but that "in order to prevent future disputes" the crown would be secured to the present dynasty.

The constitution, he explained, was in fulfillment of an old wish which had not been fulfilled sooner because of the backwardness of the country.

"For many years," the emperor said, "Abyssinians have been isolated from the world so that it was necessary for the emperor to govern like a father. But now such progress has been made as to enable them to take up some share of the task we have performed alone. It is in this spirit that we have decided to institute a legislative body of two chambers, the members of which will be designated by provinces subject to our consent.

"Abyssinia must remain united like a single family and will be governed by the emperor in conformity with the constitution. In the future every one will be subject to law."

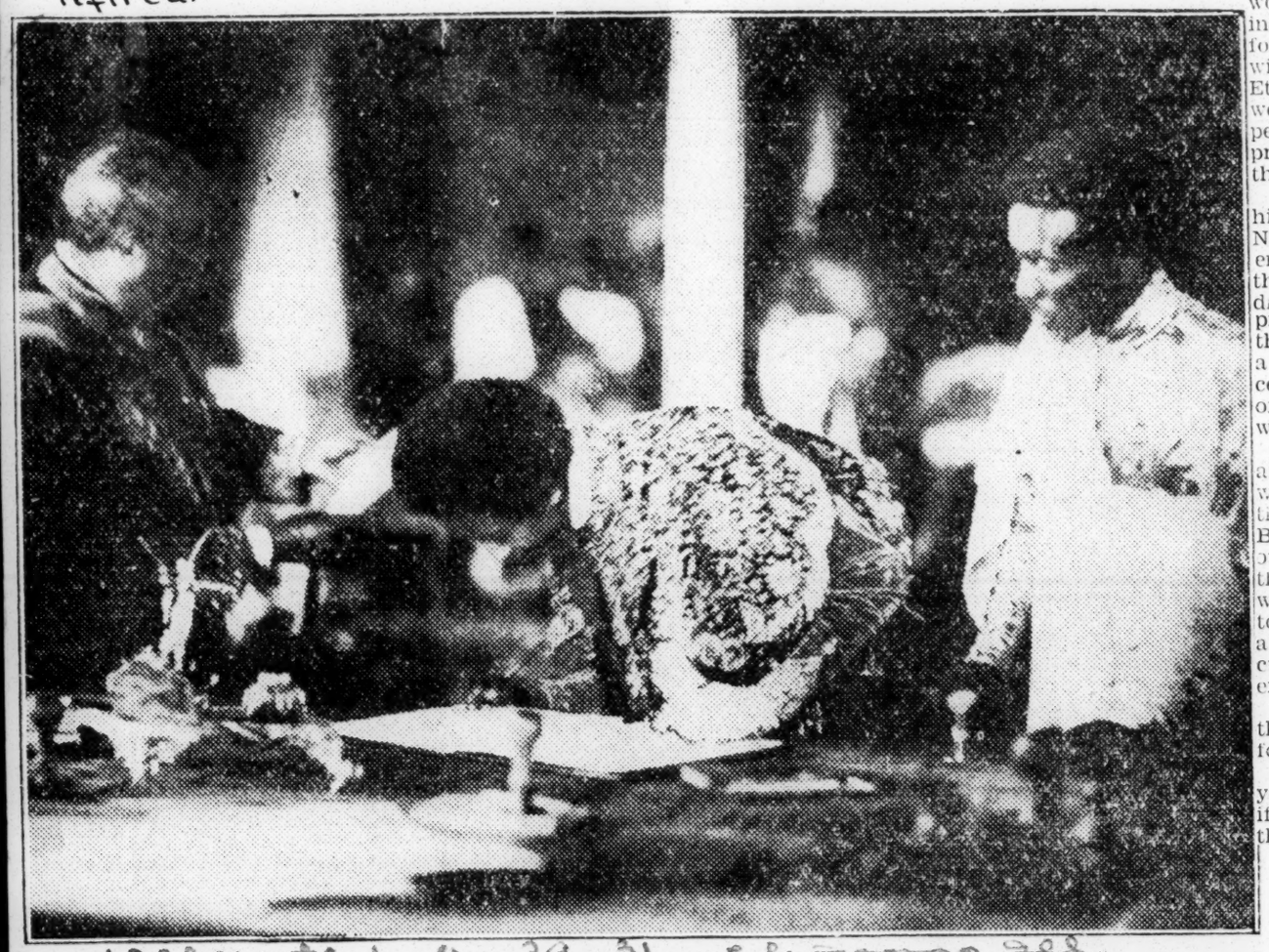
Legislation for the development of the empire, he promised, would be "inspired by scientific principles." Then, in the presence of foreign diplomats, the emperor signed the new constitution which was countersigned by Prince Asfau, heir apparent, by Mgr. Kyril, primate of Abyssinia, and all princes and chieftains present.

ABYSSINIAN JEW CONDUCTS Pittsburg SERVICES IN SYNAGOGUES

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Oct. 15—(By ANP)—Rabbi Cantor Abraham Ben Benjamin Franklin, Abyssinian Hebrew, was a guest during the past week at various synagogues here. He is on a tour of the American continent and has officiated at several of the services throughout the city. He claims to be a descendant of a family of Ethiopian Jews who fled from Abyssinia in 1821 to escape religious persecution. The cantor says that there are 70,000 Jews in Abyssinia today.

Commenting upon the features of the Abyssinian Jew, he said: "They are of medium height, and their color ranges all the way from brown to very dark. The social relationship between the Jew and the Gentile is a pleasant one, because the Christian church there practices the four principles of Judaism, namely: circumcision, the keeping of the Jewish Sabbath, the Kosher laws, and the sanitary laws."

Africa.



FREEING SLAVES—His Royal Highness Mardazmatch Asfaw Wosen, heir apparent to the throne of Abyssinia, is shown here countersigning the constitution which carried the stipulation to free all souls in slavery under the Abyssinian government. Crown Prince Wosen plans a visit to America in the near future.

SLAVERY IN ABYSSINIA.

THE EMPEROR'S REFORM POLICY.

During his terms of office as Foreign Secretary correspondence took place between Sir Austen Chamberlain and the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society which pointed to a desire on the part of the then Regent of Abyssinia to begin the liberation of certain classes of slaves. Following upon the coronation of Ras Tafari, the British Minister in Addis Abeba Sir Sydney Barton, was authorised to visit the office of the society in London and notify the committee of the decision of Ras Tafari, now Emperor of Abyssinia, to abolish slavery throughout his country. Sir Sidney Barton was also asked to ascertain and report back to Ras Tafari what practical assistance the Abyssinian Government might expect from the public in Great Britain in the task of liberating slaves.

The letter addressed to Ras Tafari contains the reply of the committee to the Emperor, including an offer to send to Abyssinia a competent deputation to confer with the Emperor and his Government upon the question.

The number of slaves in Abyssinia is estimated at 2,000,000 (if confirmation of this figure from official sources is desired it can be seen in the office of the Anti-Slavery Society); some of the principal Rasses own as many as 15,000 slaves each. These facts and the treatment of and conditions of the slaves are set forth in the literature of the society.

The Emperor's reply includes the following:—

We agree on principles. We have definitely decided to improve progressively the regulations concerning the status of slavery and to suppress slavery altogether. We have undertaken freeing the slaves still owned by the public; traffic in slaves we have already prohibited. In some of the worst cases we have gone so far as to inflict death.

We have no doubt that you realise the seriousness of our efforts and the labour it has cost to obtain the preliminary results known to you, and to lay the foundations of the great emancipation work. Certain persons, forgetful of the fact that slavery was once universal, and probably unconscious of what we have already accomplished, exaggerate for their own ends, when referring to Ethiopia. We are confident that you who have made it your special duty to study these problems, know better what a delicate task it is to abolish this old custom, and how over-hasty steps may easily have unhappy consequences. History shows that time is an important factor for the liberation of slaves.

Although the status of slavery still exists in Ethiopia, it would be unjust to put Ethiopian slavery on a par with the industrialised forms of slavery of Europe and America in former days, which the Western mind nowadays connects with this word. The difference is, above all, that slaves in Ethiopia are not deprived of anything to hope for in life as were their former brethren in the West. Our Christian people is not averse from seeing slaves hold posts, own property, embrace Christianity and learn trades, and in this respect it is a people that deserves praise.

We have perused in your letter the good work done by his Highness the Maharajah of Nepal in liberating slaves. No doubt, beside spending so much money, he must also have encountered difficulties. Your letter has proved to us that money was a weighty factor. We would in this respect draw your friendly attention to the financial reforms presently to be inaugurated by us, in order to ameliorate the economic situation. By these means we aim at erecting a basis for the final abolition of slavery and also, in process of time, for the gradual improvement of the condition of the free servants, workmen and agricultural labourers, who are so much more numerous than the slaves.

Our statements in connection with the liberation of slaves are far from being mere talk; the school for freed slaves which we have opened in Addis Abeba, our capital, proves this, and it is our wish that the British Minister, Sir Sydney Barton, be a member of the committee. We tender to you our thanks for your good intentions in offering to help the upkeep of this school by a pecuniary contribution. It would give us pleasure to receive a member of your Society, to listen to his advice and hear from him how far you are able to help us, and on our part to explain to him the circumstances of our task so that on his return he will expound to you the situation.

Your work for this Christian people and Ethiopia, when the Egyptians had designs upon them, is never to be forgotten.

[The Society had offered to give £250 in cash and £100 yearly towards the expenses of the school for freed slaves, if the British Minister or his nominee were a member of the committee of management.]

ABYSSINIAN STAMPS.

The latest sign of the awakening of the old-world empire of Abyssinia is the appearance of a striking new series of postage stamps on which is inscribed for the first time the official designation "Empire d'Ethiopie." Genealogical portraits of the Royal house of Ethiopia, which claims direct descent from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, furnish the subjects of the designs of all except the ¼ mehalek stamp. This depicts in traverse rectangular format a view of the modern railway bridge spanning the Hawash River on the Harrar-Addis Ababa line. For the rest, we have the Emperor Hayle Selassie wearing the massive gold tiara studded with precious stones and surmounted by a cross that is the Royal crown of the Neguses and weighs 20 lb.: both full face and *en profile*.

The famous Ras Makonnen, father of the reigning Emperor and a former Governor of Harrar, figures upon two stamps of the series, while the equestrian statue of the Negus Menelik II., unveiled last year, is represented in the design of the 4 mehalek and 1 thaler denominations respectively. The Empress Waizeru Zauditu is portrayed both full face and side face, wearing her own light crown, thus completing the seven vignettes handsomely reproduced by a Parisian firm of stamp engravers.

The values and colours of the ten stamps comprised in the set are ½ mehalek ver-

milion, 1m. olive-brown, ½m. amaranth, 1m. orange, 2m. blue, 4m. lilac-rose, 8m. deep green, 1 thaler brown, 3th. green, and 5th. brown-orange. They take the place of the stamps originally issued in 1928, when Ras Tafari was created Negus, stocks of which have been running low for some time.—The "Times."

Abyssinian Jew is Kansas City Visitor

Call 10-2-31

Says Ethiopian Will Get Nowhere With Passive Attitude

Cantor Abraham Ben Benjamin Franklin, Abyssinian Hebrew, is a visitor in Kansas City this week. He is on a tour of the American continent and has officiated at various synagogues throughout the city during his stay. Cantor Franklin (cantor, is leader of music) says he is a descendant of a family of Abyssinian Hebrews who came to America in the year 1821. These people fled Abyssinia, according to the cantor to escape religious persecution. After coming to America they found conditions here unpleasant and many of them went to other countries.

History Covers Long Period

The Benjamins remained here and adjusted themselves to conditions without losing their identity as Hebrews. The history of the Abyssinian Jews covers the period of time when Moses led the captives out of Egypt to the days of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. There are now 70,000 Jews in Abyssinia.

When questioned as to the physical features of the Abyssinian Hebrew, Cantor Franklin said, "Their color ranges all the way from high brown to very dark, and they are of medium height. The climatic condition of the country is responsible for the darkness of their color, as in the case of the Ethiopian Gentile, commonly called Negro.

Relationship Pleasant

"The social relationship between Jews and Gentiles is very pleasant," continued the Ethiopian Hebrew, "because the Christian church in Abyssinia practices the four cardinal principles of Judaism which are circumcision, keeping of the Jewish Sabbath, the Kosher Laws, and the Sanitary laws."

Cantor Is Canadian

Cantor Franklin, who is 54 years old, lives in Windsor, Canada and is the father of eight children. He spoke Wednesday night at the Jewish Synagogue located at 2539 Benton Blvd., on the subject "The Return of Zion's Glory and the Blessing of All Mankind."

He was educated in Canada, having lived there since he was 21 years old. He was born in Mississippi. Before coming to Kansas City, Cantor Franklin appeared in Jewish Synagogues in Omaha, Nebraska, officiating at several services.

Must Have Courage

When questioned regarding his impressions of conditions as they relate to the "Ethiopian," (the Cantor doesn't use the term "Negro") in America, he said that nothing can be gained by the passive attitude of the darker race in this country.

"To show how this thing has worked affected the Ethiopian here, I shall tell you an incident that happened to me," this dark Hebrew said.

Wouldn't Shine His Shoes

"I went into a shining parlor in Kansas City the other day to get my shoes shined, and when I started to get into one of the chairs, the Ethiopian attendant became hysterical and protested my presence, saying, "No, No, we don't have colored patrons here."

"I corrected him by saying that I was an Abyssinian Jew and that throughout the entire country in my travels, I get service at the best places everywhere."

"Nothing," he continued, "will you get in your struggle by being docile and passive."

Cantor Franklin is the guest, while here, of Meyer Nalbot, Jewish baker at 706 Garfield avenue. He has references from Rabbies and Jewish congregations from Windsor, Ontario, Canada, and other Hebrew officials throughtout the country.

ABYSSINIAN JEW CONDUCTS SERVICES IN SYNAGOGUE

Kansas City, Mo., Oct. 14—(By A. N. P.)—Rabbi Cantor Abraham Ben Benjamin Franklin, Abyssinian Hebrew, was a guest during the past week at various synagogues here. He is on a tour of the American continent and has officiated at several of the services throughout the city.

He claims to be a descendant of a family of Ethiopian Jews who fled from Abyssinia in 1821 to escape religious persecution. The cantor says that there are 70,000 Jews in Abyssinia today.

Commenting upon the feautres of the Abyssinian Jew, he said: "They are of medium height, and their color ranges all the way from brown to very dark. The social relationship between the Jew and the Gentile is a pleasant one, because the Christian Church there practices the four principles of Judaism, namely: Circumcision, the keeping of the Jewish Sabbath, the kosher laws and the sanitary laws."

Race Problem-1931

Africa.

AFRICAN LANGUAGES & CULTURES.

PROF. A. WERNER'S REVIEW OF THE PARIS CONGRESS.

The Congress of the International Institute for the study of African Languages and Cultures, at the Colonial Exhibition, Paris, on Oct. 15, was opened with a short address from M. Antoine Meillet, President of the Congress.

The professed object of the Congress was the discussion of linguistic and ethnological questions as applied to Colonial problems, and this object was kept well in view in many of the papers read, though some might be complained of by the "practical" as having chiefly an "academic interest." I cannot altogether subscribe to this opinion, being an obstinate defender of "useless knowledge," so-called; my private conviction is that no truly ascertained fact concerning human beings (or anything else for that matter) but must have its use in some way or other.

So M. Marcel Cohen, on the Hamitic languages, made a distinct contribution to knowledge, whether or not one was able to agree with some of his deductions. The only drawback arose from the acoustic qualities of the hall (in the *Cité des Informations*), which were deplored by more than one speaker, and which sometimes made it difficult to follow him. This difficulty was successfully overcome by Professor Béguinot (of the Naples Oriental Institute), whose Italian was so clear and beautiful that it would have been a treat to listen, even without the ability to understand. His theme was the necessity for a comparative dictionary of all the various Berber dialects—a highly practical proposition, considering the number of people speaking these dialects, many of whom know no Arabic.

Marshal Lyautey addressed us in the afternoon, followed by M. Meillet, after whom Lord Lugard gave an interesting exposition of the work done by the International Institute, its objects and its method. He dwelt more especially on the study of African languages as an essential point, and stressed the importance of a linguistic survey. The next paper was read (in French) by Professor Czermak, of the University of Vienna, on "Speech as the expression of the African soul"; a thoughtful and interesting study, though one might not have seen one's way to accept all his conclusions.

A change in the programme necessitated the transference of the evening session to the Ecole Coloniale, where we had a most interesting communication from Dr. Klingenheben of Leipzig, on the psychological structure of the Vai language. The possibilities of this language long ago attracted the attention of Sir Harry Johnston, and this lecture afforded fresh evidence that it is well worth study. Mademoiselle Homburger brought the results of a long course of intensive work to bear on her demonstration that Bantu (and, if I understood aright, all other African languages) are derived from Ancient Egyptian; the different view set forth by the Egyptologist, Dr. Kuenz originated quite a lively discussion, in which neither party convinced the other.

Saturday's session had two outstanding features: Father Schebesta's account of the Congo Pygmies (of whom the principal tribe the Efe, undoubtedly possess a distinct language of their own, containing a bilabial click) and the discussion on the use of the vernacular as a medium of instruction for African children. The arguments for and against this were set forth with complete impartiality by M. Hardy, Director of the Ecole Coloniale, and valuable contributions to the subject were made by the Rev. E. W. Smith, M. Henri Junod, and others.

Monday was devoted to the subject of ethnological studies in Africa, and particular mention must be made of Mr. J. H. Driberg's account of the education given to the youth of the Didinga tribe (Southern Sudan), an account well calculated to stimulate a revising of preconceived ideas. Professor Malinowski emphasised three sets of questions to which research should be directed: those connected with land, labour and education. Anthropology, he said, can provide a method of impartial study and develop a body of doctrine as a foundation for administrative practice.

CLOSER UNION IN AFRICA.

CLOSER union in Africa, and not merely in East Africa, occupies the chief space in the latest "Journal" of the African Society (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London,—7s. 6d.), and a paper by W. Benson on the general question receives considerable report from Mr. C. Speller's memorandum on "Land Policy and Economic Development in Kenya," addressed to the Joint Parliamentary Commission. As the main centre of prolonged European residence—one can hardly say colonisation—in Tropical Africa, Kenya is of outstanding importance in the consideration of general policy in Africa, and Mr. Speller's paper is illuminating, if pessimistic. Apart from the wrong inflicted on many of the settlers by land speculators of the past, with their specious promises of cheap labour, Mr. Speller points out that present world conditions make it exceedingly doubtful whether Europeans in Tropical Africa will be able profitably to pursue agriculture for more than another generation, unless they are prepared to reduce their standard of living or—a hopeless notion—to get free or forced labour. Mechanical aid has evidently been ruled out as unlikely to prove economic for some considerable time ahead, so that it is evident that on economic, as well as biological grounds, one of the four possible States in Africa, enumerated by Mr. Benson, that in which Black masses are ruled by a White aristocracy, has not a promising future, and one may therefore merge it either with his "Black egalitarian state in the West," or with his "Black feudal State centring on Nigeria," and in any case in conflict with the ideals of the "colour bar State" of the South.

Since the two West African types of State are merely expressions of the same ideal, and the matter of the colour bar is indefensible and, like slavery, creates its own punishment for those who practise it, there is clearly but one equitable *general* policy for British Africa, and experience is gradually forcing other Powers also to recognise that indirect rule has much to commend it. Naturally, this recognition shows itself in many different ways, and Mr. Benson suggests that all of these might be made to yield knowledge for the common store if Europe would take steps to secure closer union for Africa. The difficulties are less than for union in Europe, since the security and armament question is not acute, and treaties like those in connection with the Niger and Congo Basins take the edge off economic controversies, while the principal constructive problems are largely international. Mr. Benson's plan to secure unity is to set up a permanent organisation of Governments under the League of Nations, which would serve, like the Permanent Mandates Commission, to record and exchange experience and to create and express a world-opinion which would for instance, help in the removal of the last slave-centres in Africa without arousing national jealousies or suspicions.

The present, however, is hardly the time for the establishment of a further expensive organisation at Geneva or elsewhere, particularly when each government could obtain the same information from a suitably qualified intelligence officer of its own. Too close international co-operation may easily lead to the creation of too stereotyped a policy, for although Mr. Benson recognises the need for considerable diversity in administrative forms, a council of experts in Europe would be utterly unable to judge the extent to which the natural genius of ruler or ruled would make a certain type of policy acceptable. The average Frenchman, for instance, accustomed to authoritative officialdom and arbitrary centralisation, would be lost if asked to follow the British system of non-interference save in essentials, yet the highest exponents of both systems are to-day animated by very similar ideals. This point has been dwelt upon during the last few days by Marshal Lyautey, in his acknowledgment of the tributes offered to him by his British hosts. It will be time enough to discuss real union in Africa when the real African States are evolved, for at present any move in that direction must become chiefly a union of temporary rulers constituting another obstacle to ultimate African self-determination.

EUROPEAN MURDERED IN NIGERIA.

LAGOS, November 16.

A terrible fate has befallen a European resident here named Mirstein, said to hail from London, who was the owner of a timber concession at Kwale, 200 miles east of Lagos. He was hacked to death with machetes while sleeping. His night watchman, who was also attacked, is not expected to recover from six terrible wounds which he received.

The outrage was perpetrated by the Sobo tribe, one of the most savage in the Delta country. It was of a purely personal character, and is not regarded as symptomatic of native unrest. Definite news of the murder, which was committed on Monday last, has only been received here to-day.—Reuter.

Africa

African Chief's Son in College

Attends Ohio Weslevan That He May Rule Better

Youth From Equator Says "Trader Horn" Talkie Gives False View.

By GILSON WRIGHT

DELAWARE, O., Nov. 5—An Ohio Wesleyan university graduate in all probability some day will be chieftain of an African tribe.

Peter Mbiyu Koinange, born and reared within 125 miles of the equator in Kenya colony, British East Africa, has come to Ohio Wesleyan to spend a four-year quest for an education with but one object in view—to return to his people.

"I want to learn the white man's ways," he declares in good English but with a slight accent, "so that I can help my people in Kenya. They must deal every day with many white men, and I should like to help both to understand each other."

Koinange is the son of a chieftain who rules a tribe of 5000 blacks, known as the Kikuyu. As the eldest son, Peter some day will take his father's place as their head. His father is known as Muthamaki, which means, in the Kenyan tongue, "one-who-rules."

Peter doesn't know his age. His date of birth is listed on the college records, in his own handwriting, as "unknown," for the Kenyan parents have other things to remember than the natal days of their children. He thinks he's about 22, for he was born at nearly the same time as a nearby missionary's son, who is 22.

The conversion of his father to Christianity by this same missionary is responsible for Koinange's search for knowledge. Back in 1915 his father met the missionary quite by accident. On the same night he was converted. His father's first act, the boy recalls, was to abolish the system of witch doctors in his own household and to replace them with men who knew diseases and their treatment.

When Peter, who was then about eight years of age, became older, his father decided to send the boy to a mission school in Kenya. Later Peter came to America, enrolled at Hampton Institute, in Virginia, and spent four years there, graduating last June.

His decision to attend Ohio Wesleyan for further study before returning home resulted from his contact with a teacher at Hampton, who once had taught with Prof. Alfred Fatio, French professor at Ohio Wesleyan, in the French schools of Kamerun, West Africa.

Professor Fatio arranged for Koinange to come here, and the youth is helping to earn his college expenses by cooking for the professor. He receives some financial aid from his father, who is paid a salary by the British government.

Kenya, where Peter was born, is transversed by the equator. It is south of Abyssinia and is east of the Belgian Congo. It borders on the Indian ocean. Lake Victoria is on the western fringe of the country, which covers 250,000 square miles and contains nearly three millions of inhabitants.

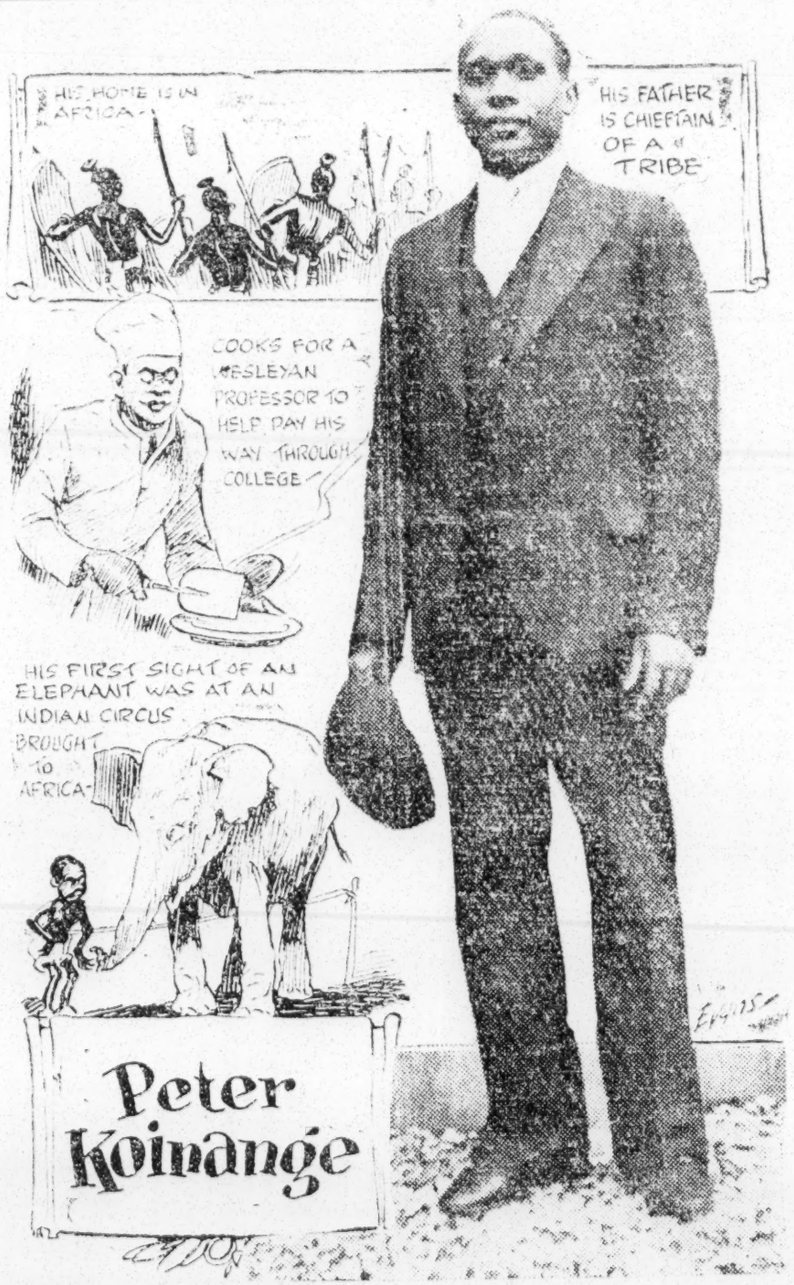
Kenyo is far from being in the savage state, according to Koinange. To illustrate that the country is progressive, Peter said his father's letters come to him by air from Kenya to Cairo and London, and thence by steamer. There's an airdrome near his home.

Lions, tigers, elephants and all that sort of thing are more unknown to his people than they are to Americans, Peter says. The only elephants he ever saw, he declares, were in a circus in Kenya, and the animals had been brought from India. The African elephant is much more difficult to tame.

Talkies like "Trader Horn" and "Africa Speaks" give wrong impressions of Africa, Koinange says. He admits that many parts of Africa are still savage, but there are likewise many other parts where natives are eager to become civilized, he says. When an African comes in contact with the whites, in nearly every case he is anxious to attain the white man's admittedly better ways, according to Peter.

The Kikuyu tribe isn't ferocious. The people like a simple agricultural life, raising enough food to keep themselves from want. They dress, many of them, in skins of animals, although those who are converted to Christianity wear the apparel of the white man, Koinange points out. The natives are far more hospitable than are Americans, he observes.

Peter is majoring in sociology and is taking a minor in political science. His instructors declare he shows unusual ability to grasp their lectures despite the fact that his knowledge of English is limited.



ADMINISTRATION IN TROPICAL AFRICA.

THE address on "Africa in Transition" given by Lord Lugard before the British Association recently has brought interesting and informed comment, dealing directly with Nigerian affairs, from an able and sympathetic contributor to "Nature." The article opens by showing how unrest is created, as we ourselves showed in regard to the women's riots in Nigeria, by the loss of touch between administration and people brought about by trade depression, a misunderstanding of what is meant by self-government, the inexperience of youthful administrative officers, and the lack of familiarity with local conditions that results from too rapid methods of transport.

Tracing the chief direct cause of dissatisfaction to the methods employed in the introduction of taxation, the writer in "Nature" shows how further difficulties might be minimised. For instance, modification might beneficially be introduced in our views of the learning of languages:—

> "During the last decade much stress has been laid on the necessity of learning Native languages. This is all to the good, even in the Southern Provinces of Nigeria, where there are scores of languages and the main three are divided into so many dialects that it is difficult for an officer to become really proficient in any one of them, unless he is always stationed in the same place, which is rarely possible or desirable. The number of Europeans who could give a translation accurate enough for court purposes is very small indeed, while the African is such a remarkable linguist that, as a rule, he acquires a better mastery of English than the average European can hope to do of his tongue. English is being learned throughout Southern Nigeria so quickly that in a few years it will be the lingua franca of the whole country, a position which it has already attained on the main roads. Even so, it is very advantageous for an officer to acquire some knowledge of as many languages as possible so that he can to a certain extent check his interpreter, although this may be achieved by care in the framing of questions; it is generally easy to tell from the answers if these, or the statement, have been correctly translated. It is, however, of far greater importance to become conversant with the religion and customs of the people. It is not yet appreciated how largely the Negro is ruled by his religious feelings. His belief in the spiritual world is no 'accident,' to be thought of occasionally and then dismissed from the mind, but forms the essence of his being; he has, for example, to take into consideration the dead as well as the living members of his family. This information can be gained if sought with sympathy and tact and if the few more or less technical words are learned and defined.'

This, of course, means a return to the relations that existed in the past between the administrative officer and his people, backed by the active assistance of the Government in supplying such knowledge as has already been collected. In the past, the old "political" knew almost instinctively what reforms might advantageously be introduced, but in future officers who have had neither time nor opportunity to acquire this instinctive knowledge will be encouraged to inquire carefully into the indigenous social organisation before they seek to make any great changes. Even then, however, safeguards are needed, preferably in the form of a kind of administrative audit, for

> "Another danger has arisen which should be guarded against, since the inquiries have generally been made by junior officers of little experience and training. This gives rise to mistakes, and it is essential that no further changes in administration should be introduced unless all such investigations are carefully checked by men with full knowledge of the country and people—particularly as regards the Native courts. The Native courts have been the means of providing a very fine system of justice, despite abuses in the way of bribes (partly a relic of the old custom of both sides giving presents to the judges) and pressure by court officials, especially of late years, during which they have not been so closely supervised. The courts are composed of the Chiefs of the various villages and are only an extension of the old indigenous gerontocracies. Fortunately, Native law and custom were on the whole fair and reasonable and are still in force except in such matters as witchcraft, where they conflict with European ideas. There are no legal quibbles, and there is no doubt that the common people obtain a greater degree of justice than in those courts which are under indirect rule and the influence of powerful Emirs and Kings. Bribery was largely checked and a general improvement shown in one Province where two reforms were instituted: first, every member is allowed to sit and give judgment at each session, instead of only three or four Chiefs in rotation; and secondly, the members take an oath on the strongest local juju to give a just decision—though this would only have effect in areas where the belief in jujus is still strong."

The writer of the article is no blind supporter of the Native Courts, but thinks that the people themselves would, on the whole, prefer to have their cases tried by the administrative officers—especially in those parts where bribery is much practised—but this is rendered impossible by the immense number of cases, even if it were not desirable that they should gradually develop their institutions in the direction of self-government."

Since, in addition to this need for the development of African institutions, considerable executive powers are entrusted to the courts, enabling them to carry on the major part of the administration, it would be folly to replace them by some exotic and more expensive system, and the "Nature" writer therefore concludes that it is impossible to place too much emphasis on the need for the scientific development in tropical Africa of an administrative system based on sound anthropological foundations,—not forgetting, one hopes, that *sound* anthropology includes, as well as a study of the past, a study of the power of the people to adapt to their own purposes the best of everything that they find in the modern world.

East African Union

For seven years the East African problem has been the subject of constant inquiry. There are three main areas concerned, Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda. It is Kenya which has, so to speak, dragged the other two unwillingly into the limelight. For Kenya has special problems arising out of the fact that Great Britain encouraged European settlement there after the war. The other territories have no considerable immigrant population. The European settlers in Kenya have, not unnaturally, looked for a gradual extension of autonomy—an aspiration which this country has found it difficult to reconcile with its paramount obligations towards the native Africans. By way, partly, of bringing further pressure to bear on the British Government the Kenya settlers then encouraged the idea of some form of administrative union with Uganda and Tanganyika, in the natural expectation that so large a unit could hardly be refused at least the future prospect of self-government. That hope broke on the resistance of the two proposed partners, neither of whom had anything to gain by becoming involved in Kenya's problems. The Joint Committee's report now reinforces these conclusions. It maintains the principle of trusteeship over native races and maintains that, although it is desirable to rely to an increasing extent upon the local knowledge and experience, the British Government cannot divest itself of any share of ultimate responsibility. Moreover, there has been a certain reaction against the whole idea of federation in East Africa, and one of the reasons given by the Committee for dropping it is the "strong objection on the part "of all the native witnesses to the "establishment of any authority which "would come between the representa"tives of the Crown . . . and his "Majesty's Government." The Committee, accordingly, was unable to recommend the appointment of a High Commissioner, with or without a Legislative Council, common to the three territories. This should be decisive. At the same time the Committee makes a series of recommendations which are intended to give every possible satisfaction to the legitimate demand for economic co-operation. It is highly satisfactory that so authoritative a body should have laid down general lines of policy which all parties in this country should be able to accept.

Race Problem—1931

Africa

THE COST AND SIZE OF GOVERNMENTS IN WEST AFRICA.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—Fresh from a discussion at the club, in which our leading social lights, Government and commercial, figured, and amazed at the general belief that a change of Government is miraculously to change our financial and economical outlook, I write to you to make as simple as I can what I argued: viz.—that Government is meant to be restrictive, not constructive. It is constructive only with the consent, and at the urge, of the governed. West Africa

I had believed, until this twenty-voiced argument took its course to an abortive end, that this stood a universally-accepted axiom. Surely it is clear that every change for good works from within outwards, and not from without inwards? We look, we West Coasters, to our Governments to protect us in three departments of life—property, first, because without trading facilities and ease of exchange there would be no *rapport* between the African producer (also consumer) and the European vendor (also, in his turn and proportion, a consumer). Secondly, we must have protection of our liberty: rights of free speech, free action—where not anti-social,—and free thought. Thirdly, we must have protection of life. 4-11-31

These three functions once well and ably performed by Government, whether Conservative, Liberal, Labour or Independent, we are content. Any form of government that is dictatorial is undesirable. The overseas official is given a certain job. He must pull full weight, or expect to be upbraided by his fellow-oarsmen. The one "grouse" of the unofficial European in West Africa to-day, and of the African, is that we are overburdened with government: that infinitely far more economy might be shown in departmental outlay, and that officials in general, highly-placed ones in particular, might be "axed" to the advantage of Nigeria. London, England

Beyond that we do not, indeed dare not, go. Looking back, as I can do, on over 30 years of West African growth, I realise that commerce made far greater strides, and that without excess of European accessories to life—the African was far happier, when the proportion of commerce to Government stood at six to one, instead (as in many places it does to-day) in the proportion of one to six. To-day's European official proportion in the Tropics is absurd. When I look round a community like that of Onitsha, and see so huge an organisation as the U.A.C. worked by fewer than *ten* Europeans (this embracing several branches of that great "combine"), and other big firms of a remarkable turnover with only *two* Europeans in charge, and then survey Education Departments, Political, Police, Medical, Public Works, etc., and count up the number of official representatives, I ask (not without reason, surely) "Are we not top-heavy? Is there not too much overseeing, for too little production?"

In essence, that is West Africa's problem to-day. It is only from personal effort that anything genuine and permanent can arrive. We must help and elevate ourselves, not by the aid of Government, but in spite of Government! Individual action by the commercial element, individual assistance and co-operation by the African, is the only way to overcome our present difficulties. The coming year bristles with problems. We do not expect Government to construct: we ask only that Government shall not obstruct,—that, if we have reasonable plans to put forward, and modifications to suggest in things as they are, Government shall be helpful, instead of unconcerned.

Is that asking too much? Our West African Press has been seeking for the "brain" to reveal itself with a policy that shall save West Africa from suicide by inanition. Well, be assured, sir, that when that brain is found there is not one of us in commercial circles but will rally to the call. Eventually it will be found that our industrial and economic independence is dependent on the African. He it is who must rise to the need of the occasion! We traders can only build on that sure foundation of African labour. It is Government alone that I misdoubt. And it is because I misdoubt that I thought fit to write to you. For though it may be of paramount importance that a man govern himself from within, he cannot afford to have the restrictive and inhibiting thought that he will arbitrarily be interfered with from *without*.

Government must learn to reflect the individuals which it represents. To-day, in our Colony, it does the opposite—it tries to hold the mirror up to commerce; and commerce, alas! starts back from the reflection in dismay!

Yours faithfully,

ODEZIAKU.

Onitsha, 1931.

[The mail which brings our correspondent's letter brings also a copy of the "Nigerian Daily Times," containing an important letter on the same subject. Some months ago WEST AFRICA called attention to an advertisement for a town-planning official for Lagos, and asked if the existing Town Council officials could not have done what was necessary. "Ratepayer," the writer of the letter in the "Nigerian Daily Times," shows how much worse the case is than we had supposed. We extract the following from his letter:—

> "The Lagos Executive Development Board, like the Lagos Town Council before it, was created by an Ordinance passed in the Legislative Council and both have as their object the development of the township of Lagos. To the ordinary ratepayer all that the Board is attempting to do can be well done and ought to be well done by the Town Council, with its Town Engineer, Deputy Town Engineer, three Assistant Engineers, Mechanical Engineer, Secretary and Assistant Secretary. During the plague the Government decided to get an expert on town planning, who was required to plan out Lagos and its environs, in order to do away with the slums, within 12 months at an inclusive fee of £2,000; which sum taking everything into consideration was not regarded as excessive. His plan of Lagos was exhibited only last year, a plan which now requires two assistants, a plan which we think is not above the mental capacity of the Town Engineer, which the Town Engineer with his knowledge of Lagos could have produced within the stipulated time with the assistance of his Deputy and Assistant Engineers. Why does not the Government hand over the execution of the plan to the Lagos Town Council? Surely, it cannot be suggested that they are not capable of interpreting it and carrying out the work for which they are paid? If they are competent to deal with it, then let the revenue be relieved of the salaries of the Town Planner and his associates and let the work be carried out by the Lagos Town Council."

Another matter which calls for inquiry is the extent to which the West African Colonies contribute—that is, are made to contribute, in view of the permanent official vote on the Councils—towards the cost of technical services set up by the Colonial Office. No doubt these services are meant for the benefit of all British overseas countries, but towards practically all of them the Dominions and the Imperial Treasury decline to contribute. Are the Dominion Governments and the Imperial Treasury manned by men so unintelligent as to be unconvinced of the value and necessity of these central scientific services? We suggest that one of the unofficial members of Council at Lagos and Accra should ask for a full list of the sums paid by the local Governments to support such institutions as the Imperial College of Agriculture, and the staffs of the Colonial Office, Medical, Agricultural, Survey, and other, etc., etc., bureaux, the Imperial Institute. The list of such payments is growing and the amounts are substantial. The average Colonial Governor or Executive Council appears powerless to resist Colonial Office pressure for contributions for such purposes. We do not say that any of these services is needless; we do say that it has been made far from sufficiently clear to the West African taxpayer that the money taken from him for these bodies is giving him real, direct, practical benefit.

WEST AFRICA during a number of years past has urged the necessity for an inquiry in the four Coast Colonies on the lines of the Inchcape Inquiry in India and the Geddes Inquiry in this country. Even if there were not one single allegation of over-spending in West Africa we should contend that such an Inquiry would be beneficial. In India, and far more in Great Britain, public opinion can make itself felt to an extent scarcely dreamed of in any Crown Colony, and therefore it is a reasoned certainty that in West Africa an immense amount of lopping-off could be done, with good effect upon the tree. We feel, however, that the news that Sir Donald Cameron has accepted the call to renewed service in the greatest of the Coast Colonies is enough to evoke the hope and belief that we shall soon see at work a Governor who will be his own Commission of Inquiry. Knowing the country and its people already, he will not have to spend one or two years in preliminary study, but will be free to apply proved impartiality and thoroughness to the task of examining the financial position. In any such examination arguments such as those used by our correspondent and by "Ratepayer" deserve attention. We all know that at present in British West Africa the overwhelming majority of the Africans with character and capacity are not merely loyal to but enthusiastic about the British connection. We also know that a body of able and resourceful fanatics operating from Russia is doing its worst to destroy British-African co-operation. Is it not clear that our only hope of retaining the precious factor of African support and friendship and lessening the effect of the evil factor is to see to it that there is sympathetic understanding throughout administration and that not a penny of Africans' money is spent on *personnel* or works unless there is an absolute case for it?—ED. "W.A."]

THE SIERRA LEONE PROTECTORATE AS SEEN THIRTY-EIGHT YEARS AGO.

BY C. RHODOWAY MORRISON.

Wesleyan Mission

1.—ANCIENT CUSTOMS.—The inhabitants of the Sierra Leone Protectorate like other Africans of the sister Colonies, observe many ancient customs. Like the Jews, they take the finest of flour, the best of rice, purest of oil, and the best all they have and use for themselves to sacrifice to their deities.

The mode of expressing grief and sorrow is also ancient. When in great grief and sorrow they rent their clothes, throw dirt upon themselves, and in the Loko, Mende and Gallinas countries the women dishevel their hair and smite upon their breasts, crying and making

signs of sorrow. 4-4-31

The dress of the higher class consists of trousers of a short pattern worn around the loins, being fastened with a girdle; a long robe reaching below the knee is worn over this with long large sleeves. The arms and lower parts of the legs are left bare. Sandals or leather slippers are worn by the rich. These customs are nearly the same as those of the Egyptians. Freetown

The worship of a God is so diversified that there are no fixed systems or forms of worship. Some worship images of stone, other wooden images, a large tree, some stones or high rock. A degree of reverence is attached to these images by the people, and some say that they were made by God to represent Him. Sierra Leone

So far as the writer was able to learn they all believe in the existence of a Supreme Being who created the world and all things therein, and that the earth which yields and brings forth plants and fruits for the use of God's children is His wife (?) and hence they sacrifice to her. That the Creator has far more important work to care for and does not concern himself with the daily affairs of men, but commits his regulation of the world to inferior deities: that only things of more than common interest among men require his attention interposition. They hold that a being called the 'devil' is the author of luck good or ill, and attribute to him the power to execute the wrath of the Great God, by storm, lightning and various other means, and even to take the lives of those whose destructing he seeks. That to keep on good terms with him is the main object and work of their religion hence they sacrifice to him (the devil) ("Ngafanga" "in Mende," O Krifi in Temne) with the view of appeasing his warth when sent to execute vengence.

Every town has its 'Devil Bush' where, the inhabitants suppose, he comes to or resides and, to this they resort to offer their sacrifices. They believe that some 'devils' run at large, while others have a particular locality. Those running at large are termed "wicked" devils.

Some of their sacrifices or offerings involve in the actual killing of an animal; others in letting it go, or by keeping it in the yard or compound as a "scape-goat." In other cases the offering is simply exposed or brought in contact with some object of virtue.

They have what may be termed sympathetic offerings; for, during the time of farming, sacrifice of rice flour is offered and rubbed on a cutlass before the brushing commences, so that the farmers may not wound themselves. A gown which a man has worn is put upon an Ant-hill to secure good health for the individual. The preventive offerings or rites are also not absent among the natives. The hanging up of a fan or loofah of sacrifice in front of the house which swings in the breeze is believed to have the power of driving bad or evil spirits from the building. The collection of grass thatch from each dwelling house in a town, and burning a portion and throwing the residue into a bucket of fresh cold water would prevent an out-break of fire in that town. Sticks, hooked one to another and tied over the entrance of a town is believed to have the power of maintaining unity among the inhabitants of that town. A pot containing water, broken outside a house (after sacrifice) denotes that the wicked imaginations of ill-disposed persons will be scattered in like manner.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Prohibition in West Africa.

In the April issue of "Elders Review" the first place is given to an article on "Prohibition in West Africa" by Sir Frederick James, K.C.M.G., who is still held in honoured remembrance in Southern Nigeria. It was Sir Frederick's good fortune to escape the cramping influence of long employment in clerical departments, and to learn to know the people by living in close touch with them for the best part of the twenty years he served in the country. He is, therefore, well qualified to speak on the question he raises: "Is legislation desirable" to enforce Prohibition? That the British Government has the right to legislate for Prohibition he has no doubt, but he considers the desirability of doing so open to question. The problem arises from the Brussels Act of 1890, by which the Powers possessing territory in Africa agreed to prohibit the sale or local manufacture of spirits in the parts "wherein either in accord of religious belief or from other motives, the use of distilled liquors does not exist, or has not been developed." From the time that the wine-making and drinking Portuguese were superseded by the northern spirit-drinking Dutch, English, and French, spirits had been an important and indispensable article of trade. For 300 years the people of West Africa had been allowed to purchase and consume as much as they chose, and an industry had grown up in Europe for the manufacture of "trade spirits" for the West African market without objection being raised. It was only in the closing years of the last century that some missionaries began to denounce the trade as demoralising, and scribbling tourists shrieked about the deterioration, moral and physical, of the "gin-sodden tribes" of the coastline. In 1892 the Brussels agreement was first applied to Northern Nigeria, where it could be considered as confirmation and official support of the Koranic system of the Mahomedan peoples, but no attempt was made to extend it to Southern Nigeria, where the people, being Pagans, were not subject to the Mahomedan inhibitions, till 1917, when legislation was passed prohibiting the distillation of spirits and the sale of such spirits throughout Nigeria. In 1919 further legislation prohibited the importation of "trade spirits," but not of other spirits. The Ordinance of 1917 "is practically a dead letter," while that of 1919 leaves everybody, except natives of Northern Nigeria in their own country, free to buy and consume as much spirits other than "trade spirits" as they like. On the question of enforcing Prohibition Sir Frederick writes, "I say at once that it is not desirable," and gives reasons drawn from his intimate knowledge of the people. There is no reason to believe that "the consumption of these spirits was in any way affecting the physical health or the moral character of the natives," an opinion confirmed by the Special Committee sent out by the Colonial Office in 1909 and the recent Commission on the Gold Coast. The reason for enforcing Prohibition on the temperate peoples of West Africa, but not on the less temperate peoples of Europe, is not apparent. Sir Frederick's conclusion is that it was part of the effort to "Northernise" Nigeria, and points out some of the results—loss of revenue, and the consequent premature introduction of direct taxation to the natives of the South . . . "a system completely foreign to and non-understandable by the natives themselves . . . and one which has resulted in punitive expeditions once more—expeditions which . . . I was warranted to think had ceased for ever."

Wireless as Educator.

The most interesting and helpful article is "A New Voice in the Wilderness," by Mr. Richard St. Barbe Baker, founder of the Brotherhood of the Trees, who has already proved that he possesses the highest qualification of a pioneer administrator—constructive imagination. He has grasped the far-reaching possibilities of radio as an instrument of African development. Basing his opinion on the well-known, but still mysterious, African methods of transmitting messages, he is "convinced that all that Africans need is proper instruction and direction in order to become experts in the great modern invention." As he points out, practical use of mechanical and technical inventions precedes knowledge of construction. Manipulation can soon be taught, and with the Africans' interest in, and aptitude for, mechanical "gadgets" of all kinds it will not take them long to grasp the principles and methods of construction of wireless sets. As Mr. Baker particularises "the wiring of a multi-valve set" as likely to present difficulties at first, it is interesting to recall that the African engineers and mechanics who were called upon to carry on the work of the gold mines on the Gold Coast in the absence of the European staffs during the war, succeeded in carrying out the re-wiring of the armatures of the electric machines which, till then, it had been necessary to send to England for re-wiring. Mr. Baker shows how wireless can help both political administrators and educators. At present it may take a month to pass down an order from the Political Officer to the people whom it concerns. Time would be saved and the opportunities of perversion reduced by a system of radio stations by which the Political Officer's own voice could be heard giving out his instructions to all the stations at once. With regard to education, Mr. Baker suggests that "the use of wireless for disseminating agricultural instruction which he will be able to put into practice on the following day" will make it unnecessary for the illiterate African "to waste months or years in a foreign school amongst strangers." It is possible, however, that the idea that education means to learn to "savvy book" will have to be eliminated before Africans will be contented with education by loud speakers. Mr. Baker concludes his article with suggestions for the establishment of wireless stations and short-wave transmission, which are well worth consideration by political administrators and commercial firms.

Other Articles.

Sir William Geary, writing on "Some West African Personalities I Have Known," recalls memories of Sir Samuel Lewis and Sir W. H. Quayll-Jones. As usual, there are several contributions by Africans. Mrs. Caseley Hayford answers her question, "Should We Educate the African?" by pointing out the reward of affection and loyalty which will follow the grant of fair play, justice, and equality of opportunity. "The good will of the peoples means much more" to Great Britain than "can be reckoned in terms of territory and pounds, shillings, and pence." Other contributors are Mr. A. C. G. Hastings, Odeziaku, Mr. T. A. Glover, the famous explorer, and Mr. R. C. F. Maugham. W. F. H

THE SOUTH AFRICAN PROBLEM.

new york age 9-19-31 new york times

When Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones told the white people of South Africa and Rhodesia that compulsory segregation is impossible to enforce he struck directly against the policy that they have been pursuing toward the natives of that region. Nevertheless, we are told that Dr. Jones, who is educational director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, made some fifty speeches on the Native Problem at universities and before joint native councils. Marked interest was manifested in his utterances on inter-racial matters, which was reflected in the press, which quoted him extensively.

In a two column article in the Rhodesia Herald, which reported his lecture before the Rhodesian Scientific Association, Dr. Jones was quoted as suggesting that a sounder attitude toward the question of the relations of white and black would be not to regard it as a problem. "As soon as we speak of it as a problem," he said, "there is a feeling of apprehension." A better attitude is represented by the word "responsibility" or better still "opportunity." He argued that once we get this fear out of our minds we can approach the subject with confidence.

Dr. Jones gave it as his opinion that the best way of solving inter-racial perplexities is by education, the encouragement of those influences that make for better, sounder family life. It is not enough to fill a man's head with facts, you must develop his personality. Deprecating the anxiety as to what would happen should the natives rise higher in the social and economic scale, he said:

> The development of the Negro in America has not meant the interminging of blood, but rather the parallel cooperative relationship that all good citizens should have. The educated progressive Negro is a much more valuable asset to the state as a producer and a consumer than the ignorant, untrained

Race Problem - 1931

Africa

"FRANCE OUTREMER."

A GREAT COLONIAL EXHIBITION AT PARIS.

[By A Special Representative.]

Paris, May 6.—The International Colonial Exhibition to be opened to-morrow is not only an exposition of the colonising efforts of six of the chief Colonial Powers of the world, but is a reminder both to France and the outer world that *France Outremer* is the next largest empire to our own, and her domains are so often coterminous with those of Britain that the two powers have essentially the same problems to solve. Until quite recent years the idea of colonisation has not found favour in political minds in France, and although the French disasters in Europe in 1871 led pioneers to see possibilities in the plans of Ferry, it was not until the Great War showed France her dependence on her overseas possessions that public interest really began to awake, and there are still many to whom Greater France is an addition of man-power rather than anything else, or at most a series of protected markets where French industries may find a safe outlet for their products. West Africa

With the acceptance of the principles of trusteeship by the leading nations, however, new expression has been given to French Colonial development, and even the most materialistic of politicians are beginning to see that the proper expansion of a *mission civilisatrice* is the best for all concerned. Public opinion on Colonial matters is still so unformed in France that the actual application of forms of indirect rule by officials brought up to believe in an ideal of complete assimilation inevitably leads to somewhat contradictory results in practice, but the scope of the present Exhibition is such that neither foreigner nor Frenchman can visit it without gaining a clearer impression of the modern co-operative spirit with which French policy is animated, and of the difficulties and temptations attendant upon it. 5-9-31 No 145

In the African group of Colonies, for instance, France has practically at her doors an opportunity such as has never befallen a European nation, if she can develop it, but that development is not a mere question of emigration, even if she had the surplus population for the purpose. French West Africa in itself covers an area eight times that of France, but its population is only one-third of that of the Metropolis, and before even moderate schemes of development can become effective, the population ratio shows that the elements of the relation of human beings to their environment will have to be ascertained and made more favourable. How this is being done is shown in the important space given to public health, education, and the social services generally in the various sections of the Exhibition. Vol 13

The present display, one of the greatest exhibitions of the century up to date, has what one great Frenchman calls the perilous advantage of being famous before it was born. Planned almost directly after the Great War, it has had to be postponed from time to time, and almost every wide space in Paris, from the Esplanade of the Invalides outwards, has been proposed in turn as a suitable site. Finally the Bois de Vincennes, east of the city, was selected as giving 250 acres of space sufficiently open for the purpose, and yet containing enough trees to separate each section and prevent an illusion of being in West Africa, for instance, from being upset by too clear view of details connected with some Asiatic country. At the same time, the Bois is easily reached from Paris, the construction of a special loop of the "Métro." and the provision of new 'bus services greatly facilitating communications.

Apart from the amusements section, the main part of which is conveniently isolated on two islands in the Lac Dumesnil, in the centre of the grounds, the Exhibition is in three main divisions. To the south of the lake is the Colonial section, in which are collected the displays of all the French Colonies, from New Caledonia and the West Indian islands on the West to, appropriately enough, Syria and Lebanon on the East. On the other side of the lake, to the North-east, is the foreign section, containing the exhibits of the non-French colonising Powers, while the general section, near the main entrance at the Porte de Picpus, contains the French domestic exhibits, a city of information really worthy of the name, and a building destined to become a permanent Colonial Museum.

It is impossible here to attempt to describe every section, but the general plan has been to erect reproductions of buildings in the Colonies, whenever possible, and when this would be difficult or dangerous, as in the enlarged Bamum house that shelters Togo-Cameroon, to combine European architectural strength with Native externals. Thus Indo-China is represented by the slender-domed grace of the Temple of Angkor-Vat, Madagascar by the palace of the Hova kings, West Africa by one of the familiar red-walled buildings, and Equatoria by a form of Logone house. Italy is represented by a reproduction of the newly-excavated temple of Leptus Magna, in Libya, and by the seven-towered bastion of the Albergo d'Italia in Rhodes,—Roman civilisation and the East of the Crusades contrasting with a modern restaurant and dance-hall. Belgian colonisation is housed in three thatched pavilions showing Congo influence, while the Dutch pavilion, an East Indian building, is considered a special triumph of transplanted art. The Portuguese section makes a special point of that country's glorious history of discovery, and the exhibits dealing with Guinea and Angola are particularly interesting. In complete contrast with these exotic displays is the reproduction of Washington's cottage at Mount Vernon, that contains the United States relics of the days of Franco-American sympathies in the War of Independence, and displays of products from Alaska to Hawaii testify to the fact that no great Power can exist without incurring at least some Colonial responsibilities.

The British part in the Exhibition is confined to a display in the city of information specialising in the progress that has been made in the fight against tropical diseases, the ceiling of the building containing an ingeniously lighted map of the British Empire, while a fine table offers at the same time an example of the utilisation of many types of Empire timber and encouragement to the study of the many informative books with which it is strewn.

The French West African building, as has already been mentioned, has the square red walls with which Wembley made all visitors familiar, with a reproduction of the village of Djenné near by, containing a mosque, narrow streets, and houses, particularly the Tata, or former royal palace, showing the architectural simplicity of old Berber influence. A courtyard before the main building offers a space for African dances that are to be held, and forms convenient junction for the corridors that lead to the stands of the individual Colonies. These, of course, contain chiefly agricultural exhibits, of the type familiar to all who have to do with West Africa, with the usual displays of African arts and crafts which, from their superior attractiveness, are liable to send the visitor away with an imperfect appreciation of that part of the show which proves the strides made by the agriculturist and the planter.

The conical shell-fuse-like roof of the Logone house by which French Equatorial Africa is represented is as distinctive a feature of the Exhibition landscape as the tower connected with the West African building, and the exhibits beneath it are arranged on a more or less historical basis to show what the group was like 30 years ago, what were the difficulties of its exploration and conquest, and what it will be like in the near future, when the material aids to development provided by the new colonial loan have brought the new railway and other means of communication to full pitch.

CENSUS OF THE COLONY.

Weekly News

By A. E. Tuboku Metzger.

It is not correct to state that the Census of the Colony taken in the year 1881, was its first census, nor would it be correct that the Census of 1931, is the sixth census. Since the formation of the Colony there has not only been a taking of Census decennially and contemporaneously with the taking of census in Great Britain and Ireland but there had been provisions in operation for the taking of periodical census of the Colony before 1881. 5-2-31

On the arrival of the first Settlers to form a free Negro Settlement, when they landed here to found this Colony on 14th May 1787, there was a record taken of the number of persons landed, namely 411 persons of whom 60 were white women, who sailed from Portsmouth on 22nd February, 1787, with Captain Thompson of the Royal Navy, to whom was committed the formation of the Settlement. On 13th September of the same year, a census was taken and the Colonists were found to have been reduced by death to 276, consisting of 5 white men, 29 white women, and 242 black persons.

In 1791, Mr. Alexander Falconbridge was sent out to examine and report on the state of the Colony. He took a Census in June of that year, but the account of the number of the population could not now be traced, except that the Colonists were scattered and there were several huts deserted from superstitious motives, and a few acres of land cleared and planted. Freetown

In 1798, when Governor Zachary Macaulay was administering the government of the Colony, a census was taken and there were found 3 wharves, 300 houses, and 1200 inhabitants, half of whom were farmers, many were mechanics, and the rest followed various occupations such as retail shopkeepers, fishermen, seamen, etc.

On 1st January 1808, when the Colony was transferred from the Sierra Leone Company to the Crown, a census was taken and the population of the Colony numbered 1000 persons, "settled citizens, conforming to the ordinary usages of civilized communities."

It was the year after this that the village of Leicester was formed.

In April 1811, under the provisions of an Ordinance passed on 9th March 1811, a census

was taken of the houses and the population "within the walls of Freetown" and gave the following results. There were fifteen streets which contained 380 houses with a population of 1,917 persons, consisting of Europeans 28, Nova Scotians 982, Maroons 807, Africans 100.

According to an Official Return of 9th July 1914, the estimate formed of the population at that date was 5,523; but upon a census taken of the whole Colony, on 1st January 1922, contemporaneously with the Census of the United Kingdom for 1921, the population of the Colony, exclusive of the military, numbered 15,081, including 128 whites.

In 1925, the population of the Colony exclusive of Freetown, was 7,876, that is 3,617 adult males, 1,786 adult females, 1,406 male children and 1,067 female children, and the number of acres under cultivation 3,587.

It would appear that contemporaneously with the decennial census taken in England, a census of the Colony was always taken periodically soon after the formation of the Colony.

In the 3rd year of King William IV., during the administration of Governor Alexander Findlay, on 24th December 1832, an Ordinance was passed for taking the census of the Colony annually. The Preamble of it reads:—"Whereas it is expedient that a general census of the population of the Colony should be taken annually, and that the same should be done at fixed periods, and that the measure should be established by law:—

"ENACTING CLAUSE I—Be it therefore enacted by His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Council now assembled, and by the authority of the same, it is hereby enacted, that all Managers and Superintendents of Districts or Parishes, shall once in each and every year take an accurate estimate and account of the whole population contained in each District or Parish under their charge, according to the form contained in the Schedule hereunto annexed, keeping such District or Parish distinct and separate; and shall deliver or cause to be delivered into the Secretary's office all and every such estimate or estimates on or before the 31st day of December, in each and every year.

II x x x x

III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that an officer be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor, whose duty it shall be to take an Annual Census, in form as aforesaid, of the whole of the population of the Parish of St. George including Freetown, and to make up, between the first and 31st days of January annually, a general census of the whole population of this Colony, comprising as well such officer's own return for the Parish of St. George as those of the said Managers and Superintendents for the several districts under their charge; and which general census he shall deliver or cause to be delivered to the clerk of the Council, together with his own particular census of the Parish of St. George, and those of the said Managers for the several districts as aforesaid on or before the 1st day of February in each and every year."

It would appear that though the Census Ordinance of 1832, was in force at the passing of the Census Ordinance of 1881, it had escaped the vigilance of the Crown Law Officers to have had the Ordinance of 1832 repealed till it fell into disuse. After the passing of the Census Ordinance in 1832, the Census of the Colony was regularly taken under it till about the year 1871.

I was residing with my uncle and my aunt at Waterloo, when a census was taken between 1868 and 1870. I could remember on one occasion walking alongside Mr. R. H. Lord the Manager of the District and Sergt. Neville, afterwards Inspector Neville when they were going about taking the census of the village. On another occasion I was curious to look into a census register to read my name entered there.

By the Census taken and delivered on the 31st December 1840, the population of Freetown numbered 71 whites, and 13,475 blacks. In 1851, the population of the whole colony including Freetown and the four districts and the troops numbered 44,856, but in 1854, it had decreased to 40,383. In 1860, the population of Freetown numbered 18,035 consisting of 117 whites and 17 918 blacks. A Census of the Colony was taken on 3rd April 1871, when the population numbered 37,089 including 107 whites. The Census of 1881 was taken on the 3rd April of that year when the population numbered 60,546 consisting of 271 whites and 60.275 blacks. The Census of 1891 was taken on April 5 h of that year, Freetown contained 30,000 inhabitants and over 5000 dwellings and the whole Colony numbered 74,711 coloured and 224 whites but it did not include the aborigines living in some of the newly acquired territory. The statistics for recent years are so ready to hand that I have not referred to the figures for 1901, 1911 and 1921 for want of space.

Dr. T. Jesse Jones In Basutoland.

Last week-end Basutoland was honoured with a visit by Dr T. Jesse Jones of America who is at present touring South Africa as a visiting lecturer to the Universities of South Africa for this year. This is the third occasion of Dr. Jones' visit to South Africa. He visited South Africa for the first time in 1921 as chairman of the Phlepps Stokes Commission on Native Education in West and Southern Africa, and again in 1924, on his way from East Africa as chairman of the second Commission. He was the guest of His Honour the Resident Commissioner and Mr O. Bull, Director of Lerotholi Technical School, On Thursday evening Mr. Bull had arranged for an informal meeting of the intelligent Basuto who might wish to meet Dr. Jones and discuss things in general with him. This met with a ready response and about thirty Basuto were crowded in Mr Bull's study to meet this important man who has taken a deep interest in Native education in South Africa. Mr Bull introduced Dr. Jones with somewhat humourous remarks which helped to put everybody at ease. Dr Jones desired to find out what position the woman held among the Basuto. Was she respected or was she treated as an inferior? Was the presence of the European among the Natives to the Natvies advantage or therwise?

The reply to the first question was that the woman held a position of respect among the Basuto. To the second question it was unanimously agreed that the presence of the Europeans among the Natives was to their advantage.

The Basuto were rather inquesitive about matters which they held different views from the Europeans. For instance Dr Jones was askedwhat was meant by the Natives developing on their own lines? In his personal opinion Dr Jones understood that statement to mean that customs that were essential to the life of the Natives and that were not in conflict with good morals and modern civilization should be preserved and that the education of the Natives should aim at things that really matter to the live and needs of the Natives, not that the Natives should be made a cheap imitation of the white man.

The discussion was quite free and the Basuto expressed their genuine opinions which they supported by i telligent reasoning. The two hours that were spent with Dr. Jones were most enjoyable and highly educative. We understood that Dr. Jones in speaking to a friend afterwards expressed himself as being well impressed by the Basuto. On Friday Dr. Jones was taken out to Morija by Mr. Dutton, Director of Education and Mr Bull to see that old training institution for the Basuto.

On Saturday morning he addressed the Native residents of Maseru in the National Council Chamber where men, women and children had assembled and the boys and girls of the Maseru Intermediate School entertained the audience with music. After expressing pleasure at seeing them gathered together under that roof where he was told their chiefs and councillors met annually to discuss important matters such as the policy to be adopted or to plan what could be done to help the people to advance, Dr Jones said that he was an American but he thought the Basuto lucky to be under the British Government, as that Government had tried more than any other Government in the world to do justice to the Natives. He knew Mr. Sturrock from Uganda and what he did for the Natives of that country. He had no doubt Mr Sturrock sympathised with them and that he would do his best to help them forward, in the path of progress.

Dr. Jones addressed them about the four essentials of education which he wished them to keep in their minds and to work for them. These were viz: health, agriculture and the use of their hands; the care of their homes and recreation.

Mr. Ashton, the Assistant Commissioner thanked Dr. Jones on behalf of the Basuto.

THE GUINEA REVOLT.

Lisbon Government's Lenity.

LISBON, May 14.

The new Governor of Guinea reports that the President of the Republic of Angra recently set up in the colony has fled into French territory, taking with him all the public funds. Sixty-three civil deportees who took part in the Angra revolt have been sent from Angra to the Cape Verde Islands. In Angra it is expected that another boat will convey the military deportees to the same destination. The Lisbon Government is pardoning all minor crimes and reducing to one-third sentences for first offences in connection with the attempted revolt.—"The Times."

Race Problem - 1931

Africa.

Schuyler Calls Ruling Class "Cruel Unmoral and Incompetent"

Case 10-30-31 Kansas Courier.

Final Article of Series Expresses Doubt Of Ultimate Progress of Black Republic

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

(A Capital News Service Feature)
(Copyright, 1931)

Convicted before the world as a slave state, how long will Liberia be permitted to continue her uncivilized practices? Can she reform from within or must she be reformed from without? When even the report of the recent international commission has not put a stop to pawning, domestic slavery, concubinage, oppression of the natives, forced labor of the less spectacular kind, and merely rendered the "boy" traffic more infrequent and less profitable, can we expect any improvement?

There is a possibility of cleaning house in Liberia through political upheaval at the polls but it is about as remote as a republican victory in Mississippi. There are some honest Liberians who are sincerely aroused by the plight in which their country finds itself, but they are few in number. They have tried for thirty years to oust the True Whig party from office but without avail. Most of them are now discouraged.

Most of this group of Liberians, with many others, one imagines, who are eager for nothing but office, are organized in what is known as the People's party. In this year's election they chose as their standard bearer for the third consecutive time Thomas J. R. Faulkner, the country's most successful business man. Faulkner is an American-born naturalized Liberian, highly respected by the blacks and whites of Monrovia, where he has a large office and private hotel.

Active for Progress

During his thirty years' residence in Liberia, Faulkner has been most active in trying to develop the country. The first electric light plant, the first ice plant and the first telephone system were all introduced by him. Meantime he has been the most persistent foe of government graft, inefficiency, fraud and crime. He is was who was largely instrumental in bringing about the international investigation into slavery and forced labor in Liberia. Others knew what was going on but only Faulkner spoke out and denounced the evil. Graduates of foreign universities, clergymen and missionaries maintained a discreet silence about it. Faulkner is the biggest thorn in the side of the politicians and they would gladly get rid of him as they have other annoying persons, but he is too popular for that.

The man is a dynamo of energy. In a country where travel must be either by hammock, surf boat or canoe and conducted with the maximum of difficulty, he is ever on the go, rushing back and forth from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, uncovering those in power. Like an avenging angel he appears suddenly in the most out-of-the-way places gathering evidence of fraud and graft which is duly published in the one or two little weekly four-page opposition papers. At one time he journeyed over 300 miles of tropical sea from Cape Palmas to Monrovia in a dugout to attend an election, thus surprising his opponents. Some of his feats seem miraculous to Liberians, who are notoriously short on energy.

Partly Friendly to U. S.

The platform of the People's party favors a more friendly policy toward America, American citizens and American business, urges the conviction and imprisonment of all government officials guilty of complicity in the Fernando Poo "boy" traffic and the brutalities of the recent forced labor road program, asks the granting of concessions to foreign enterprises that Liberia may become economically developed and advocates the immediate reorganization of the judical system which is now the laughing stock of Africa.

The platform is the work of Faulkner and the People's party is largely financed by him. Some people say he is merely an adventurer who loves the Presidency of Liberia more than he does Liberia; his friends say he is the only man who can save Liberia. It is safe to say that a majority of the Liberians, outside the official class and its satellites, and certainly most of the natives are for him. But the chances are that he made a poor showing at the polls in the recent May elections, the returns of which will not be published until the legislature sits in December. The machinery of government has been in the hands of the True Whig party for so many years and politicians in office are so adept at the art of obtaining majorities on paper if not in reality that their defeat will be a modern miracle.

In the 1928 election, when Faulkner opposed former President C. D. B. King, the True Whig machine was working in its usual excellent order. Indeed, the True Whig machine and the government lighthouse are about the only two things that do work in Liberia. Although only property owners enjoy the right of franchise in Liberia and not over 15,000 persons were qualified as electors King received 243,000 votes while Faulkner got but 9,000! King's aide-de-camp alone delivered 100,000 votes from the interior. In one district where there are but 9,000 electors, 40,000 votes were cast. In the town of Sinoe, with a total population of but 3,500 souls, the registrar of elections, who is allowed 2 cents for each vote registered sent in a bill for $948.

Vote by Truckloads

On that election day a high government official excitedly sought to borrow a truck for electioneering from the manager of the Firestone company. When refused, he remarked wistfully, "Oh, all right. I just voted a bunch of men down here (in Monrovia) and I wanted to rush them up country so I could vote them before the polls close."

In Grand Cape Mount county, the True Whig suggested and the People's party managers agreed, that the polls should be kept open one hour for the Faulkner adherents, then an equal period for the King men, and alternate in this manner through the day in order to avoid clashes between enthusiasts of the two factions. The polls opened the first hour for Faulkner, but the rest of the day only True Whigs were permitted to vote. The forces of law and order upheld the True Whigs.

Hence, it is difficult to imagine that the election of this year to fill the vacancy made by the resignation of President C. B. D. King over the slavery revelations was any fairer than previous ones.

Filed Charges

Indeed, in an indignant open letter to Acting President Edwin Barclay, dated April 14, 1931, Faulkner charged:

"(1) Your Excellency upon application has signed thousands of deeds in blank which have been forwarded to the various counties throughout the republic, and there they have been filed in with names of persons who declare themselves for the Whig party. If they are suspected to be in favor of the People's party, they are denied a deed. This is connivance to defraud in the election.

"(2) Further in reference to these deeds, they are offered for probation in the monthly and probate courts and registered by the registrar for the county without the usual $1 revenue stamp as required by law, and thus the Republic of Liberia is cheated out of considerable revenue just to win this election. This is fraudulent...."

Faulkner then charges that the government (The True Whig party) "has for twenty-six years enticed the natives with gin, tobacco and force to vote for it. They cannot vote without a deed to land in their own name and fee simple."

"Registrars" Recalcitrant

"Registrars," he continues, "have in many cases refused to administer the oath to electors when they apply for registration which is an open violation of the law. A large percentage of registrars have entered names from lists handed them, not requiring deeds nor persons to be present, these names to be used to vote any person whom the boosters of the Whig party present at the polling place on the day of election. These registrars have also refused to allow the inspectors of the People's party to inspect the deeds and register so they might be informed if the persons were bona fide electors. This illegal registration of names from lists handed in is done solely for the purpose of swelling the number of voters for the Whig party, and then fraudulently place the ballot in the box on the day of election to represent the names registered."

Faulkner on the basis of these charges "challenges and protests 99 per cent of the registration throughout the republic." He especially points out that the deeds in question, without which an elector cannot qualify, are not only without stamps but there is no number of lot or boundaries set out on them. The open letter ends with the statement that if certain native tribes are prevented from voting they will refuse their taxes and "stand to resist the government." President Barclay hadn't replied to the charges in Faulkner's letter at the time of my departure.

From the foregoing it would seem that there is slight chance of cleaning up the evils disgracing Liberia and retarding its progress by a political revolution. The old gang has everything sewed up tight. Only an armed revolt could throw it out of power. And while Charles King, former President King's son; Major Harper, the commandant of the frontier force and Charles Eastman, controller of the treasury are now under indictment for embezzling the soldiers' pay, it is believed that the 367 soldiers in the army are well enough fed to stand by the government with their antiquated Krag Jorgensens and defective ammunition in case of civil strife.

Stumps Foreign Reformers

The bulk of foreign observers in Monrovia see no way to clean up the mess of slavery, forced labor, pawning, bankruptcy and inefficiency except by outside control. They argue that money and technical assistance are necessary to the development of Liberia into a modern state, and that the present government is hardly of such a character to inspire confidence in the hearts of international bankers and concessionnaires.

Few believe that anything is to be hoped for from the League of Nations because Liberia is a member and nothing can be done without its permission and agreement. The chief and primary need in Liberia is the ousting of the present misgoverning gang, and it is not on record where politicians voted themselves out of office, particularly when they have no other occupation. Beyond sending health experts to clean up Monrovia

and fight the yellow fever menace, the League of Nations can do little except dispatch commissions to study conditions and make reports. It might arrange another loan for Liberia but that seems remote.

The United States has always taken such a friendly interest in the affairs of Liberia and as the little republic is already known up and down the West African coast as an American protectorate, there are some who think America should step in and straighten things up as she has in some small states nearer home. But there is no indication as yet that the United States is eager to become so deeply involved. It would perhaps at best be a thankless philanthropy necessitating the unappreciated expenditure of millions of dollars before Liberia became self-supporting and developed a superior class of governing officials.

Ruling Class in Saddle

Meanwhile, the little haughty, impecunious ruling class, perplexed over the future but getting what can be extracted from the present, sits uneasily astride the backs of a million and a half sullen and dissatisfied aborigines. They can get labor for the grabbing, extra wives for the taking and plenty of food by requisition, they are incapable of developing but, lacking natural resources of their beautiful land or even of constructing decent roads to enable others to do so.

Cruel, unmoral, incompetent, they flock devoutly each Sabbath to their numerous churches, praying for salvation—and meaning another loan.

QUOTES GEORGE SCHUYLER, JAILED BY LIBERIAN GOV.

Afro-American 10-17-31

Barclay Government Accuses Newspaper Editor of Treason.

MUST RETRACT

Fear Bankruptcy Unless League Aids.

(Special Correspondence)

MONROVIA, Liberia — Charged with treason because he published in his newspaper a quotation from George S. Schuyler's article in the Nation entitled "Liberia Still Exists," in which Schuyler described the Liberian government as a "sponging, thieving set of schemers," the Rev. J. E. Padmore, publisher of the Bensonville Whip, has been jailed under $20,000 bail.

Immediate effort on the part of some of his friends to secure his release failed because the bond signed by five of them was refused by the Barclay government on the grounds that they had insufficient funds. The name of Thomas J. R. Faulkner, regarded as one of the most prosperous business men in the Republic, was among those refused on the bond.

Demand Retraction

The government demanded that the Rev. Mr. Padmore retract statements made in his leaflet and also say that Schuyler's statements as to conditions in Liberia at the present time are untrue, or remain in jail. The minister was unwilling to make any such admission.

Pointing out that there had been little or no reform since the report of the International Commission to Study Slavery, the Rev. Mr. Padmore called on the citizens of the country to make an effective appeal to the League of Nations while the matter is before that body.

Fears Intervention

"No attention has been paid to the League of Nations," he says, "and the commission's findings have been ignored in practice, if not in principle. Should the United States step in with its notorious marines, Liberia would have a blot on its record like that of Haiti. . . We should arise like men while the league is in session and show the world that the masses are against the action of the government and that we protest."

Liberian citizens are anxiously awaiting some word from the League of Nations in the hope that that body will take some constructive action. In the meantime conditions are reported as becoming worse. The government is finding it more difficult to make its current payments and revenue is falling off rapidly.

The general feeling is that bankruptcy is inevitable unless the league acts in some definite manner.

RAMBLING TALKS.

Weekly News 9-26-31

By Rambler

Freetown Sierra Leone

LIBERIA.—The Editor of the WEEKLY NEWS has laid all race-loving Africans, no less than the Liberians themselves, under a lasting obligation by the whole-hearted fight he has put up in defence of the threatened autonomy of almost the only spot in God's wide world that a blackman could call his own. This anxious care for the well-being of every section of the Negro race is, it seems to me, an attitude of mind which Liberians, of all Africans, have in the past lamentably failed to appreciate. It is no secret that the folks of the Lone Star Republic do not take kindly to strangers of their own race and complexion, witness the absurd immigration laws with which the Republic makes it almost impossible for fresh blood from other parts of West Africa or from the West Indies and America to be infused into her sickly political system, that is now the butt of Caucasian ridicule.

RACE BEFORE NATION.—Liberia has suffered from a great delusion all these years of her existence. She has put nationhood before racehood. So long as she was humoured and tolerated as a "Sovereign State" by the Great Powers, she felt highly flattered and cared not a rush what befell the rest of the Race. An indication of this parochial outlook was given by Mr. C. D. B. King in the palmiest days of his presidency, when he was being lionised all over Europe. In an after dinner speech in London, he said, in effect, that Liberia was not out as a trustee for the black race; she was not out to protect the Race, the Negro race was a thing indestructible by nature and quite able to take care of itself; that what Liberia was out for was to find and take her place in the sun—as a *nation*. That speech was a big disappointment to many thoughtful Africans who had expected Mr. King, as a cultured and travelled man, to have been a truer student of events than he showed himself.

THE MISERY OF WEAKNESS.—The infamous Colour Bar of South Africa; peonage, lynching and segregation in America; repression and suppression of black talent and black ambition in British West Africa, all point to a general agreement among the white races to keep the black races down; the same spirit which, in Mediaeval times, unified the nations of Europe into one vast brotherhood of Christendom against non-Christian nations, still exists in these modern days in the new guise of a confederacy of the white races of the world—Whitedom against Blackdom, the supposed new source of danger. Over and above nationhood, then, the Caucasian places Racehood. In face of such palpable facts is it wise in Liberia to cut herself off from active sympathy with the sufferings and aspirations of the bulk of the race of which she is a part? No wonder she has failed. If she had always put race before nation; if she had always regarded herself as a trustee for the entire black race and remembered that any betrayal of her sacred trust would be cast into the teeth of all Negrodom, Africans should not now be hanging their heads down in shame, and Liberia should not now be an abject suppliant at the feet of her compeers of the League of Nations.

Has the League, though, any right to decide Liberia's fate? If it have, it is strange that this right was not exercised in the case of Abyssinia after a League Commission had discovered that slavery on a large scale existed in that distinguished member State. It is only now that the manumission of some two million slaves is engaging the Ethiopian Emperor's attention thanks not to any hectoring on the part of the League, but to negotiations on the part of the Anti-Slavery Society. Why did not the League of Nations take the sense of the inarticulate millions in Abyssinia as to the advisability of placing the land of the Queen of Sheba under a mandate?

Why did not *Elder's Review* instal, on the occasion of the discovery of Abyssinia's "incompetence," a symposium on "Should Abyssinia be mandated?"—With an eye to the expansion of Italian Somaliland, Mussolini the Magnificent might have suggested that Italy might have the honour of the first offer. But, Shade of Emperor Theodore! The memory of the Field-Marshal's cocked hat, which you picked up as a trophy when your pursuing myriads chased the nearly-annihilated Italian hosts across the deserts on to the sea would have made even the Duce hesitate to put such a thought on paper. But poor helpless little Liberia is quite a different matter. Truly has Albert Milton said, "to be weak is miserable doing or suffering."

TWO BOY HEROES.—St. Edward's Secondary School has had the distinction of contributing two brilliant feathers to Sierra Leone's Cap of Achievement. Edward Hamelberg (16) and Margai (18) have on the recommendation of the Scout Commissioner for Sierra Leone been awarded the Bronze and the Gilt Cross by the Boy Scouts Association on account of their heroic conduct in rescuing Principal Mulcahy and one of their comrades who were washed out to sea on August 2, while they were surf-bathing at Lumley Beach. The Bronze Cross is the highest possible award for gallantry and can be won only when the claimant has shown special heroism or has faced extraordinary risks. Besides being deep ocean, the waters that wash Lumley Beach are infested by sharks; so there was a large element of risk in the work done by these lads. I learn that the youthful heroes will be invested with their honours some time in November. Well done!

Race Problem - 1931

Africa

TRIBAL FIGHT ON THE RAND.

African World

Worst for Twenty-five Years.

1-3-31

JOHANNESBURG, December 30.

Basutos and Pondos in the compound on the Randfontein Estates Mine yesterday afternoon engaged in a tribal fight in which four Pondos were killed.

The trouble began on Christmas Day, when a Basuto was murdered by a Pondo. A faction fight which ensued, the worst that has occurred on the West Rand for twenty-five years, reached its climax yesterday.

London

Further fighting broke out to-day in the compound of the Randfontein Estates Mine, some 500 Basutos and about the same number of Pondos engaging in a tribal affray. Four natives were killed and thirty injured.—Reuter.

Note.—This brings the total number of killed up to eight, and the total number of injured up to 105, since the beginning of the trouble on Christmas Day, when a Basuto was murdered by a Pondo. Over 100 police have been drafted into the locality, and a party of mounted police were attacked with stones and pieces of iron. It is estimated that the present affray is the worse tribal fight that has occurred on the West Rand for twenty-five years.—Reuter.

YEAR SPENT WITH PYGMIES.

Mr. and Mrs. Martin Johnson, who produced the film of East African wild life, "Simba," arrived in Nairobi in mail week by special train, which resembled a travelling zoo, from a year's trip, mostly spent in the Ituri Forest and the Belgian Congo, where they lived with and studied the lives of pygmies.

1-3-31

They secured three huge gorillas and many other animals, including a valuable monkey. These are now inhabiting a large garden adjoining the Johnson's home in the Nairobi suburbs, the road to which is protected by barriers, since the gorillas are not yet tamed.

London

Mr. and Mrs. Johnson took 24,000 ft. of film of animal and pygmy life.

Basutoland Council.

The Council

12-10-30

After dealing with the matters appearing in the High Commissioner's message the Council then discussed the motions from the members of the Council. The first among them was one by Cr. Abimael Tlale on education. He drew the attention of the Council to the fact that there was a great thirst for education among the nation.

He compared education with the Basuto custom of bringing up their boys and girls who at a certain period had to be instructed in certain customs that were deemed essential in their life. Reliable men and women who were well versed in such customs were appointed to instruct these groups. Just as they did in the matter of their customs in the past days it was to-day necessary to send young men and women overseas to be educated and trained in the various branches of education so that on their return they may be able to teach and instruct the youth of the territory in these branches of education. The matter was one that had been discussed some time before and was accepted by the Council but owing to financial difficulties it had not been carried out.

The subject was keenly discussed by the members who favoured the motion. Some pointed out to the difficulty of getting funds for the scheme. Some stated that the education levy should have been made for this purpose instead of the intermediate schools that taught up to standard VI while others asked for the matter to be put off until after the Government intermediate schools had been put up in all the districts.

On the whole the discussion revealed the earnest desire of the Basuto to educate their children.

The Director of Education, who had been invited by His Honour to be present in the Council, was asked to address the Council on the matter. He appreciated the manner in which the Basuto showed their desire for education, a desire which was not only expressed in words but in deeds as they had already shown by paying the education levy. With the money that had already been collected it was intended to put up intermediate schools throughout the territory. The next step would be to improve these schools and then the institutions. The levy however did not accumulate as rapidly as desired.

At present there were about eighteen boys whose education was paid for by the Government, some of them are in local institutions while three are at Fort Hare. It was possible that one may be sent overseas on the Government expenses. But the important point was whether there would be sufficient money to do so.

Duff Bible Institute.

The Council

12-10-30

This Institute is situated at Izingolweni, Natal, and was opened three years ago, as a school giving Bible Instruction to Christian Native men who wish to prepare themselves for the ministry, or for Evangelistic work among Basutoland.

During the three years, nine students (mostly married men), have graduated, having successfully passed their examinations and having received their Diplomas. The Duff Bible Institute is undenominational which accounts for the following interesting fact; at the last School-closing recently held, four men from different parts of the Union and belonging to four different denominations graduated, their names being Frank Xolo, Port Shepstone, Natal, Ephraim Tilo from Jonannesburg, Moses Kondlo, Queenstown, and Klaas Leeuw from Cape Town.

The Duff Bible Institute is a Memorial School which enables the Committee to run the Institute at a very small cost to the Student. The fees for Board and Lodging being only 15/—per month, with free Tuition.

The present Course takes two years to complete and is comprised of four terms of four months each. The medium of instuction is mostly English, though Zulu is used in the Evangelist's Cours .

Special attention is given to the study and developement of preaching, and Students have plenty of practical work preaching in the surrounding homes. This is called Homiletics, and is a favourite subject with the Students. Most of the men come with no definite ideas of how to prepare and deliver an address, but go away with a practical knowledge of this indispensible asset of a minister's life and work. There are six other subjects taught, which are *Bible Doctrin* , (which embraces the great fundamental truths of the Scripture), *Old Testament History*, *New Testament History*, *Bible Chapter Summary*, *Biblical Geography with Life of Christ and Bible Analysis*. In this last named study, the Students are taught to analyse and find the structural form of the different books of the Bible, and to make an outline of each book studied. This is, of course, splendid for those of us who wish to teach the Word of God to our people. Dr. Wm Barton, one of the visiting instructors gives lectures in Physiology and Hygiene, so that the Student is equipped for his future life and work in Spirit, Mind and Body.

A good spiritual atmosphere is amongst the Students, and the mutual exchange of views is helpful to all.

Provision is made for any Student who may not have had the advantage of a more advanced education, to continue his secular studies while at the Institute. A teacher is provided to look after this department. Here is a golden opportunity for a man who wishes to study the Bible and fit himself for the spiritual good and upliftment of the Native people.

One of the Students.

So. Africans Burn Passes In Protest

New World

New York, N.Y.

1-24-31

Dingaan's Day Brings Out 2,000 Receipts to Be Burned

PARTICIPANTS BEATEN

By Police; Natives Are Wounded and One Is Killed

CAPETOWN, South Africa.—Thousands of passes were burnt in different centres throughout the country on Dingaan's Day. Mass demonstrations of protest against the slave laws took place in all large centres in the Union.

At Durban a huge demonstration, under the leadership of the Communist Party, was held at Cartwright's Flats. Over 2,000 passes as well as poll tax receipts, hut tax receipts, dog tax receipts, were burnt amid wild applause. After this the Native workers formed into a procession with the intention of marching through the main streets of the town. Before the procession left the Flats however, it was attacked by a large force of white and Native police armed with pick-handles and assegais. The police displayed the utmost ferocity. They hit right and left in the most brutal way, wounding about 20 Natives and killing Comrade Mkusi. Comrade J. W. Nkosie, organiser of the Communist Party in Durban, was dangerously injured, and, at the time of going to press, lies in a critical condition in hospital.

Natives Resist Police

The demonstration was broken up, but not without resistance on the part of the Natives. The police were met by showers of stones and the Natives defended themselves with sticks and other weapons. A number of European policemen were injured and a Native policeman was stabbed.

In Johannesburg rain interfered with the Dingaan's Day demonstrations, but in spite of this a large number of passes were burnt amid scenes of tremendous enthusiasm.

Numbers of passes and an effigy of Pirow were burnt at a large meeting of Natives at Marabastad, Pretoria. Speakers denounced the Pirow dictatorship and the Riotous Assemblies Act.

Basutoland Council.

The Comet
12-12-30

Masuru, Basutoland

In closing discussion on the motion of Cr. Abimael Tlale on education His Honour stated he agreed with what the Director of Education had said Though some members complaint that discussion went to long on a subject on which the Council did not disagree but he was however pleased to hear how they earnestly desired for education. What Rev. Mr. Motsamai had said was true. When one attempts to improve, Native education he is sure to be criticised, but such criticisms did not dishearten him. He was proceeding with his programme. He then drew the attention of the Council to the enormous expenses of sending children overseas for education and how it was impossible to send a large number of students at once. Chief Makhaola had stated that it was the third time the matter was discussed in the Council and he assured them that they were much nearer attaining their object than they were on the two previous occasions. He would send overseas those students who had completed their education at Fort Hare to continue their studies. He could only send one or two at a time. Such students would not take many years to complete their education. If he did not promise more it was not becase he did not sympathize with them but because it was impossible to do more.

A good many members did not catch the meaning of His Honour's concluding remarks for they were under the impression that the motion had once more failed owing to lack of funds. The important fact that the Resident Commissioner had agreed to send one or two students at a time to continue their studies overseas after passing through Fort Hare will be received with great joy and satisfaction by the Basuto and will no doubt, increase the growing popularity of our present Administrator.

The next motion was by Cr. S Maphathe. He moved that the members of the Native circuit eour be paid for their services as their familes suffered great distress during their abscence, that their number be reduced and that a list of cases be compiled by the P.C. before the courts are sent out.

The matter of circuit courts was first discussed during the time of the late Paramount Chief Letsie II. and has been brought into actual practice during our present Paramount Chief. Three such courts went out during the year. One operated in the southern districts one in the northern districts and the third in the central districts. They have all done useful service to the nation and relieved congestion in the P.C's. court. It was necessary for people who are doing such good services for their country to be paid monthly. Some of these courts were away for ten months.

The subject was keenly discussed. There appeared to have been a great change from the attitude that was shown last year when the proposals for the reforms of the Native courts were discussed and the great majority would not entertain the idea of payment of the mombers of the court. Some members like the mover had changed their views on the matter. The opponents of the pay system though they were in the majority, were however not as keen as last year and it was quite noticeable that they merely preferred not to change their views. Speaking against the motion Cr. Leloko actually stated that besides the members of the circuit court there were Basuto men who had allowed themselves to be slaves working for the P.C. without any pay at all. They had agreed together with the mover that it was against their custom to expect the chief to pay them for their services but the mover to-day wants to break down what had been agreed upon. On being asked whether the members of the circuit court received no remuneration at all the mover replied that they were each presented with a beast and five goats by the P.C. and that was small in value compared with time and services rendered.

Chief Makhaola disagreed with the motion on the point of payment but suggested that the personnel of such courts be changed from time to time to avoid keeping them away from their homes for an unduly long period.

His Honour had not much to say on the matter. Some members stated that last year he was in agreement with the paying of the members of the courts, that was not quite correct for it will be remembered that his suggestion had no applied to these courts only but to the payment of all those who were engaged in the service of Native administration. The matter before the Council was one that could be settled by the P.C. He could only say that the people owed the P.C. a debt of gratitude for establishing these courts which have been useful to them.

To Help the Basuto.

The Comet

COMMENDABLE MISSIONARY INTERPRISE.

(Mochochonono)

Our conntemporary the "Basutoland News" in its issue of the 28th ultimo under the above heading draws attention to the scheme inaugurated by the Roman Catholic Missionary body of helping the Basuto in social problems. It briefly explains the aims and objects of the scheme, and gives an itinerary of Rev. B. Huss's Lecture tour throughout the territory with a view to arousing the Basuto to action. It says: — 5-6-31

The Roman Catholic Missionary body in Basutoland has just inaugurated a splen lid scheme for helping the Basnto in social problems, and one feels this kind of help, which is d's'inctly educative In the best sense of the ter.n, is badly needed and in fact is long overdue in this territory. The scheme takes the form of an Association called the 'Basutoland Roman Catholic Educational Buyers and Sellers Association," rather a wordy title perhaps, but one that covers the main objects of the Association. We have been privileged to see a copy of the Regulations and are convinced there is a great deal in them that will be of benefit not only to the Natives themselves, but also to those traders in the territory who care to interest themselves in the Association and its objects. It is also to be hoped the Basutoland Government will give its blessing to the movement, and do all within its power to saveguard its interests.

Masuru
Basutoland

OBJECTS.

The objects of this Association are to improve the quality of Native agriculture in Basutoland, including gardening and afforestation to develop home industries in the territory, and to encourage thrift and economy. In order to attain these objects the Association may assist by buying farming implements in wholesale quantities for disposal to members, and also arrange for members to buy, through the Association, soft goods, school requisites, groceries, hardware, or any other commodity. It will also encourage members to produce articles of home industries, and help them to dispose of these articles to the best advantage. It will furthermore assist its members to sell their produce in the best markets, and so far as this buying and selling is concerned the Association extends a practical invitation to traders to co-operate.

Race Problem—1931

Africa.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Herr Emil Torday.

Anthropology and ethnology are both poorer through the death of Herr Emil Torday on May 9. The loss is mankind's; to himself death meant relief of suffering from injuries received during his last expedition in Africa. Gored and trampled by a rhinoceros, he lay for months in a native village, far from touch with Europeans and modern medical skill, while the villagers watched over him, applying such remedies as their knowledge and skill could procure. By their assiduous nursing he was dragged out of the jaws of death for several years of usefulness, but with a burden of chronic nervous prostration and pain from which he was thereafter seldom free. This span of life he owed to the affection of the people, inspired by the sympathy and understanding which comes from intimate communion. For Torday was not so much a student of manners as of man, striving to get at the meaning of "manners and customs" through participation in the daily life of a people as the key to their origin and the secret of their maintenance. These principles illuminated his last public utterance, an address on "The Things that Matter to the West African," at Portland Hall, on March 11. Herr Torday was an Austrian by birth, but was as familiar with the languages and literatures of England and France as with that of Germany, and wrote with ease in both these languages. His publications include "In Search of the Bushongo," and other books of exploration and anthropology, besides numerous scientific papers and articles. During the last five or six years he devoted himself to the compilation of the volume on "African Races" for the vast Herbert Spencer collection of "Descriptive Sociology."

African Music.

On May 7, under the presidency of Mr. Leonard Wharton, M.A., of the scientific staff of the British Museum, Mr. R. C. Nathaniels, Professor of Ewe and other West African languages at the School of Oriental Studies, delivered a lecture on "The Folk-Songs of West Africa," with special reference to the music of the Ewe and other Dahomean peoples, in the rooms of the Société Internationale de Philologie, Sciences et Beaux-Arts, at 8, Taviton Street, Gordon Square, London. The lecturer began with a comparison between European and non-European music. Of the former, he said, that as a result of "the existing consonance of thirds and triads, of resolute cadence, of contrast between major and minor, and of certain intervals warranted and required by harmony," European music was based on harmony. It was much affected by the use of instruments with fixed intervals which have never existed among the primitive peoples. Non-European music is founded on pure melody, which "has lent some contributive forces to the formation of harmony." "It possesses also tonality with which its notes are linked . . . by the intervals of association existing between the principal tone and the tone next in importance in the whole tonality. In African music, the compass whereof is small, the perfect fourth of the major diatonic scale is regarded as the fundamental basis of intervals for melodious combination, with the third and second as its cadence." In African musical perception "the second of the major diatonic scale suitably responds to the dominance with the fifth and sixth of that scale as the next in importance, the fifth becoming the fourth in ascent from the second, and the sixth becoming the fourth in descent from the second," with the third and seventh as subordinates for cadential purposes and for division of the intervals of the perfect fourth. Chromatic sequences, by which the lecturer said that he meant "tones that are in opposite phases to the standard diatonic scale, and stand at a distance of about a quarter tone above and below the standard tone," occur rarely, usually as constituents for melodic structure. "They are used for, and instead of, the standard tone, which means that they rarely go in successive steps, with the result that actual intonation of a quarter tone is rare. These quarter tones have the same relation to the major and minor thirds in Western music, but the interval is rather less."

Songs and Dances.

The two most characteristic features of African music, said Mr. Nathaniels, are the dance and the drum; "African music is inconceivable without dancing, nor African rhythms without drumming." The rhythmic conception is based on the drum's beats or on hand-clapping. Antiphony and part-singing are also essential features. Poly-phony arises when "the soloist begins a new stanza while the chorus's part of the preceding one is not yet finished." In cadence the progression is mostly downwards. "African music has some definite characteristic modes peculiar to itself, but the influence of contact with Western civilisation is perceptible in others, while modalities entirely Western," with variety of colour (timbre) suggesting African themes, have been adopted. There is a variety of songs suited to different occasions—folk songs, work songs, ceremonial, sacred and war songs, and love songs. Each of these has beats which vary from 2/4, 6/4, 6/8, 9/8, to 18/16. The controlling action of the drummers and hand-clapping in guarding the rhythm "has eventually altered the aspect of any kind of songs into dance-song. . . . In consequence of which it has become very seldom that African folk songs are presented by themselves . . . there are few cases where folk songs are rendered independently as solos or recitatives." (I presume the lecturer was referring to the songs frequently introduced into folk tales, but even with these it is not uncommon for the hearers to provide a humming (bouche-fermée) accompaniment and to mark the rhythm by lightly clapping their hands.) Poetic form in the Western sense is not shown in African songs. Recitatives may have something like stanzas, but "other songs have only short phrases, usually proverbial, occupying between four to ten words. These are repeated over and over—for solos and choruses to the same melody." There are traces of versification among tribes which have come under Islamic influences. The most characteristic instruments of the Ewe peoples are drums of the same kind as are used by the Akan tribes, including the talking drums made known to Europe by Captain Rattray. Other peculiarly African instruments are the horn and the gong-gong, common to many West African peoples, and the atsahe, found also among the Akans. Islamic influence has introduced a one-stringed fiddle (goje) and the xylophone, known on the Gambia as ballafong. The lecturer concluded with a description of several Ewe dances, which do not appear to differ materially from the dances of the Gold Coast peoples.

W. F. H.

PORTUGUESE AFRICA.

RETURN OF TROOPS FROM MADEIRA.

Enthusiasm in Lisbon.

LISBON, May 18.

Lisbon yesterday was en fête to welcome the troops who had returned from Madeira and the Azores, and it was also an occasion to demonstrate the people's confidence in President Carmona. From a stand in the Avenida de Liberdade the President, with his Ministers and the Diplomatic Corps, watched the march past of the returned troops and bluejackets. The city was gay with flags and, notwithstanding the persistent rain, the streets were lined with enthusiastic crowds.

To-day similar scenes were enacted. At the circus there was a great gathering of the newly formed National Union Party, at which all the Ministers were present and many students from Coimbra and Oporto, who had come to Lisbon specially for the occasion. The Prime Minister said that it was the intention of the Cabinet to prepare the way for a new Constitution untrammelled by old systems, but he said the Military Dictatorship would only hand over power when it could be assured that the future Constitution would be honestly administered.

The Minister of Finance, in his speech, said he was not one of those who resented the introduction of foreign capital, so long as Portuguese law was observed. Every country had at one time or another to make use of it. He emphasised the importance of the British alliance.

This afternoon a large crowd, including many students, made a friendly demonstration before the British Embassy and gave repeated cheers for Great Britain and the alliance.—"The Times."

TRANS-AFRICAN AIR SERVICES.

Surveys of Mozambique and Angola.

JOHANNESBURG, April 25.

"We have finished a survey of Mozambique, which has taken five months, and now the air lines remain to be organised," said Mr. G. M. Conty, manager of the Compagnie Trans-Africaine d'Aviation, who is at present in Johannesburg, in an interview to-day.

"Now we begin surveying Angola, and it will take a month and a-half. The great Compagnie Generale Aero Postale is interested in the formation of the Compagnie Trans-Africaine d'Aviation, which is sponsoring the opening up of a new passenger aeroplane service from France to Madagascar, and also in the Compagnie Portugaise d'Aviation, in which are vested both French and Portuguese interests. Madagascar, Angola, and Mozambique will be directly served by fast passenger machines, and when the projected new lines come to fruition they will form a link with the Imperial Airways' Cape-to-Cairo route. Later, extensions of the service will be made."—Reuter.

SOME WEST AFRICAN ORIGINS.

"The Carthaginian Voyage to West Africa in 500 B.C., and Origin of the Fulbe," by H. R. Palmer. (Receiver-General's Office, Bathurst, Gambia).

The connection between Hanno's voyage and an account of the origin of the Fulani extracted by Sultan Muhammad Bello of Sokoto in the beginning of the 19th century from an Arabic work of a few years earlier may not be apparent at first sight, but in the hands of the Gambia's scholarly Governor, they have proved the source of much interesting history and conjecture. Mr. Palmer supports the view that Hanno's vessels travelled only as far as Cape St. Ann and Sherbro Island, Sierra Leone, being the "Chariot of the Gods," and in reaching this conclusion he points out that to justify the theory of the longer voyage demands the ignoring of the decrease in speed that would result from the lack of a following wind along the Guinea Coast and from the effect of the intense heat upon the oarsmen. The apparent reference to volcanic activity might, he thinks, have been due to an eruption from Kukulima, in Guinea, but, on the other hand, might not the supposed streams of fire have been merely an erroneous association of ideas in the attribution of the intense heat of the dry season and the prevalence of bush-fires, to a single terrestrial cause? Such an error might easily have been strengthened by the double translation which the Periplus has undergone, simply through the translators' ignorance of African conditions, just as the reference to gorillas swinging down precipices might refer, with greater probability, to baboons making use of trees in their swinging flight.

If the course of the expedition were as he supposes, Mr. Palmer shows that three groups of people were then on the West African coast,—North African Berbers, Cushite Berbers of Fulbe type, and, to the south, tribes like the modern Sereres and Jolas. With the aid of the work of the Sultan of Sokoto and of that of many of the other Arabic and African authors with which he is so familiar, he traces the Fulani to a fusion of Cushite Berber, Liby-Phœnician, and Judæising Berber with the earlier inhabitants, the new group, after helping in the fall of Ghana between 650 and 750 A.D., being themselves driven south by the Tuareg about 1050 A.D. and spreading by natural growth until they were found as far east as Baghirmi and Adamawa.

In their contact with Islam, there arose the usual tendency to incorporate Moslem heroes and holy places in their tradition, and Mr. Palmer maintains, with much justice, that it is only by this eclectic treatment of ancient history that support can be found for such theories as that of the Judæo-Syrian origin of the Fulbe propounded by the late M. Delafosse. He strengthens his position with a wealth of local historical detail that makes his book somewhat difficult reading, and closes with a short account of the stone circles of the Gambia, suggesting that these were probably a local improvement, due to the presence of suitable materials, of the fairly general Hamitic custom of mound burial, and that the menhirs are of no earlier date than the 11th century,—a view, moreover, which agrees fairly well with local tradition.

This Blackman

(BY RARA AVIS)

Count that day lost,
Whose low descending sun,
Views from thy hand,
No worthy action done.

It has repeatedly been argued by those possessed of the mania of staying the Blackman's progress that he is the inferior to the other races in his mental powers, that he cannot launch anything worthwhile without the pilotage of the whiteman, that all his attempts, attainments and failures are far below the level of the whiteman. In short, if he launches anything, when he falls he falls like Lucifer—never to rise again.

But time, which is the best judge of things, is disproving, has disproved and will continue to refute such baseless contentions. In fact the greater number of such arguments and contentions emanate from a sense of fear. They are based on the superficial fear of this Blackman competing with the whiteman whose judgment is almost always based on the colour of the skin. And there is no Colour-Bar either in the Realm of Knowledge, attainments or failure. We all fail alike without a distinction of colour and creed.

A man may be as white as snow and still be black hearted. One may be as black as a pot and still prove to be the right type of man. The colour of the skin does not matter and never will save where denseness, either affected or otherwise, has replaced commonsense (which is everyday experience winnowed and sifted), justice and fairplay.

It is a fact which no sane thinking person will ever deny; that this Blackman is keeping pace with the times. True enough, he is not rapid and like the snail is steady but sure he fails every now and then. Not because he has a limited sense of doing and understanding this, but for the simple reason that he is not always afforded the chance of proving his worth. Where he has done it you are told it was just a matter of 75% luck and 25% of a limited sense of doing things. Which is sheer nonsense.

Today there is a wide spread awakening, if not national, amongst the Black people of Africa. They are beginning to realise that their destiny is not in the palm of a whiteman, but in themselves and their Maker. They are endeavouring to discover what this life is; whether or not it is a creation of the whiteman. There is a sense of inquiry everywhere.

The whiteman in his fear has created a problem—the so called Native problem—which ought to have been appropriately styled the Whiteman's Problem. The Native has no problem to solve, it is the Whiteman who has to solve a problem of his own making. He does not have a go at it in fairness and justice, he is constantly influenced by his prejudices towards the Blackman. Even where this Blackman's opinion and point of view is sought, it is always from so called experts on the Native Question. These experts do more harm to the people concerned and the governmental machine. As a matter of fact, the whole thing has been made a Pons Asinorum. You may sneer at this but one thing remains true that it is so.

Where this Blackman is accorded a chance of showing his Equality Complex which is always bounded by absurd and humiliating conditions so many obstacles are placed in his way. If, for instance, a trading licence is issued to him, he has to sell only a few commodities and there's ever so many instances of this kind). On the other hand a Whiteman holding the same kind of licence sells everything within the definition of such a licence. Is this not an injustice, actuated by motives ulterior based on the fear of a Black Competition? And you invariably find the licence fees the same.

Nevertheless, this same Blackman is to blame for his political gay ostracism and economic unmaking. Wherever he tackles anything he is divided either influenced by personal motives or racial traditions. And it is along these lines that the other nations trade on the ignorance of Bantudom. These people are always prepared to tell you that do what you will the Native will never be one.

If you try to enlighten your people you are opprobriously styled an agitator. This word, of late, has a new meaning: literally it is a disparaging epithect when applied to the Native. Once you are called an agitator you fall under the Native Administration Act and the Riotous Assembly Act and many others. Of course, history repeats itself in this case that always a divided people will always be meted out such punishment. Not until this Blackman gets himself to sink personal differences, prejudices and racial animosity will he get justice and airplay. It is no use just talking things: you must do them. "Precept at variance with practice is more than useless."

Much that is good in this Blackman lies embedded under the covers of tradition, fear and even ignorance. Much that may be of use to his countrymen lies rusting in the average individual. It is not a crime to educate your people, it is not criminal to inquire, criticise and oppose. You can be of service to Bantudom by enlightening and exchanging views with your countrymen. Get up and do things not only for yourself but for the rest of Bantudom! A man should no "quarrel with his bread and butter," nor should he make himself a scapegoat; but say and do things, teach your people their rights; that there is no colour bar in doing things; that they can reach the top rung of the ladder if they will only vise to the occasion, take their opportunities and do things. Teach them that it now transpires that any nation, or even for that matter, any people who want to become anything in life must be up and doing. That they should not expect to be spoonfed always; that their redemption from self-destruction is not in the whiteman but in themselves. All, as a matter of fact, depends upon the state of the mind if they think small they will always be behind the times; they must be up and doing. That is the spirit.

The whiteman may show us the way but he will not do things for us. We must fight our own battles, do our own talking and not be told what to say: that is the way of a rising people. It is long we have been dillydallying with things its time we get up and be doing. Let's be aggressive without being offensive. Without a spirit of inquiry, without a wanting to know the whys and wherefores of a thing we will never do anything. Be up and doing and the rest will follow!

Race Problem- 1931

Africa

MR. A. B. SILLAH AND THE INTERNATIONAL BIBLE STUDENTS ASSOCIATION

Sierra Leone

To the Editor of the WEEKLY NEWS.

Sir,—I am not surprised at the tone of Mr. C. B. Johnson's article a member of the International Bible Students' Association published by you recently, as it is in conformity with their notorious policy of abusing questioners whose questions they could not answer. I was really expecting something worse to that which was most unjustly sustained from them by the Rev. T. S. Johnson on his supreme unanswerable points on their misleading millenial doctrine. The policy has succeeded, unfortunately, to keep many wiser heads off from exposing their mischievous activities in the form of religion.

When I was asked by my tutors of the Wolsey Hall, Oxford in the lessons of literature to scarn and comment on the metre of the language of the immortal works of Shakespeare, Milton, Bunyan etc., I realized that though language matters very much, yet the essential is the Idea. I do not dispute my ignorance which they are labouring now to exhibit to the world, hence I asked the questions for enlightenment, by my superior who instead of answering, jumped out, bawling at me, telling the world that I am nothing but an ignorant newcomer into Christianity of the olden time, that I have got no right to make free use of the Holy Bible, and that they would pay my transport to take an appointment on the platform on specified subjects, that I dare not touch their religious pedigree because there are millions of copies of the most effective modern, seditious secret society's weapon in God's name published by them among which, passages could not be cited to answer an ignorant man's questions, nor could any reliance be attached to their contents as boldly was the denial of their lecturer, Mr. M. A. Garber, of the well-known statements of the false responsibility fixed on the churches by them when his attention was called to the inconsistency of the blame fixed by them between Jehovah God and the Christian churches, and worst of all drifted to an exposition of idiotical display in the classical ocean of Islam by stating that "In comparison with other Muslims Sillah was not a higher type of Muslim." One of the distinguishing characteristics of Islam to the Muslims themselves is her non-distinction of persons in her places of worship where saints and transgressors, Princes and beggars are seated side by side emblematically depicting the human inferiority to ascend the judgment seat of God to know higher and lower and to give verdict of higher and lower classes of persons in the service of God. Where then did Mr. Johnson find his definition of the word higher Muslim? Mr. Johnson's vast knowledge of my career in Islam would no doubt endorse the fact that I am a son of a high Muslim Priest or Imam of recognized standard; that I had led many important prayers, the appointment of which post is conferred only by merit; that many religious and social gatherings has been addressed and led by me—one of which could be traced in an article of your paper of the second week in January 1917; that in my early Christian life I was made a most miserable piece of humanity by my Muslim people who has once said "Hossana" not only by violent mockery and abusive attacks, but by causing children to stone me in some remote quarters. It was indeed my sincerity in Islam that led me to search until I happily embraced Christianity after many years researches and contemplations. My conversion began at the very moment that I got to understand the meek and gentle qualities and the saving grace of the heavenly representative in the person of Jesus Christ in their reality.—From hopeless futurity to glorious assurance of brighter eternity is my personal indelible conviction. Next the Litany: the heavenly attributes in prayer; the regal splendour of the Christian Churches that exalts him as the representative of God on earth; the spiritual name of the Kingdom of Him who create all and hates nothing as can be read in words like these. That it may please thee to preserve all that travel by land or by water, all women labouring of child, all sick persons, and young children; and to show thy pity upon all prisoners and captives; and that It may please thee to have mercy upon all men, (not for churchgoer alone, but for the whole world) we beseech thee to hear us good Lord"—Just the opposite of what I was taught to pray for muslim brethren only in the same calamity and what I had heard by the Bible Students from modern christian of their creed and the flourishing of their uncharitable religion. Next, by the inexpressible good works being rendered by the good Christian Churches and their Missionaries through their churches' contributions among helpless humanity in remote places like the Congo, Limba, etc. etc., where those beautiful white complexions had turned to sun burnt brown and the black missionaries to wretched state of lives in the midst of people who could hardly provide something good to eat let alone funds for the upkeep of those important missions. Next, because Jesus Christ and the Holy Bible are no personal individual properties but free to all new and late-comers who will receive them. These are the chief points responsible for my disloyalty to Mohammed and for my being a firm and joyous believer in Jesus Christ.

Mr. Johnson inviting me to compete with him on the stage seems to confirm the statement of blind leading dumb cattle because Mr. Johnson never yet ascended to that position; for all I know, it would appear from the very tone of the proposal in the article as if the only portion which Mr. Johnson is responsible for is the signature. The number of pulpits, platforms and pleasant christian gatherings appointments that I had taken since I embraced the faith under ten years now are proofs that I am not content to be a dumb cattle. How could Mr. Johnson prove that I am not a keen reader of the Holy Bible?

If subjects one to seven drawn up for me by Mr. Johnson are the cardinal points of the International Bible Students Association, I humbly say they are labouring under a manifest error.

Re point one:—God created man (the flesh) from dust and breathed His own immortality into it and man became a living soul not a living man. Man: the dust, and soul: the immortal portion of God are two separate things as the current is to the electric wires. As man the flesh shall return to the earth from whence it was taken, and the immortal living soul to the living Giver from whence it proceeded; the soul of man is immortal and scriptural. See also 1st Cor. 15,53 and 2nd Cor. 5.4.

Point two:—The Catholic faith is that there are three persons but one God. As the Father is uncreated, so likewise the Son and the Holy Spirit are uncreated but proceeding 1st John 5,7. John 10.30, 1st Cor. 15 53, 2nd Cor. 5. 4., John 17. 11 and 22 etc. "The Word was God" in John 1, 1, could not possibly mean the Word was created. The definition of the Bible Students is that there are two separate Gods in the persons of the Father and the Son because they said, Jesus Christ was the first created being and then exalted by the creator to the position of a son of God by whom (the Son) all things were created, For example: while three seperate boys proceeded from a single father are but one blood and three in one, two boys of separate fathers can never be called "one proceeding." Therefore there are not two Gods as the Bible Students say, but one God as per above quotations.

Point Three:—While the Bible Students are making free use of books of various authors and publications of newspapers to confirm their arguments, they are selfishly opposed to the use of any theological book to deal with questions pertaining to modernmism against them. Modernism however, finds Christ's Sermon on the mount in the Church's Litany indispensable. As the orthodox Litany is indispensable in modernism, orthodoxy is in sure harmony with modernism.

Point Four:—The Officers of the House of God are Divinly ordained by Christ when he was in the Spirit as well as in the physts Ex. 28, 1st Tim. 3 1-3, Acts 20 28. Their maintenance by way of collections taken up in the first day of the week (Sunday) is also Divinely ordained 1st Cor. 16 1-2. Therefore the officers and maintenance of the consecrated household of God are divinely ordained.

Point Six:—By nullifying the ninth commandment by the gross, shameless, false blame fixed on the Churches without any real proof, and by disregarding these seven points drawn by me which are necessary for Christian salvation, by creating disloyalty in the minds of loyal subjects by causing them to disrespect their Sovereign by bringing down the throne of England to an harlot's beast head and short reigning Kingdom in line with the ancient heathen Kingdoms by reference to Rev. I7, 10; and also by preaching against taxation, the sole maintenance of the country, at an anxious moment of world depression and its deliverance; by reference of wrong Biblical interpretation of Messiah's Kingdom after that Christ has commanded obedience to Caesar by reference to his image on a penny,—the teachin, of the I.B.S.A. are unscriptural and seditious.

POINT SEVEN—Does the Christian's weapon stand for defence of lives and property or for iniquity? Are defence weapons unscriptural? Let the ungrateful Bible students express their gratitude if they could, to the so styled by them the ungodly Christians' weapons for the liberty afforded them when the good Christian Queen Victoria with her Navy and Army and the combined efforts of Wilberforce and others who exhalted their blood and wealth to procure and safeguard to them the liberty which they are now enjoying by telling people that that very throne of harlot's beast head and its weapons the defective Christian weapons are carnal and unscriptural. See the fourth question in my first article for Biblical affirmations.

If the Bible students are capable to understand the errors of God as they said that their mission is to interpret the plans, ideas, and purposes of God which is Christianity—nullifying the cross of Christ—Let them explain the reason for the following so called errors of God in the Holy Bible which are

the divine symbols of purity and evidences of human inability to understand the plans and purposes of God.—

(1) They that travelled with Paul heard the voice and saw not the light Acts 9. 3-7

(1) They that travelled with Paul saw the light and heard nothing Acts 22, 6-10.

(2) Jehoiachim was eight years old when he began to reign 2 Kings 24, 8.

(2) Jehoiachim was eighteen years old when he began to reign 2nd Chron. 36. 9.

(3.) Ahaziah was twenty-two years old when he began to reign 2nd King 8. 26.

(3) Ahaziah was forty-two years old when he began to reign 2nd Chor. 22. 2.

(4) Simon carried his cross Luke 23. 26.

(4) He carried it himself John 19. 17.

etc., etc..

I will be ready to be on the stage for Mr. Johnson even for the whole night if he will make the program an ideal and complete Bible Student's one by drawing points also to deal with vulgar abusive words, and pay me for the service from the fund from headquarters.

Mr. M. A. Garber in his lecture on Sunday the 28th June said that they, the Bible Students are the good vine and the churches are the bad vines but failed to point out the good that they are doing to merit that good name, and the bad that the churches are doing to merit that bad name. The devil though master of the scripture, is an abomination Rahab though an outcast, has heaven's commendation for her good work.

The churches' ministers are accused as thieves for the comparatively little they are receiving irregularly for their maintenance as salaries. Even the Roman Catholic priests, who are not receiving a single penny as salary, among whom there are children of nobles, are also accused as eaters of good food. What about those that are receiving double regular salaries?

I will excuse Mr. Johnson's language as it is in conformity with their notorious policy of abuse to cover shame when questions could not be answered Yours etc.,

A. B. SILLAH,

61 Kissy Street,
Freetown,

Address by the R. C.

AT THE LEROTHOLI TECHNICAL SCHOOL, ON THE 24 JUNE, 1931.

The Comet

In the first place I wish to express to the Director my appreciation of the fact that he has prepared this little ceremony today, and has invited me and the senior officials of the Government to be present. So far as I am concerned I do not feel to show in any practical way the real interest that I take in this school.

From time to time one hears criticism of this school. I remember reading in your interesting little Sesuto paper, (whose editor I am glad to see here today, an article or a letter in which it was hinted that it was the business of the Government to provide work for pupils who pass out of the school. I fear that this must have been written without sufficient thought, as it is manifestly impossible, I agree, however, very heartily that it is the business of the Government to keep in touch with all ex-pupils to interest itself in their future careers, and to try, so far as it lies in its power, to help them towards obtaining work. This opinion, I know, is shared by the Director and I am quite confident that if any ex-pupils-however long it may be since they left-find that they have got out of touch with this institution, any attempt on their part to reestablish relations will be welcomed, and if they fail, it will be through their own fault and not through any lack of interest on the part of Mr Bull.

Some time ago I coused a statement to be prepared showing the present occupation and whereabouts of ex-pupils. The results were as follows. Out of 148 who were still alive and about whom information could obtained, 91 were working at the trades which they had learned at shool, and of these 61 were working in Basutoland: a further 30 were in varying occupations such as the Police, Gaol warders, Interpreters etc., and 15 were at home engaged in ordinary agricultural pursuits. Thus there were over 41% of the total earning a livelihood in their own country by the trade which they had learned at school. It is certainly most desirable that Basutoland should be able to absorb a larger percentage, but there is a serious factor which militates against it, viz. the existing social system based on communal ideas, into which the idea of individual members of the society trained to make a living at a specialised trade does not readily fit. I have, however, little doubt that with the marked tendency to advancy to [illegible]nce along what are generally [illegible]ted to be civilised lines, the local [illegible]nd for and the readiness to pay for skilled work in various trades will extend.

One more word. I have learned with interest of the motto which has been adopted as the motto of the school, "Limamarela." I am, also, not a Sesuto scholar, but the word has been explained to me and I can think of no more suitable motto, especially considering the already existing historical associations of the word and its connection with the late Paramount Chief Lerotholi, from whom this school takes its name. If this institution as a whole and each member individually holds firm to the principle underlying the motto, difficulties will, as always, give way before tenacity of purpose and the summit of achievement will be reached, though there may at first sight appear to be no path

To you who have just received your certificates I wish good luck. I understand that two of you at any rate are to remain on for a period as journeymen. In any case you may rest assured that your future careers will be watched with interest by those who have given you your training here,-and by myself.

To you, Mr Bull & staff I offer my congratulations on a hard terms work well finished.

Mozambique Co.'s Territory

ELECTRICITY SUPPLY.

Large Extensions Recommended for Beira.

Mr. A. E. Val Davies, the consulting electrical engineer of Johannesburg, who was asked by the Beira Town Commission to report on the subject of requirements in the direction of extensions to the electricity supply of the town, has recommended the installation of new plant to cost £72,000.

The present municipal installation consists of an old steam-driven generator used during the day, and a suction gas plant which generates the night load. The steam plant is inefficient, and although the gas plant is modern and economical, the existing system of direct current generation is not suited to the requirements of the town; and it would not be advisable to make extensions by merely adding additional generating plant of similar type.

Mr. Val Davies favours the construction of a new generating station at Manga, about five miles out of Beira, where railway siding facilities and a good water supply are obtainable. This would consist of two 750-kilowatt turbo-alternators supplied by coal-fired boilers. Current would be generated and transmitted at 11,000 volts to the old power station in Beira, which would become a sub-station. An underground ring feeder would convey the current to transformer kiosks at suitable points where it would be stepped down to the voltage required by consumers.

The revenue from the existing plant is over £18,000, with an output of 600,000 units. It is estimated that assuming no increase in revenue and an output of 1,000,000 units, the new plant would show a small profit after meeting all charges. As 4,000,000 units could be produced annually for a total expenditure of £22,860, the town would be very favourably placed to increase consumption by lowering the tariff and still obtain a satisfactory return on the capital expenditure.

As it would take two years to complete the work, and the demand for current is steadily growing, the Town Commission has decided to duplicate the existing gas engine plant to cater for immediate needs, and to place a contract with Messrs. Johnson and Fletcher for the extension at a cost of £7,500. It is expected that the installation will be in working order by the new year.

Meanwhile the Governor has appointed a commission to investigate the probable expansion of demand for electricity during the next ten or twenty years, and to make positive recommendations as to the action that is required.

Proposed Country Club.

Proposals have been put forward that a country club should be formed with premises in the grounds of the zoological gardens at Manga. The scheme is being widely supported, and has been approved by the Governor, Commander Carlos d'Almeida Pereira, and high officials of the Companhia de Moçambique. A monthly subscription of 5s. for men and 2s. 6d. for w[illegible]y, with entrance fees of 10s. and 2s respectively is suggested. A [illegible] be held shortly to give the final shape. If the plan goes [illegible] will add a pleasant attraction [illegible]enities of Beira, for the journe[illegible] to Manga makes a nice motor run, and the zoological gardens have already become very popular.

A three-seater Moth light aeroplane belonging to the Johannesburg Light Aeroplane Club and piloted by Captain S. S. Halse, the chief pilot of the club, with Mr. V. Roberts and Mr. G. Pendray as passengers, arrived at Beira from Lourenço Marques in four and three-quarter hours, although part of the journey was made against a head wind.

An up-to-date pasteurising plant has been installed by the Beira Dairy Farm Company. The apparatus is driven by a petrol engine, with a small boiler to supply steam for heating the milk and cleaning bottles, installed in spacious concrete buildings.

[illegible] Division

Race Problem—1931

Africa

THE LIQUOR TRADE IN WEST AFRICA.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—In your issue of July 25 I am surprised to find a letter signed "J. M. Stuart Young" in which my views on the West African liquor question are criticised adversely.

Why my opinions should interest Mr. Young I do not know: his do not interest me; we move in different orbits, and need not collide. But Mr. Young's mental ways are erratic, they lack stability; he makes incursions into other orbits, as many men of genius do.

For example, I have a newspaper cutting in the shape of a letter signed J. M. Stuart Young, author of "The Coaster at Home," "The Sou'-Slayer," etc., and dated "On the Gold Coast, May 3, 1920," from which I make the following extracts:—"I admit now, after nearly 20 years' obstinate defence of the need for alcoholic stimulants on the Coast, that it would be far better, both for European and Native, if we could have a form of prohibition enforced by Government. There have been at the open ports many evidences of the swing of the pendulum in riotous orgies, especially among the uneducated classes. The remedy for that aspect is—as Mr. Thomas Welsh has so frequently pointed out—the total prohibition of all cheaper forms of whisky, gin, and rum, plus the strictest surveillance of imports into each Colony of even the best forms of British alcohol. Stout is comparatively poison. I should plump at once for total abstinence."

The letter winds up as follows:—"It has taken me five months of keen observation to learn the lesson, but I have learned it thoroughly."

Mr. Young in 1931 is weary of the efforts at reform and calls such efforts "flogging a dead horse." Does Mr. Young think a duty of 27s. 6d. per gallon, raised a week ago to 31s. 6d., on whisky, and 33s. 6d. on other spirits (gin excepted), of no importance? Doubtless he would prefer sixpence a gallon duty, and gin—good in quality, so far as gin is ever good—selling profitably at fourpence to fivepence a bottle. Has Mr. Young never heard of the cruelties of Ashanti, or of the "customs" of Dahomey—of Benin, the "city of blood," and how dependent these atrocities were upon abundant and cheap supplies of liquor? Similar cruelties were rampant in the countries east of the Niger, on a smaller scale perhaps, but in the aggregate exacting as heavy a toll of human life.

Again, Mr. Young, in the letter under review, writes: "There is neither profit, nor comfort, nor peace of mind in the liquor trade. I hate handling the stuff." Then why does he handle it?

With Mr. Young's opinions I have done. Now for his assertions. It is not true that I know Onitsha to my sorrow! My recollections of that trade and place are of the happiest description. I do not believe that any agent I had ever bewailed the policy of the firm. The lack of alcohol for trade was never a drawback: lack of money was sometimes! Speaking generally, we had nothing to fear from any competitor, not even from Mr. Young. I had no advantage in Manchester prints and domestics that was not equally open to everyone else.

Mr. Young speaks of the "hundreds of gay times in which he has helped and shared along with men of his own race."

I have shared in many happy times, but "gay" in Mr. Young's sense is out of place in such a time as this.

Your obedient Servant, THOMAS WELSH.

Rock Ferry, July 28.

The South African Institute Of Race Relations

TRANSKEIaN CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

The movement which Father Bernard Huss has been organising for the last five years is making steady progress and in the Transkeian Territories there are now 28 Co-operative Credit Societies. A conference of delegates from these Societies held last November drafted legislation for the registration and control of co-operative societies and prepared model rules and simple accounting methods.

One society has £3,000 in circulation among its members, in the form of loans for agricultural developments, and a reserve fund of £500. The aggregate funds of these societies amount to over £25,000. With wise guidance the movement may well prove, in conjunction with the solid work of Native agricultural demonstrators, to be the most positive economic advance in Native life.

There is a considerable hostility against this movement on the part of European traders, and Father Huss has himself been threatened with physical violence because of his energetic efforts to extend co-operation amongst Natives. In one of the Protectorates some of the magistrates are unsympathetic: a sharp contrast to the emphatic support given by the Chief Magistrate and the magistrates generally in the Transkei.

The Institute of Race Relations receives many communications from missionareis and others who are anxious to secure finacial help for the purchase of land by Natives on individual tenure. In the absence of a Land Bank for Natives, the co-operative movement offer the most hopeful prospect of securing the necessary funds for land purchase by progressive Natives. There are areas in the Transyaal and Natal where the co-operative societies under the direction of interested Europeans as well as Natives, would prove of immediate help.

The Reverend Bernard Huss's book People's Bank or Use and Value of Co-operative Credit (obtainable from The Monastery, P. O. Marianhill, Natal, at 2/6 including postage) gives a good deal of useful information, and Father Huss has expressed his readiness to answer questions. He only asks that correspondents provide the reply postage as he has a large mail-bag and his services for the co-operative movement are honorary. His address is Mariazel, P. O. Ongeluksnek, via Matatiele.

FOUND NOTICE.

"Found in possession of thieves and to be sold on July 31st, 1931, if not previously claimed."

1. One bay gelding faint star, right hind foot white above hoof, white spot between nostrils, mane and tail long, about 8 years. 13 h.h.
2. One chestnut stallion branded R.D. on left hip, mane and tail long, about 13 h.h.
3. One chestnut gelding star, two white saddle marks on back, girth marks under belly, mane and tail long, about 10 years. 13 h.h.
4. One bay mare, right hind foot white at fetlock, right front foot white above hoof, branded M on right hip, white saddle marks on back, mane and tail long, about 4 years. 13 h.h.
5. One brown gelding star, faint white spot at nostrils, mane and tail long, about 4 years 13 h.h.
6. One dark brown gelding, star, and running blaze between nostrils, mane long, tail stump, about 6 years. 13 h.h.
7. One bay mare and foal at foot, small saddle marks on back, white, right ear, half moon behind, mane and tail long, about 6 years. 13 h.h.
8. One cream gelding, branded MM on left hip, mane and tail long, about 8 years. 13 h.h.
9. One cream gelding, branded MN on right hip, mane and tail long, about 9 years. 13 h.h.
10. One black young mare star, white small spots from withers to tail, branded R on left hip, about 4 years. 13 h.h.
11. One black mare star, two front feet white above hoofs, left hind foot white at fetlock, new sore back, left ear swallow-tail, white spot at nostrils, white spots on hips, white marks under belly caused by riems, aged, about 13h.h.
12. One bay gelding star, right ear winklhaak in front, left ear half moon behind, mane long, tail stump, right hind foot white, old sore back, about 6 years. 13 h.h.
13. One brown mare star, white spots at nostrils, left hind foot white above hoof, white saddle marks on left back, mane and tail long, about 9 years. 13 h.h. (and her foal died).
14. One brown mare, white small spots running from withers to tail, mane and tail lonk, about 7 years. 13 h.h.
15. One bay mare, mane and tail long, about 7 years. 13 h.h.
16. One bay blaze gelding, two hind feet white from hoof to fetlock, white saddle marks on back, mane and tail long, about 7 years. 13 h.h.
17. One bay blaze gelding, two hind feet white at fetlock, white saddle

marks on back, mane and tail long, about 7 years. 13 h.h.

18. One brown mare, white spot at nostrils, mane and tail long, small spots, white, running from withers to tail, about 10 years. I3 h.h.

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19. 28 sheep and 8 goats of various ear marks.

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1. One black young ox, white flanks, white spot under belly, left ear stump and half moon in front
2. One young dun hornless bull, right ear sawteeth and half moon in front.
3. One red cow, right ear swallow-tail, white brush no brands.
4. One yellow heifer, left ear swallow-tail, no brands.
5. One black and white heifer star, white brush, both ears swallow-tail.
6. One red heifer, both ears stump.
7. One red tolly, no ear marks or brands.
8. One red and white heifer, right ear slit, left ear winkhaak behind, white brush, old brands cancelled by thieves.
9. One yellow heifer, right ear slit, left ear winkhaak behind, old brands cancelled by thieves.
10. One greywish white heifer, right ear winkhaak behind, left ear sawteeth and punched, old brands cancelled by thieves.
11. One dun and white heifer, right ear slit, left ear winkhaak behind, old brands cancelled by thieves.
12. One red heifer, left ear stump, right ear punched.
13. One young black and white ox, left ear stump, right ear punched
14. One black cow, right ear stump, left ear slit, branded A.S. on right hip.
15. One red heifer, both ears swallow-tail.
16. One red heifer, both ears swallow-tail.
17. One yellow cow, white brush right ear half moon behind, left ear half moon in front.
18. One black heifer, left ear winkhaak in front, right ear slit.

E. STRONG,
Actg. Asst. Commissioner

Teyateyaneng.

THE ADMIRABLE WORK OF THE GOLD COAST AFRICANS.

COLONEL LEVEY'S TRIBUTES AT AN INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

Paris, July 20.—Lt.-Col. J. H. Levey, D.S.O., O.B.E., Director of the Gold Coast Bureau in London, read, in French, an interesting paper on the cocoa industry of the Gold Coast at the International Agricultural Congress held here on July 16.

There were present representatives from every important cocoa-producing country. The paper was well received, and evoked a general discussion, as did a paper by Mr. John Cadbury, on the manufacturing side of the industry. The following is extracts from Col. Levey's paper:—

Cocoa was introduced into Europe 400 years ago by Cortez, a Spaniard, who brought back from Mexico the beans of the cocoa tree. In the 17th century it was introduced into Italy, France, Germany and England. It was said in the time of Louis XIV that Queen Maria Theresa had two passions "The King and chocolate." Louis XVI had an officer with the title of "Chocolatier to the King." In the time of George 1st of England, the Cocoa Tree Club was established and was a well-known chocolate house. It was not until the 19th century that chocolate and cocoa became popular among the masses. Consumption of cocoa beans has made remarkable progress. As recently as 1895 the world consumed only 73,000 tons. By 1929 the total was 550,000 tons of which 353,000 tons came from Africa.

The development of cocoa cultivation in the Gold Coast is one of the romances of history. It is the main industry, and practically the mainstay of the Colony. The two outstanding features are (i) Its rapid growth and export, (ii) The fact that it is in the hands of about 150,000 African farmers, who farm a large small areas of two to five acres. During the last 8 years the average annual export has been over 200,000 tons.

Efforts in cocoa planting have been made by Europeans but it was the Africans who set the industry going and carried it on.

It was a remarkable effort by a people having no traditional aptitude or experience in cultivation, and for the most part wanderers, some warlike, and accustomed only to a primitive form of agriculture. It is estimated that there are over 180 million cocoa trees in the Gold Coast. The climate and the soil are suitable for cocoa growing and the Agricultural Department has given every encouragement, but it is the African people of the Gold Coast, who, becoming a nation of peasant proprietors, have developed this industry, which is a great credit to them. (Applause.)

Many difficulties have been experienced by this industry, built up so rapidly. First was the difficulty of transport, and the absence of harbours. Until Takoradi was opened two years ago the only means of getting cocoa from beach to ship was by surf boats which resulted in a lot of cocoa arriving on the vessels very wet. Within the last few years thousands of miles of roads have been built to enable motors to transport the cocoa to the railways, or to the beach.

After giving a technical account of methods of planting and cultivation, fermenting, etc., Col. Levey concluded:—

It has been found that the common faults in the industry are:—1. Insufficient fermentation. 2. Uneven fermentation. 3. Presence of germinated beans due to leaving pods too long before fermentation either on the trees or after reaping. 4. Presence of mouldy beans or of beans otherwise defective.

The Gold Coast is the premier producing country. It has always been regarded as a country where Europeans cannot permanently reside, therefore European capital has not been attracted for planting industries, except in about two or three instances and those within recent years. Organised planting as it is known in tropical countries outside West Africa, has had nothing to do with the development of the cocoa industry in the Gold Coast.

The life of a cocoa tree in the Gold Coast has not yet been fully investigated, but it is probably much longer than is commonly thought. It is believed that limit of production in the Gold Coast has now been reached and it is not anticipated that the Colony will produce more than 230,000 tons, unless consumption seriously overtakes production.

The Agricultural Department naturally gives most of its time to the cocoa industry. It has for many years advised farmers by lectures, model farms, etc., the best way of treating crops. The growth of the industry, however, was so rapid at one time as to be beyond the power of the Department to cope with its full requirements. Quite recently the Agricultural Department has been re-organised with a considerable increase in staff. The Department maintains a training centre at Kumasi under European officers, where the junior staff of Africans receive preliminary agricultural training. There is also the headquarters of the technical staff, which provides for mycologists, entomologists, chemists and botanists. These officers have properly equipped laboratories and are always ready to proceed at once to investigate any abnormal condition likely to affect the industry. Gold Coast Africans form the junior staff of the Agricultural Department and are of great assistance to the Department.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR PARTY.

Ministers and the Pact.

JOHANNESBURG, July 23.

The administrative council of the reunited Labour Party has received replies from Colonel Creswell and Mr. Sampson defining their attitude towards the new body. These letters will be considered by the Executive Committee to-morrow night.

There is reason to believe that both Ministers practically challenge the right of the new body to make demands upon them, and ask whether the new constitution of the party is regarded as being retrospective. They also question the right of the new body to set itself up as representative of those who formed the original Labour Party. The Ministers' attitude on this issue is uncompromising, and it is quite evident that they have no intention of resigning from the Cabinet which they were elected to support.

***Last January the Creswellite section of the Labour Party—which was then disunited—passed a resolution to end the pact with the Nationalists not later than January 1, 1932. The pact was made in 1924, and after the defeat of General Smuts's South African Party at the elections of that year, Colonel Creswell and other Labour members entered the Cabinet formed by General Hertzog, the Nationalist leader. In the present Parliament the Nationalists have a majority independent of the Labour Party.—"The Times."

Race Problem - 1931

Africa

SLAVERY.

DEBATES in the House of Lords on slavery have fallen into the danger of being accepted as annual gestures by that august body, and the constructive nature of the discussion that took place over Earl Buxton's motion on July 22 is therefore the more to be welcomed. The resolution under consideration was: "That in the opinion of this House the abolition of slave-owning, slave-trading and slave-raiding is an urgent international duty. That while this House fully appreciates the action hitherto taken by the League of Nations, it is of opinion that further steps of a definite nature appear to be required in order to bring about the extinction of slavery in all its forms."

Speaking within two years of the centenary of the abolition of slavery in British possessions, Earl Buxton was in a much more fortunate position than his famous grandfather, for he could dismiss slave-trading as something that could easily be killed if the nations would unite in calling it piracy, and so, with later speakers, confined his attention chiefly to the slavery of which so full an account has been given in Lady Simon's book. Although the error of regarding Sierra Leone as but recently freed from slavery was perpetuated in the debate, West African conditions received relatively little attention, for the case of Liberia is still *sub judice*. The worst problems were recognised as those of China, Abyssinia, and the Mecca pilgrimage, which last offers many pretexts for enslavement or for the transfer of potential slaves. Even in these cases, Lord Parmoor was able to show that wherever Britain could interfere good progress had been made, and the chief question, therefore, was the measure of united action that could be taken by the nations.

It became clear that the first need is for the remaining Governments to join the 40 who have signed Lord Cecil's draft convention in favour of the total abolition of slavery—an achievement which would be a happy commemoration of the centenary of the Abolition Bill, —and the second for the establishment of a Permanent Slavery Commission of the League of Nations, for since the temporary commission ceased its labours years ago, international action at Geneva has taken the form of disconnected annual discussions.

Lord Buxton's proposal regarding a commission has been presented to the League twice already, but the fear that it would mean interference with the sovereignty of various States has hitherto proved an insuperable difficulty. As elaborated by Lords Lugard and Cecil, however, the Commission should not be internationally very hard to accept, for it would consist, like the successful Permanent Mandates Commission, of a numerically small body located in Geneva with wide discretion as to the publicity that should be given to the information placed at its disposal Thus it would have the same power as the Mandates Commission of influencing the various sovereign States entirely by the creation of a sane world-opinion. It is easy to see how, for instance, such a commission could help the world to benefit from the stores of undigested information filed as "Secret" at the Foreign Office, and how it would not only be able to give advice to all nations desiring it, but would also minimise the danger each runs of loss of reputation through some agitation raised purely upon a local issue of forced labour or slavery, and so narrowed that the broad implications of the subject were inadmissible or unrecognised. To a council of that type Liberia, when her problems have been more clearly defined by the present inquiry, could frankly come for advice, and if the nations will but unite, that advice would be an expression of universal opinion which, while it could not easily be disregarded, could be accorded deference with no sense of undue interference by foreign Powers.

Progress is steadily being made in the realisation that any rapid demolition of so old a custom as slavery may result in social dislocation or worse, especially when the servitude is that of customary labour, the right to which is an attribute of a ruler, and none of those contributing to the debate, with the exception of Lord Lugard, sufficiently considered practical methods of avoiding this, although Lord Lamington mentioned the need for the aftercare of emancipated slaves. Lord Lugard's proposal was that which was so successful in India, and is equally so in West Africa, namely, the abolition of the legal *status* of slavery, and the education of the masses to this fact. By this step those in whom slavery arouses deep resentment have a chance to obtain immediate freedom, while others, hampered by the "inferiority complex" of long enslavement, are saved from what Lord Lugard would probably rightly call the cruelty of compulsory freedom. With the gradual change from slavery to freedom, a reasonably far-sighted administration has an opportunity to adjust the many problems of labour and of unemployment that will arise.

An attack upon the status of the slave-owner was suggested only by Lord Parmoor, but this would, of course, be settled if all nations joined in the Slavery Convention. It is a matter of vital importance, for obviously the recent conditions in Liberia would have been less serious had there been no overseas demand for labour. Nevertheless, it is recognised that the slave-owner's point of view, confirmed by age-old custom and sometimes backed (as it was in England less than two centuries ago) by religious sanction, is not easily altered, and that pressure upon rulers, particularly in the case of Abyssinia and China, is useless without the reformation of the slave-owning classes. This is most decidedly a matter for the continuous effort of a commission, and not for the present sporadic international gestures.

THE CHANGING AFRICAN SCENE.

The United States and several of the greater countries of Europe are just now in the most severe economic and political difficulties, and members of their Governments sitting in conference in London are trying to find a remedy. If we turn for a moment from that sombre scene to Africa, we may salute several movements, all suggesting confidence and progress. First comes the outlining of his policy of economy by Sir Donald Cameron at Lagos following promptly his removal of a long-standing cause of disunion in the Eleko case. The Governor's programme for the current year was placed before the Legislative Council on Monday and the essential points are stated in a cable from our Lagos correspondent, in another column today. None of the sections affected by the economy "cuts"—or the new taxation—the Civil Servants retrenched or reduced, the Nigerian consumers who will have to pay more for certain goods, the European exporting houses which send to the great African Dependency certain articles which will have to pay higher duties—none of these sections will hail the decisions with a cheer. But all of them know that a country, like an individual business or household, must pay its way or go down, and probably all of them trust the Governor as a man who in imposing burdens does so with fairness. That is all that the public of any country can expect just now from the man in charge of the national purse. Our correspondent says that the Governor's speech contained adverse criticism of the unofficial element for lack of effective criticism of the finance proposals during the preceding few years, when, admittedly, far too much money was spent upon things which could well have been done without. Of course, the unofficial element could not make its criticism effective in one sense of the word, because that element has not a majority vote. WEST AFRICA has for years urged, and urges afresh now, that a method should be found whereby, while the Governor has in reserve powers of action in regard to specified Imperial matters, officials in the Council should be free to vote with the non-official members, according to conscience and argument, in all other matters. We expect to find that the Governor's thought is that if unofficial criticism had been *constructive* it would have been *effective*, and extravagance would have been checked. We can readily believe that even so, British and African public men of the unofficial element find the comment a little galling, when they ponder over the way in which they have hitherto been voted down as by an undeviating and unfailing steam roller. But while we have great sympathy for those members, we read the Governor's remark not as a reproach but rather as a rallying-cry to all constructive-minded men in the Council—and outside it also—to help the Government with constructive criticism, and not to back down before Government or anybody else, if they believe they are right. To put it in another way, we believe that Sir Donald Cameron knows far too much of the ways of Departments and Governments to imagine for a moment that they do not need independent criticism; and is too single-heartedly bent upon increasing British-African co-operation and mutual respect and appreciation, not to welcome constructive criticism of his own programme, come that criticism whence it may. We shall construe the Governor's remark as giving a fresh lead to the policy advocated for years in these columns, namely, that political-minded Britons and political-minded Africans in each of the four Colonies should not allow themselves to be led aside by dreamy speculations about Colour or Racial Supremacy or similar issues upon which people will still be arguing centuries hence, but should co-operate in public affairs here and now and enforce economy upon Governments and thus help to restore prosperity and to make British West Africa an area wherein every man and woman in it, despite its great natural handicaps, may legitimately feel pride.

Turning to non-British Africa, we have this week the news that an influential French Senatorial Commission, headed by M. Maurice Violette, a former Governor-General of Nigeria, has presented to the French Government proposals including the establishment of a Ministry of Africa, which would in the first place deal with Algeria, but later, no doubt, with other

parts of Africa which are associated with France. One of the proposals is that with rights as with obligations Algerians who are French subjects shall be on the same footing as Frenchmen, and eligible for public employment, civil and military, at the same remuneration as Frenchmen. From another, ever-interesting part of Africa, the ancient kingdom of Abyssinia, comes the news that the Emperor has granted a Constitution to the people, including a legislative body with two Chambers, and with responsible Ministers. The people of Great Britain and of British Africa will extend their best wishes for the success of the new institutions and the peace and prosperity of the peoples of Abyssinia. Verily change is coming along in Africa at a great pace, and what is done in one area cannot be without influence elsewhere in the Last Continent.

ON SOME RECENT MOVEMENTS IN WEST AFRICA.

A STUDY OF WHITE METHODS OF REPRESSION.

By Kobina Sekyi.

We reproduce below from the Gold Coast Times this able article from the pen of Mr. Kobina Sekyi for the benefit of our local readers.

IV.

It may be pointed out here that sometime prior to the promulgation of the 1925 Order-in-Council and the necessary amendments of the Letters Patent creating the office of Governor of the Gold Coast Colony and the Royal Instructions to the Governor, Sir Gordon Guggisberg shewed his ability to gauge the character of the leading Africans in the Congress Committee here who held all the important posts in the Executive Committee of the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society, by throwing to those Congress leaders a bait which they readily swallowed. Ignoring the Society, which was in keeping with the policy of all the Governors since the time of Sir Matthew Nathan, he called certain of those leaders to a private conference with himself at Christiansborg Castle. The younger men among the Congress leaders protested against this dangerous official way of nominating persons for a conference without ascertaining the wishes of the Congress Gold Coast Committee for which those leaders were presumed to act. Moreover, another source of danger was the fact that the then President of the Society was included among those thus invited; for the Government, whilst repudiating the right of the Society to represent our Natural Rulers, always made much of the fact that these Congress leaders were really leaders of the Society. The usual state of childish excitement and eagearness which characterises our people whenever they are enabled to brag of invitations from the Governor or some other "very high official" so deafened the ears of our elders in the Congress movement to the remonstrance and argument of us younger men that they decided to attend the Governor's conference without conceding our point. The enchanted leaders of the Congress were really decoyed to that conference to enable the Government (for it was obvious that His Excellency was not one who could receive these "eminent Africans" without the attendance of an underlying or two to ascertain what was the attitude of those elders towards such a scheme of elective representation as was afterwards made lawful. This meant that the Governor was enabled to become certain that no protest would be made by the leaders of the Congress, and therefore by the leaders of the Society, to the substitution of such a deceptive scheme for the real scheme submitted by the Congress Committee to the Society and forwarded to the Government by the Society after approving of it.

About this time, too, the President of the Society was nominated as an extraordinary member of the Legislative Council of the Colony, and the older members of the Congress were so flattered by this sign of indirect appreciation of the influence of the Congress members of the Society that it was with very great difficulty that the younger members could, and did, prevent the holding of social function "in honour" of the nomination of the President as such an extraordinary member.

Truly then Sir Gordon Guggisberg was laughing at our choice of leaders when he launched out his famous diatribe against our leaders. The pity of it was that several of us, who were indignant at this undiplomatic pronouncement made by the then Governor of the Colony, were unable to see in it an admission that British diplomacy in West Africa, as, undoubtedly, elsewhere, throve by using such "leaders" as were not really capable of leading the people in the people's own interests, and [illegible]ng them and hemming them round with official honours or acts of public approbation of acclamation as to inoculate them with the virulent germs of pride and selfishness that could enable them, after a time, to defy the public and openly serve their own personal ends.

The principle underlying the protest of the younger members of the Congress Committee against the Governor's invitation to that principal Congress leaders to a private conference was the obvious one that, since they were representatives, they should go as representatives, appointed by the Congress, and thus be controlled, by the body that sent them, as to what they would say: for it was easy to effect a compromise between the objectionable act of Government nomination of our representatives and the right of the Congress to refuse to sanction the acceptance of the Governor's invitation without an opportunity being given them to know fully what was contemplated at the interview. That compromise would have been either to suggest the addition of one or two other persons or the presence of some of the junior members, authorised to confer with the elders before they made any definite statement before the Governor, or to do as our ancestors would have done, that is, to resolve that no definite statements were to be made by the Congress leaders before the official statements had been communicated to the Congress Committee and the views of the latter had been ascertained. The latter alternative would have meant that the representatives forced on us by Government nomination should inform the Governor at the Conference that they had only authority to hear what the Governor had to say, and that there should be an adjournment for the purpose of ascertaining and reporting the decision of the Committee as to the official statements made. The principle is the same that opposed the proposal of Sir Hugh Clifford to nominate Natural Rulers as members of the Legislative Council of the Colony.

After the first glowing words of the officer administering the Government of the Colony upon the institution of the Society, the Executive found itself being steadily defeated by subtle methods of official diplomacy, till matters reached a sort of crisis under Sir Matthew Nathan. This Governor, after attempting unsucessfully to get the Executive to accept the official view that the Society, did not represent the Chiefs of the country, eventually agreed to consult with the Executive before the passing of any important Bill. Sir Matthew Nathan kept his word, and our elders became so elated that they accepted more proposals than they would have tolerated if they had been treated with official contumely. An example of the result of such co-operation was the invention of the term *Omanhin* as substituted for the word *King*, the Governor having somehow objected to the application of the word King to our greater Natural Rulers. This term *Omanhin* has led to more bad judgment in cases involving the distinctions between the greater and the lesser Natural Rulers than some of us are aware; since the distinction between it as a *word* and the word *Ohin* (which was the only term then in use to designate a King or a Chief, the distinguishing mark being the name of the group town village or region over which the Ohin ruled) easily accorded with the European view that an Omanhin, called a "Paramount" Chief, was master of the lives and property of his sub-Chiefs and "subjects." This term *Omanhin* has therefore led to several disputes between the Chiefs classed as "Paramount" and those classed as "subordinate;" and now we have reached the *reductio ad absurdum* under the Native Administration Ordinance whereby the term Omanhin is applied without distinction to all the greater and the smaller paramount Chiefs. This is by the way.

After Sir Matthew Nathan left the Gold Coast, the Society gradually felt itself neglected by the Government till the time of the proposal respecting Forest Reserves. In this connection the Inquiry made by Mr (late Sir) Conway Belfield led to the cleaning up of the obscurity in which officials had endeavoured to enshroud the Society's position in the country; and the error of the damaging and derogatory views officially expressed to shew that the Society as a body of frauds was exposed in Conway Belfield's report. The struggle of the Society for official recognition reached its culminating point under Sir Hugh Clifford, who was the first Governor to nominate Natural Rulers to the Legislative Council of the Colony.

INCREASE IN GOLD COAST POPULATION.

A census taken recently shows that the total population (almost entirely African) of the four territories administered by the Gold Coast Government (the Gold Coast Colony, Ashanti, Northern Territories, and the British Mandated Territory of Togoland) has grown to 3,191,214, an increase of 35.9 per cent. over the 1921 census figure. In the Colony proper there has been an increase of 31.8 per cent. to 1,545,140, while Ashanti (502,866), the Northern Territories (717,283), and Togoland (275,925) record rises of 43.5 per cent. 35.2 per cent., and 46.8 per cent. respectively.

This substantial growth in population is attributed mainly to immigration and to the fact that the improvements in communication which have taken place in recent years have enabled a more accurate enumeration to be made.—*The Times.*

parts of Africa which are associated with France. One of the proposals is that with rights as with obligations Algerians who are French subjects shall be on the same footing as Frenchmen, and eligible for public employment, civil and military, at the same remuneration as Frenchmen. From another, ever-interesting part of Africa, the ancient kingdom of Abyssinia, comes the news that the Emperor has granted a Constitution to the people, including a legislative body with two Chambers, and with responsible Ministers. The people of Great Britain and of British Africa will extend their best wishes for the success of the new institutions and the peace and prosperity of the peoples of Abyssinia. Verily change is coming along in Africa at a great pace, and what is done in one area cannot be without influence elsewhere in the Last Continent.

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The principle underlying the protest of the younger members of the Congress Committee against the Governor's invitation to that principal Congress leaders to a private conference was the obvious one that, since they were representatives, they should go as representatives, appointed by the Congress, and thus be controlled, by the body that sent them, as to what they would say: for it was easy to effect a compromise between the objectionable act of Government nomination of our representatives and the right of the Congress to refuse to sanction the acceptance of the Governor's invitation without an opportunity being given them to know fully what was contemplated at the interview. That compromise would have been either to suggest the addition of one or two other persons or the presence of some of the junior members, authorised to confer with the elders before they made any definite statement before the Governor, or to do as our ancestors would have done, that is, to resolve that no definite statements were to be made by the Congress leaders before the official statements had been communicated to the Congress Committee and the views of the latter had been ascertained. The latter alternative would have meant that the representatives forced on us by Government nomination should inform the Governor at the Conference that they had only authority to hear what the Governor had to say, and that there should be an adjournment for the purpose of ascertaining and reporting the decision of the Committee as to the official statements made. The principle is the same that opposed the proposal of Sir Hugh Clifford to nominate Natural Rulers as members of the Legislative Council of the Colony.

After the first glowing words of the officer administering the Government of the Colony upon the institution of the Society, the Executive found itself being steadily defeated by subtle methods of official diplomacy, till matters reached a sort of crisis under Sir Matthew Nathan. This Governor, after attempting unsuccessfully to get the Executive to accept the official view that the Society, did not represent the Chiefs of the country, eventually agreed to consult with the Executive before the passing of any important Bill. Sir Matthew Nathan kept his word, and our elders became so elated that they accepted more proposals than they would have tolerated if they had been treated with official contumely. An example of the result of such co-operation was the invention of the term *Omanhin* as substituted for the word *King*, the Governor having somehow objected to the application of the word King to our greater Natural Rulers. This term *Omanhin* has led to more bad judgment in cases involving the distinctions between the greater and the lesser Natural Rulers than some of us are aware; since the distinction between it as a *word* and the word *Ohin* (which was the only term then in use to designate a King or a Chief, the distinguishing mark being the name of the group town village or region over which the Ohin ruled) easily accorded with the European view that an Omanhin, called a "Paramount" Chief, was master of the lives and property of his sub-Chiefs and "subjects." This term *Omanhin* has therefore led to several disputes between the Chiefs classed as "Paramount" and those classed as "subordinate;" and now we have reached the *reductio ad absurdum* under the Native Administration Ordinance whereby the term Omanhin is applied without distinction to all the greater and the smaller paramount Chiefs. This is by the way.

After Sir Matthew Nathan left the Gold Coast, the Society gradually felt itself neglected by the Government till the time of the proposal respecting Forest Reserves. In this connection the Inquiry made by Mr (late Sir) Conway Belfield led to the cleansing up of the obscurity in which officials had endeavoured to enshroud the Society's position in the country; and the error of the damaging and derogatory views officially expressed to shew that the Society as a body of frauds was exposed in Conway Belfield's report. The struggle of the Society for official recognition reached its culminating point under Sir Hugh Clifford, who was the first Governor to nominate Natural Rulers to the Legislative Council of the Colony.

attributed mainly to immigration [illegible] fact that the improvements in communication which have taken place in recent years have enabled a more accurate enumeration to be made.—*The Times.*

INCREASE IN GOLD COAST POPULATION.

A census taken recently shows that the total population (almost entirely African) of the four territories administered by the Gold Coast Government (the Gold Coast Colony, Ashanti, Northern Territories, and the British Mandated Territory of Togoland) has grown to 3,121,214, an increase of 35.9 per cent. over the 1921 census figure. In the Colony proper there has been an increase of 31.8 per cent. to 1,545,140, while Ashanti (502,866), the Northern Territories (717,283), and Togoland (275,925) record rises of 43.5 per cent. 35.2 per cent., and 46.8 per cent. respectively.

This substantial growth in population is

Race Problem—1931

Africa

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

The Nigerian Census.

The preliminary announcements of the result of the census in Nigeria and the Gold Coast are interesting and encouraging in the evidence afforded thereby that the population of the British West African Colonies is steadily increasing. As might be expected, the Gold Coast shows a greater increase during the decade than its larger sister, but a fair comparison cannot be made until the statisticians have digested the returns and made their final estimates. This is especially the case with regard to Nigeria, where the census is a more recent innovation than on the Gold Coast. Though a decennial enumeration of the inhabitants of Lagos has been carried out since 1871 it was not till forty years later, in 1911, that the whole of Nigeria, Northern and Southern, was included. For several reasons, one of the weightiest being the religious objection to counting the people which the Mahomedans have inherited from the Jews, it was not considered expedient to carry out an actual enumeration of the inhabitants of the Northern Emirates. In the South a large part of the provinces was only just being brought under effective control, their organisation was still incomplete, and the political officers lacked the machinery for a complete enumeration. Only the population of the ports was actually counted, that of the rest of the country was estimated, but as much of the country was still hardly known the results were of doubtful value, and offer no sound basis for comparison with later figures. The first census on which any reliance can be placed is that of 1921, on which very full and detailed reports by Mr. C. K. Meek (Northern) and Mr. P. Amaury Talbot (Southern) have been published. According to the final returns the population of the Colony and the Mandated Territory of the Cameroons was 19,081,672, of which 10,227,509 were in the Northern, and 8,268,298 were in the Southern Provinces, but these figures are mainly based on the more extensive and accurate knowledge of the country acquired during the decade. In this latest census a definite count has been carried out only in Lagos and 220 villages in the Northern Provinces, so that the figures are still mainly based on estimates, but with a larger probability of accuracy as knowledge has increased. The total population is stated to be 20,132,318 —11,409,369 in the North, and 8,722,949 in the South exclusive of the Cameroons—an increase of 1,626,511, or about 9 per cent. for the two provinces. This increase is very unevenly distributed, for while there has been an apparent increase of 14 per cent. in the North, it has been only 4 per cent. in the South. It is admitted that this latter figure is of slight comparative value, but it is not far from the apparent increase of 6 per cent. between 1921 and the census of 1911, when a probable error of ten per cent. was admitted. The growth of the town of Lagos has been continuous since the first enumeration in 1871 gave the population as 28,518: in 1911 it had increased to 73,760; another 26,000 were added in 1921, bringing the total up to within 300 of 100,000. In the last ten years there has been a further increase of forty per cent., the censors returning the population at 140,000. An interesting item in the return is the count of the traffic on Carter Bridge. Between 6 a.m. and midnight 40,292 persons, less than half of them on foot, 3,652 motors and 1,548 cycles crossed the bridge.

The Gold Coast Census.

The first systematic attempt to ascertain the actual numbers of the people of the Gold Coast Colony and Protectorate, in 1891, aroused apprehension among the older inhabitants that it indicated an intention to revive the poll-tax, which had been abandoned in 1861. While the returns from the principal coast towns were probably fairly accurate, those from other parts of the country were only estimates. The total population was returned as 1,473,882. The second census (1901) included Ashanti and the Northern Territories. The returns, again mainly based on estimates, gave the population as 1,696,965. In 1911 a Census Ordinance appointed the District Commissioners to be the census officers for their districts, with the assistance of local committees. Actual enumeration was carried out in 2,645 towns and villages in the Colony, the population elsewhere being estimated. Accra was the only town shown as having a population of over 15,000. The total population was returned as 1,502,286. The Mandated Territory of Togoland was included in the census of 1921, which was an advance on the previous ones, but was still based mainly on estimates. Many villages were brought in for the first time, but the Chief Commissioner of Ashanti did not consider the figures reliable, while the Commissioners of the Colony reported that the total of 2,296,400 was about 10 per cent. below the actual numbers. The figures show an increase of 606,175, equal to 40 per cent., during the decade. The increase on population thus indicated aroused considerable scepticism at the time, but it is significant that the census of 1931 shows a similar result, with a total population of 3,121,214, or an increase of 35.9 per cent. for the whole area. The increases during the two decades have been :—

	1911-1921.	1921 31.
Colony	28 per cent.	31'8 per cent.
Ashanti	41 ,,	43'5 ,,
Northern Territories	44'5 ,,	35'2 ,,
Togoland	— ,,	46'6 ,,

In the Colony the increase is spread over the whole area except the Volta River District, in which there was a decrease of 11 per cent. The comparative densities show, as might be expected, that population is gravitating to the more prosperous and progressive districts, where there is the greatest demand for labour. The two Akims take the lead with increases of 94.6 in Akim Kotoku and 55 per cent. in Akim Abuakwa. From the enormous percentages of increase in some districts of Ashanti and the Northern Territories—86.3 in Ashanti Akim, 62.6 in Kumasi, 239 in Kusasi, and 132 in Southern Mamprusi—it is evident that there has been a large immigration from the adjoining French territory. The lowest increases in the Colony are shown by the districts which have been adversely affected by the railways and Takoradi—Winnebah, 20.9; Axim, 26.9; and Cape Coast, 28.5. The population of Accra (59,895) has more than trebled since the first census, when it was 16,267. The Non-African population grew from 1,033 to 3,112, an almost threefold increase during the decade.

W. F. H.

MILLIONS OF SLAVES

Lords Call for Further League Action

(From our Parliamentary Correspondent.)

A debate on slavery initiated by Lord Buxton in the House of Lords on Wednesday served to demonstrate the unanimity of the British nation in abhorrence of the chattel ownership of human beings.

Lord Buxton asked the House to agree to a declaration that the abolition of slave-owning, slave-trading, and slave-raiding was an international obligation, and that the time had come for the League of Nations to take "further steps of a definite nature" to bring about the extinction of slavery in all its forms. He indicated that a short cut to complete abolition would be for all nations to concur with Great Britain in treating slave-trading as piracy.

Speaking of the situation, he stated that slavery still exists in twelve or fourteen countries, and it had been estimated that there were to-day five million slaves, though he admitted that the estimate might be an exaggeration. China, Abyssinia, Arabia, and Liberia were notoriously countries in which slavery prevailed, and Great Britain itself was involved in the Chinese system of Mui Tsai in Hong-Kong, a British Crown Colony.

We were interested in the two million slaves in Abyssinia, the only Christian country that still tolerated slavery, because a great many slave raids from Abyssinia took place in British territory. He paid a cordial tribute to the enlightened intentions of Ras Tafari, the Emperor, but pointed out that national tradition and public opinion entrenched the slave system, which the recent increases in the price of slaves had further endeared to the powerful classes. A genuine anti-slavery agreement on the part of Great Britain, Italy, and France, however, would be sufficient to stop the Abyssinian slave trade.

Fate of Mecca Pilgrims

But the worst slave trade was in Arabia, and many pligrims to Mecca never returned to their homes. The prevalance of slavery in Liberia, of all places, had come as a great shock to the civilised world, and the report of the Commission which the League of Nations had appointed to make recommendations was awaited with world-wide interest. The League of Nations Convention to bring about the complete abolition of slavery had been signed by forty nations, and for the first time an international conscience was applied to the question. But he wished the League to go further and set up an ad hoc commission or bureau, with an expert staff, to give continuous study and supervision to the subject, reporting occasionally to the Assembly.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, who heartily welcomed Lord Buxton's suggestion, said public opinion in this country would not be satisfied until Mui Tsai in Hong-Kong had been abolished, for then only could we appeal to the conscience of other nations. Slavery everywhere meant cruelty.

Lord Lugard, who also supported Lord Buxton's object, spoke of the wholesale purchases of women and children in China, the smuggling of slaves across the Red Sea, and the sale of pilgrims to Mecca. He was convinced that the Red Sea slave cargoes were shipped from ports under European control.

Lord Parmoor, for the Government, expressed unqualified support of Lord Buxton's proposal. He predicted that the measures taken at home and in Hong-Kong would bring Mui Isai in that Crown Colony to an end within a comparatively short time. This country had acted in concert with France and Italy in the prevention of slave trading in the Red Sea. Any British Government would do its utmost to bring to an end this nefarious and odious trade.

Speeches by Lord Cecil, Lord Lamington, and Lord Noel Buxton completed a remarkably unanimous demonstration, and the resolution was passed.

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ARCHÆOLOGISTS IN EAST AFRICA.

Mr. Leakey's Expeditions.

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Besides the Oldoway work Mr. Leakey has planned to carry out detailed work in another very interesting area—namely, the north-east end of the Victoria Nyanza basin. Interesting fossil beds have been known for some time at Karungu, Homa, and Kendu Bay. Some of these are of Miocene date and others Pleistocene. The area has also been known to have yielded some stone tools and flakes, and recently Archdeacon Owen made a very large collection of tools—mostly surface finds—from all over this area. The old lake beds and the beach gravels of the lake before the present outlet was formed promise to yield very interesting results in the form of associated fossils and stone tools, which will give a means of correlating with Oldoway and with the Elmenteita and Nairasha beds.

Should time and funds permit Mr. Leakey hopes to go overland from Nairobi to British Somaliland to spend a little time making a preliminary examination of some interesting sites discovered by Mr. Barrington Brown. Mr. Leakey believes it is by no means impossible that the faulting that resulted in the forming of the Red Sea will prove to be a mid-Pleistocene event, contemporary with other very big earth movements in Africa, and if evidence were to be found which showed this to be the case, then Somaliland may prove to be one of the keys to the problems of pre-history—the route by which early man either went to Africa from Asia or went to Asia from Africa.

Native Education.

The Comet

The title of my subject, Mr Editor, is rather broad I admit, but nevertheless I think of no other suitable title. In the past for a long period the education in this territory was in the hands of the Missionaries who were convinced that all school work must subserve the Church work and be first and foremost *pro ecclesia*. Truly many of these Missionaries were not school men—they had no training for this kind of work, as we all know that theological course did and does not undertake to prepare for pedagogy any more than a law course trains one to be a dentist. I do not mean to under-value what the Missionaries have done and are doing when

I mention this but only to show that education could not be expected to be perfect under the Missionary. The Missionary's chief duty of course was and is to lay stress on religious instruction, and to him education was a means of enabling pupils to sufficient knowledge to read the catechism or portions of scripture which must be known before a candidate can become a full

member of the Church. The primary object therefore, of every Missionary was to encourage this evangelical aim of education.

After a time the Government thought that it was its duty also to educate the Native or to help the Missionaries. I 1927 the Government set out a definite aim of education in this territory; but unfortunately something very import-

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On one important point, however, Mr. Leakey is inclined to disagree with Reck, and for this reason he has arranged that he should go out with the expedition this season and revisit Oldoway. Mr. Leakey believes that there is every likelihood that stone tools will be found in the Oldoway beds, and the discovery would give a definite connecting link with the Kenya series.

Besides the Oldoway work Mr. Leakey has planned to carry out detailed work in another very interesting area—namely, the north-east end of the Victoria Nyanza basin. Interesting fossil beds have been known for some time at Karungu, Homa, and Kendu Bay. Some of these are of Miocene date and others Pleistocene. The area has also been known to have yielded some stone tools and flakes, and recently Archdeacon Owen made a very large collection of tools—mostly surface finds—from all over this area. The old lake beds and the beach gravels of the lake before the present outlet was formed promise to yield very interesting results in the form of associated fossils and stone tools, which will give a means of correlating with Oldoway and with the Elmenteita and Nairasha beds.

Should time and funds permit Mr. Leakey hopes to go overland from Nairobi to British Somaliland to spend a little time making a preliminary examination of some interesting sites discovered by Mr. Barrington Brown. Mr. Leakey believes it is by no means impossible that the faulting that resulted in the forming of the Red Sea will prove to be a mid-Pleistocene event, contemporary with other very big earth movements in Africa, and if evidence were to be found which showed this to be the case, then Somaliland may prove to be one of the keys to the problems of pre-history—the route by which early man either went to Africa from Asia or went to Asia from Africa.

Native Education.

The Comet

7-8-31

The title of my subject, Mr Editor, is rather broad I admit, but I never[illegible] of no other suitable title. In the past for a long period the education in this territory was in the hands of the Missionaries who were convinced that all school work must subserve the Church work and be first and foremost *pro ecclesia*. Truly many of these Missionaries were not school men—they had no training for this kind of work, as we all know that theological course did and does not undertake to prepare for pedagogy any more than a law course trains one to be a dentist. I do not mean to under-value what the Missionaries have done and are doing when

[illegible] Basutoland

[illegible] member of the Church. The primary aim of the Missionary namely the primary needs of the community. In this country every body is a farmer. Every male person is given fields to plough and he owns some livesock as all farmers do. To my mind, therefore, one of its duty also do. To my mind, therefore, one of the aims of education should have been to promote the advancement

Government

[illegible] object therefore was to encourage this evangelical

[illegible] that education could not be expected to be perfect under the Mission-

[illegible] ary, The Missionary's chief duty aim of education.

After a time the Government thought that it was its of course was and is to lay stress on religious instruction, and to him to educate the Nativo or to education was a means of enabling Missionaries. I 1927 the pupils to sufficient knowledge to ment set out a definite read the catechism or portions of cation in this territory scripture which must be known before a candidate can become a full

[illegible] fortunately something very import-

Race Problem - 1931

NATIVE ISSUE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Manchester Guardian Weekly 4-17-31

Clashing Franchise Systems

By J. H. Hofmeyr.

CAPETOWN, MARCH 23.

Last year South Africa did belated justice to its womenfolk by according them the vote. But in the process an interesting political situation developed, for the bill was introduced by General Hertzog, not as Prime Minister or party leader, but as a private member, it was opposed by a large section of his party, including two of his Cabinet colleagues; it was carried into law with the aid of the South African party Opposition, which had for some time been pledged to the principle. And the form of the bill added piquancy to the situation. Let it be remembered that the franchise system of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State provinces was based on manhood suffrage, limited to Europeans, while in the Cape and Natal the franchise was on a qualification basis (literacy and a property or salary qualification), and was open to coloured, as well as white, though in Natal the Bantu and the Indian are by implication, though not directly, excluded. General Hertzog's Women's Enfranchisement Bill provided for adult womanhood suffrage limited to Europeans throughout South Africa. It placed the Opposition in a cleft stick. It was pledged to the women's vote, but it disliked the new political colour bar, more especially so far as the Cape was concerned. It could easily have wrecked the bill—it preferred to honour its pledge.

Manchester

So then a new anomaly was created in the franchise laws of the Union, for in two of the provinces the women were placed on a more favourable basis than the men. The European woman was given the vote without qualification; the European man was left with a barrier to surmount. In fact, it has been stated, 10,000 European men are excluded by that barrier, the total European electorate in the two provinces concerned being at present 212,000. That anomaly the Government now proposes to remove, and to that extent it has recently introduced and secured the second reading of a Franchise Laws Amendment Bill, the purpose of which is the extension of the franchise on an adult basis to Europeans throughout the Union. But in the case of the native and the Eurafrican the present qualifications are to remain. The colour bar of the Women's Enfranchisement Act is to be extended in its scope.

The issues so raised go to the root of those issues of principle which are presented by the South African race complex. How shall one apply the democratic principle of adult suffrage in a community with various races at different stages of civilisation? To the question stated South Africa has, in the past, returned two answers. The Transvaal and the Free State set their faces firmly against equality, political or other, between white man and coloured. They adopted the principle of differentiation in government and administration, and so were able to give manhood suffrage to Europeans, while leaving non-Europeans outside the political pale. In the old Cape Colony the principle of equality was resolutely adhered to, and part of the price paid for adherence to it was the imposition of franchise qualifications applicable to all sections of the community. And these two traditions—the Northern tradition and the Cape tradition—have endured in South Africa, for the Act of Union enshrined the status quo; and it seems to be no easier to-day than ever it has been to build a bridge between them.

The Franchise Laws Amendment Bill implies, therefore, a breach with the Cape tradition—political equality is impaired, and differentiation between white man and coloured takes its place. Of that breach there are two aspects. There is the native aspect—and herein the bill is quite definitely in line with the Government's general attitude. The whole trend of General Hertzog's Native Bills is to differentiate the Bantu from the European—to that end the Bantu at the Cape is under those bills, though not actually losing the franchise, to be removed from the common roll on which he is to-day and to receive communal represntation. The present proposals appear to prejudge the issue with which the Select Committee on those bills is still dealing; they do not, however, raise any new issue.

But in respect of the other aspect—the Eurafrican aspect—the position is different. For there is at the Cape a large population of mixed blood—the Cape coloured folk they are called,—some 525,000 of them alongside 750,000 whites and 1,800,000 Bantu. They represent the result of the intermingling, for the most part many generations ago, of Malays from the East and Bantu slaves and the indigenous Hottentots of the country, together with an infusion of white blood.

The accepted attitude and policy in relation to the Cape coloured folk has been for more than a hundred years equality, political, industrial and economic, but not social. And that has also been the policy again and again declared and emphasised by General Hertzog and his Ministers. It is indeed quite definitely enshrined in one of his Native Bills. But in the Franchise Laws Amendment Bill a different course is indicated. Adult suffrage for the Cape coloured folk is no matter of practical politics for, at least, a very long time ahead. A gap has therefore been created between European and Eurafrican which there seems to be no prospect of bridging. No longer can the Eurafrican regard himself as associated, politically, with the European who is prepared to face the inconvenience of taking him with him on the road. The results may be serious for the future of South Africa. For it seems inevitable that the new policy will tend to throw the Eurafrican back on the Bantu, from whom hitherto he has considered himself separate, and his leadership of the Bantu may come to be a most important factor in the clash of colour which is threatening to develop.

AFRICAN CONTRACT LABOUR DYING OUT.

SIR DONALD CAMERON SAYS "LET IT DIE."—SPEECHES AT THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY MEETING

[BY A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE.]

West Africa

As always, there was much interesting speaking at the annual meeting and conference of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society held at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Monday, Lord Noel-Buxton presiding. Mr. H. W. Nevinson, the veteran traveller and war correspondent, told how in 1904 he visited Central and West Africa to investigate and report on the slave trade in Angola and the islands of San Thomé and Principe. In West Africa, he said, he saw contract labour at its worst, although not in British territory. Raids were made in the interior, when men and women contracted for the cocoa islands were brought down country guarded by police and soldiers. The contract was read to them in a language they did not understand, the term of service was nominally five years but not a soul returned. The conditions were worse than those obtaining in the Southern States in the old days. A small wage was given which the people spent at the tuck shop. The report which he prepared was not believed until the British cocoa firms sent out an investigator who confirmed everything. As to the conditions to-day, one read damaging Consular reports and sometimes contradictory statements were made which needed careful sifting.

4-25-31

Sir Donald Cameron, Governor-Designate of Nigeria, said that hitherto he had not been called on to support resolutions such as those passed at the meeting, but rather to see that the territory of Tanganyika, while under his control, did not fall short of the conditions of the Mandate. Mr. Roden Buxton, speaking on the just treatment of Africans, had pleaded for the abolition of slavery, of forced labour, and of contract labour. He had also gone further in asking that the political and social evolution of the African should be encouraged. These were sentiments he (Sir Donald) had been pleading for during the past few weeks at the Parliamentary Joint Committee on East African Affairs. Sir Harcourt Butler had spoken on the different forms of domestic slavery. Compulsion was one sort and remnants of this were formerly found in Nigeria, in spite of the law which said that nobody could sell, or pursue, or give away, a slave. The Africans knew this but still chose to work with the slave-owner. Mr. Roden Buxton had spoken of forced labour in Kenya, but that did not apply to Tanganyika, and he thought that some of the statements about Kenya could be refuted. The principle the East African administrator had to apply was that the tax paid by the African was a full obligation of labour and service. No more should be demanded of him except in small measure. Mr. J. H. Harris had remarked that as yet few countries had adhered and ratified the Forced Labour Convention. Tanganyika needed to become a party to this Convention, and a few months ago he informed the Secretary of State that Tanganyika was ready to sign. (Applause.) Nigeria, he felt sure, would also be ready. Mr. Nevinson had told them about the worst form of contract labour, but it was not the intention to convey that all forms of contract labour were fundamentally wrong. Contract labour was dying out in Tanganyika. There the workers could choose between a good and a bad employer. His advice was—"Let contract labour die out and do not seek to continue it." In Nigeria his earnest endeavour would be not to fall short of the ideals of that Society. (Applause.)

Lord Noel-Buxton, referring to the general effect of the Society's work for the benefit of oppressed and backward races, said that the inquiry into Liberia showed how fully justified the Society was in criticising the administration of that unhappy country. The number of signatures to the Anti-Slavery Convention had now reached 50, but over 20 nations had still to be persuaded to join in the great task of bringing about the total abolition of slavery.

Mr. John H. Harris said the committee had decided to celebrate the approaching centenary of the abolition of slavery in British possessions by making an effort to secure public support for three large reforms now before the League of Nations—the total abolition of slavery, the ultimate abolition of all forms of forced labour except those required for emergency purposes, the reform of those systems of contract labour which in some parts of the world were closely akin to slavery. Another feature of the celebrations must be an effort to persuade all nations to agree to the creation of an international body of experts, to watch over the carrying out of the abolition of slavery. The committee felt, however, that there was something further. The signature of treaties and conventions, and the setting up of machinery for watching over the carrying out of these conventions for the abolition of physical servitude was a great ideal, but there still remained the abolition of "slave mentality." Another object must be to substitute the principle of sacred trust for that of exploitation, leading on to the elevation of backward races to a position at which their civilised status would be formally recognised by conferring upon them all the rights and privileges of full citizenship in their own countries. (Applause). The foregoing, the committee believed, was the only adequate and suitable way of celebrating the centenary of British abolition. It was proposed to hold meetings between

now and 1933 in all cities and large towns of Great Britain, in order that the facts might be laid before the public. It was hoped that during the centenary celebrations funds would be forthcoming to establish lectureships upon the treatment of Native races, and to associate these lectureships in certain universities with the names of the great abolitionists, Wilberforce, Thomas Fowell Buxton, David Livingstone, Joseph Sturge, and possibly Abraham Lincoln. (Applause.)

"COLOUR BARS" IN SPORT.

CONSTANTINE'S TRIBUTE TO AUSTRALIAN GOOD WILL

[FROM A CORRESPONDENT.]

Constantine, the famous West Indian cricketer, returned to England a few days ago from Australia, where as a member of the West Indian touring side, he has been playing cricket during our winter months. Three other international cricketers travelled by the same boat for the purpose of resuming professional engagements with League clubs in the North of England. They were Arthur Richardson, a member of the 1926 Australian side, and G. Francis and E. St. Hill, the West Indian fast bowlers.

Discussing the tour just ended, Constantine said that the tourists were gratified and perhaps a little surprised at the warmth of the welcome from the Australian public. "Despite the disappointing form shown in our performances in the beginning of the tour, the crowds that greeted us everywhere showed that they appreciated our keenness and spirit. If there were any doubts felt about the way in which a team so largely composed of men of African race would be received in Australia—where racial issues tend to bitterness—they must have been dispelled long before the end of the tour. Everything was done by the Australian authorities to make us comfortable and to enable us to give of our best. Speaking for myself and my friends, I can say that we had a most enjoyable experience both on and off the field, and the victory we gained in the fifth test match was just what we needed to supply a wonderful climax.

"Contacts such as these international contests supply are a potent factor in promoting goodwill and understanding among peoples, and at the present time this is most desirable where the 'Coloured' races are concerned. I was therefore disappointed to read that the South African Athletic Association had banned participation of 'Coloured' athletes in the Empire Games in South Africa next year. This is a serious blow to the racial understanding which has been slowly building-up on the world's playing fields. It is also a serious blow at the prestige of Empire athletics, which cannot fail to suffer—from a sporting point of view—by the absence of men like Jack London and Phil Edwards. While recognising that the South African authorities have felt themselves bound to defer to the prejudices of their public and to political exigencies, I feel that they have missed a great opportunity of setting a bold example to their own people. South Africa is one of the great cricketing countries, and I feel sure there is enough true cricket spirit in the South African people to have responded in support of the authorities in any effort they might have made to banish 'Colour' distinctions from the field of play."

Asked what were the prospects of a West Indian touring side visiting West Africa in the near future, Constantine said: "There is no doubt that such a tour would do a lot of good, not merely in the purely cricketing sense, but in interesting the closely related but widely separated peoples of West Africa and the West Indies in one another. Unfortunately, there is a very important financial side to these tours, and I have no means of saying whether conditions at present would justify such a venture. I am sure there must be a good deal of cricket talent among the West African people, which only needs practice and matching against first-class opposition to show its real value. I look forward to the time when all the nations of the Empire will meet each other in friendly contest on the fields of sport. There will be fewer political problems then."

Constantine expects to leave for Manchester in a few days to rejoin the Nelson Club for which he plays in the Lancashire League.

THAT CONGO "SLAVERY" AGAIN!

The Congo slavery bogey has been resuscitated once again, this time through the unwitting medium of a woman missionary of the American Baptist Foreign Missions Society. This lady was interviewed on her return from the Congo by a representative of the "Detroit Free Press," who, apparently scenting good copy, embroidered and enlarged upon his informant's statements, and served up the result of a too-active imagination complete with scare headlines about the alleged "Slave System" in the Belgian Congo. On the appearance of this *chef d'œuvre* the missionary protested against the distortion of her remarks, stating, *inter alia*, "At no time, either privately or publicly, have I made an attack on the Belgian Governmental policy. On the contrary, I . . . very specifically stated that of the three methods of colonial government now in operation in Africa I considered the Belgian method the best." The editor of the "Detroit Free Press" has given full publicity to this retraction, and with this *amende honorable* the matter may be allowed to rest. Our Belgian friends perhaps err in attaching undue importance to the random utterances of self-constituted "authorities" on colonial matters—statements which, they may rest assured, find no credence in well-informed British circles—but they are quite justified in resenting the calumnies which are constantly being levelled against their administration in the Congo for motives best known to the authors. Belgium has every reason to be proud of the long line of distinguished administrators, soldiers, and pioneers who have devoted their lives to the realisation of a great humanitarian work in Central Africa, and those who are best qualified to judge of that work will be in wholehearted agreement with Mr. Owen Letcher's statement that "Belgium's work in the Congo has been so great and magnificent that it will in time to come be recognised throughout the world as one of the great civilising achievements of all time."

Colour Bar in Empire Games

The exclusion of Indians from the Empire games in South Africa is naturally rousing a good deal of feeling, not confined to those who come under any colour bar. The South Africa Amateur Athletic Association at its annual meeting this month decided to uphold the colour bar and prevent athletes from India and the West Indies taking part in the proposed Empire games in South Africa in 1934. The reason given for this decision is the present state of political feeling on the colour question, and it was stated that the Association arrived at this decision even at the risk of appearing discourteous to the peoples concerned.

Professor Noel Baker has been interviewed by an Indian correspondent, and has spoken strongly on the matter, holding the view that on the basis proposed the Empire games could not be held. "What is called the British Empire," he said, "is in reality the Commonwealth of Nations of almost every race and nationality in the world. If some of the peoples in that Commonwealth were to be excluded from the games they could no longer have the title of 'Empire games,' and could in no way correspond to the ideal which I always believe should inspire international athletic contests of every kind."

Mr. Baker, who is the Parliamentary private secretary to Mr. Henderson, explained that he was, of course, only speaking for himself. Many well-known athletes in Great Britain interviewed in the matter took much the same line, and thought that if the decision was persisted in efforts would be made in this country and elsewhere to prevent teams from other parts of the Empire participating in the games. It must be strange news to the London cricketing public to think that Mr. Duleepsinhji would not be considered in South Africa a suitable entrant in an athletic contest.

MR. PETER J. C. THOMAS (NEGRO) AND THE LAGOS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

It will be remembered that Mr. Peter Thomas's first term of office as President of the Lagos Chamber of Commerce was, by a resolution of the Chamber, extended to twelve months which expired in September of last year.

His many friends and well-wishers here and elsewhere will no doubt be glad to learn that that body, comprising about forty firms (including British, French, German, American, Dutch, Austrian, Italian, and African) and representing every shade of busines interests in Nigeria, in its meeting of 19th September last, passed a unanimous resolution of thanks to Mr. Thomas for the able manner he conducted the affairs of the Chamber for the last twelve months. Again, in its meeting of 20th March last the Chamber passed a vote of thanks to Mr. Thomas for the excellent work done by him as President of the Chamber, and also for carrying on the onerous duties after the previous President had found it necessary to resign the office.

The writer understands that Mr. Thomas himself was unavoidably absent from the meeting in which the second resolution was passed.

Mr. Peter Thomas, as a Race Index, deserves to be heartily congratulated for this ample admission of African Negro ability by those in high places.

S. T. J.

Race Problem - 1931

Africa

NIGERIA'S STANDARD AVERAGE OF COTTON UNSURPASSED

West Africa 2-2-31 London England

BRITISH COTTON GROWING ASSOCIATION'S GOOD REPORT ON WORK OF NORTHERN FARMERS.—DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND QUALITY OF COTTON

Language of high praise and encouragement regarding the work of the African farmer of the Emirates is used in the 26th annual report of the British Cotton Growing Association for the year ended December 31, 1930. The report, which as usual is detailed and interesting includes reproductions of photographs taken in the cotton-growing areas by Mr. Reginald Silk during his recent tour for WEST AFRICA. The following are the references to Nigeria:—

Cotton production in the Southern Provinces showed an increase of 1,453 bales on the 1929 figures, the total being 8,673 bales, comprised of 5,649 bales of the improved Ishan variety and 3,024 bales Native.

It had been estimated that 4,000 bales of Ishan would be produced, and the actual figure attained of 5,649 bales is therefore very gratifying. For the first time the crop of Ishan exceeds the Native, and this process is likely to continue, as the higher price paid for Ishan brings out most of the production for export. In consequence of the low buying price for the Native cotton a good deal was not marketed. It is estimated that about 1,500 bales were held up for this reason, and this will be absorbed in the local spinning industry, for which it is preferred to Ishan.

The Ishan type has not, up to now, been well known on the Liverpool market, but with the much larger quantities now coming forward and the assurance of continued supplies, more interest is being shown. At a competitive price it should appeal to users of Peruvian, as it has a strong but rather harsh fibre.

Benefit to the African.

That the substitution of Ishan for Native cotton has been of benefit to the Native grower is undoubted; its appeal is a bigger yield per acre and the command of a higher selling value. The satisfaction of the Native farmer is reflected in the keen demand for seed, whilst its popularity is proved by the annual increase in production, viz.: 1927-28, 69 bales; 1928-29 921 bales; 1929-30, 5,649 bales.

Whether this rate of progress will be maintained is doubtful. Existing low prices, the explanation of which is difficult to convey to Native growers, must have its effect on future production. The fact that prices of other products have fallen to an even greater degree in proportion to cotton may be quoted as a mitigating circumstance in favour of cotton.

The Southern Provinces of Nigeria suffered from the locust invasion, but not to the same extent as in the North. Food-stuffs prices rose abnormally high on the coast, but the energetic campaign waged against these destructive pests, and the prohibition for a short period of the export of food restored confidence. A good deal of replanting was necessary, particularly food crops, but all danger of famine is averted.

Some interesting yields of Ishan cotton were recorded on the Moor Plantation of the Government Agricultural Department, ranging from 883 lb. to 1,140 lb. of seed cotton per acre. Experiments are being conducted in cross straining in the endeavour to obtain finer fibred lint than the general run of Ishan cotton.

The amount of Ishan seed distributed for the 1930-31 crop is in excess of last year, but there is a considerable reduction in the quantity of Native seed taken for planting. Combined, the total is below last year, and indicates that less planting will be done.

In the Northern Provinces.

With the exception of 1925 and 1926 the cotton crop [in the Northern Provinces] was the highest recorded since the movement originated, production equalling 29,208 bales of 400 lb., as compared with 23,458 bales in 1929.

The quality was uniformly good, fully 96 per cent. of the production offered for sale being classed as first grade. The grading system organised and controlled by the Agricultural Department is in force throughout the cotton areas, and whilst much good has resulted from this system it has been suggested that the regulations might now be relaxed a little without detriment to the industry. It is rarely necessary to reject cotton for regrading, the farmer finding that it pays him better to sort his picking in the field than to be compelled to do so later in the markets. Adulteration is uncommon.

Good and well-distributed rains favoured planting, and continued throughout the growing period. On the whole the season's results can be considered as satisfactory; it is certain that but for the continuous fall in prices during the buying months, January-May, the amount of cotton marketed would have been even greater. When prices are high and attractive most of the production is sold for export, but as prices fall the local spinning industry absorbs a greater quantity. This is confirmed by an official statement that the movement of cotton northwards, i.e., from the Nigerian cotton areas to the French Sudan, where it is used in the Native spinning industry, was much greater than usual.

Based on the amount of seed distributed for planting, which is one of the several means of computing the acreage, the area in cotton showed a slight contraction, although, in view of the downward tendency of prices during the past three years, the surprising thing is that contraction was not greater.

Cotton's Established Position.

Proof is not wanting that cotton holds an established position in the economy of the country, and a year or two of moderately high and stable prices would see increased exports; indeed, even in the absence of any improvement in price, this may occur during the next few years, as a result of a gradual economic readjustment to the world's prices of to-day.

THE COLOUR BAR.

Weekly News

5-9-31

We reproduce below an able article from *The Spectator* of April 11, 1931 by the Rev. E. N. Jones B.A., B.Litt., former Curate of the Church of the Holy Trinity, who puts up an eloquent plea on behalf of the Fatherland.

Sir,—Everyone who has the welfare of the Empire at heart cannot thank you too much for the statesmanlike manner in which you have opened the columns of your paper for the discussion of the above subject. Of late your correspondents have been mostly Indians or retired officers from India. May I as an African, be permitted to express an opinion? I do not intend to say anything new, but merely to shift the scene from India to Africa. Such a change of air will do us good; for precious as the "jewel" is, it is only a part of the Empire. Sooner or later its case would be adjudicated, and the next plaintiff will be Africa, Freetown, Sierra Leone.

So far as your correspondent is able to ascertain, the African has become reconciled to the treatment of landladies and hotel managers. These people profess no ideal other than that of money-making, and if their customers from whom they derive most of their profits object to the presence of a coloured man, they (landladies and hotel managers) have no course open to them other than that of bolting the door against the unwanted. As one who has suffered from such treatment, the writer can testify that some landladies have performed this unpleasant task very sympathetically: "I am very sorry, sir, that I can't take you in, sir. The other lodgers would object, and my house would soon be empty. Why not try so-and-so?" Bearing in mind that landladies live by their earnings who would blame them if they refuse to lodge a coloured man? Not the African, anyway. What gives the African a shock from which he seldom recovers is when he realizes that those who boast of idealism in their relationship with him, and in whom he had trusted, have been treating him in a way contrary to the lofty sentiments they profess; I refer to the Government and the Church.

The Government policy, so far as West Africa is concerned, is that of trusteeship, viz., that the Colonies are held on trust until such time as the governed are capable of self-government. When the white man had not yet acclimatized himself to the tropics, such a policy was put in practice. Qualified natives were appointed Army Surgeons, Police Magistrates, and even a Queen's Advocates. But no sooner had the white man adapted himself to the climate than he put an end to all this and took for himself the posts which were once held so creditably by us. In spite of our qualifications, the highest post open to a black man in the legal profession is that of a Police Magistrate. In the medical profession a black man is not even admitted to membership in the West African Medical Service. If he is employed by the Government it is only to a subordinate post. Whenever financial stringency compels the Government to make a retrenchment, it is the African with a paltry salary on whom the "axe" is

wielded, and not on the white man whose salary runs from three to four figures. In addition to this very liberal salary he receives "duty pay," equal to 20 per cent. of his salary! So much for trusteeship and sacred trust!"

Nor is the Church above criticism in her attitude towards the coloured race. After Christianity has been in the world for nearly two thousand years, it was only last year that a body of Bishops made the startling discovery that "All communicants without distinction of race or colour should have access to the Holy Table of the Lord, and none should be excluded from worship in any church on account of colour or race." Missionaries on furlough have done much (unwittingly, perhaps) to foster a feeling of contempt for the African. In order to gain a sympathetic hearing and to solicit funds for their work, these gentlemen oftentimes depict the African as if he were the devil incarnate. Cannibalism and witchcraft, practices which had been put down years ago by the Government, and polygamy, as seen under the highly-magnifying glasses of theological bias and zeal without knowledge, are their stocks in trade. Of the many missionaries whom the writer has heard, only one had the courage to speak of the African as he really is—an amalgam of good and evil.

Some years ago your correspondent studied at Oxford for the ministry of the Church. After completing his studies, the Principal of his Hall wrote to the Bishop of——asking His lordship whether he would be willing to ordain him should he succeed in securing a curacy in his lordship's diocese. His lordship replied that on no account would he lay his hand on a black man's head! Another bishop preached at the University church and told his audience that there were about thirty parishes in his diocese which were being run singly-handed; if any student was contemplating taking Orders, he should think of his diocese. After the service the writer approached his lordship and told him that he would like to work in one of these parishes in order to gain some knowledge of parochial work before returning home. The Bishop took his name and address. Within a fortnight he received a letter stating that owing to the colour of his race his lordship could not ordain him. In fairness to the Church, your correspondent must say that after two years he at last found a Bishop who was Christian enough to ordain him. However, conditions were made that the ordination would hold good only "for the Colonies." So much for "The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man."

To-day the African is being advised that his salvation lies in co-operating with the white man. In view of his experience, would anyone blame him if he is suspicious of such advice? One might as well blame a lamb for refusing to co-operate with a wolf, or a condemned man for non-co-operation with the executioner. May your correspondent suggest that what is needed in Africa, and, in fact, wherever white and coloured live together, is not so much "co-operation" as "operation"? That is, let justice and fair play be given a chance to "operate" or work. The doctrine of evolution teaches that life develops from a lower to a higher order. Why not then begin with the humbler and less difficult task of "operation," and work up gradually to the grander and more difficult task of co-operation? If this be done there would be no cause of complaint. If, on the other hand, the white man still insists on "co-operation," then the African need not go to the Soviet States to become a Communist or any "ist" whatever. Even a worm will turn. And the wriggling of such a creature in the Tropics would prove to be not so tame as that of his fellow-creature in the frigid zone. After the white man has settled his account with India, as he has done with the American Colonies and Ireland, the next credit or on the waiting list is Africa. Would that he would pay up in time and not wait until pressure is brought upon him!

—I am, Sir, etc.,

E. N. JONES.

IMPACT OF BLACK AND WHITE.

Weekly News

To the Editor of the WEEKLY NEWS.

Sir,—I have read with undisguised relish Major Ruxton's very able, interesting and instructive article in *Elders Review* for March under the caption "The Impact of White and Black," which is without doubt one of the most impartial writing in these days of inferiority and colour complex. He has emphatically corroborated the late Professor Aggrey's irrefutable statement that as the black keys of the piano are indispensable to the white keys, so too is the African indispensable to the European and *vice versa*. If, as Major Ruxton says, the divergency of the mentality of both races is not "fundamental or permanent" but merely due to the factor of time, we must entertain the hope that before many decades the prejudices which now exist will be permanently removed and be replaced by a better understanding between the two races.

Major Ruxton fixes the commencement of this impact of the African with the European at only thirty years ago. After discounting the desultory and promiscuous dealings from the sixteenth century which the Africans had with Europeans, he went on to show that up to the end of the last century we were immune from systematic exploration. "West Africa has remained to all intents and purposes isolated from western civilisation until thirty years ago since when the contact has been continuous and widespread and not based on commerce."

5-30-31

"All enduring civilisations have been built up on contacts and on the possibility of storing the written word, so that each generation might learn from the preceding one. We have seen that West Africa has had no contacts (other than a trickle through the Eastern and Northern deserts which gave such Islamic civilization as still exists.) There is also the absence of building stone with the consequent ravages of fire and of termites, which causes have precluded the preserving of manuscripts. Such civilisation as West Africa produced was based on oral tradition only and even this basis must have been constantly broken by war, famine and enslavement."

He further emphasised the fact that such contacts with Europeans from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries were only "ephemeral," for, the touch of western civilisation was "limited to commercial transactions." In spite of the exceeding adaptability of the African the period of contact is too short for us to assimilate western culture. And the Englishman finds it impossible "to try to realise the general African point of view today, to appraise his values or to voice his aspirations."

Freetown

After giving an hypothetical discussion in the smoking Room of a West African liner between a high-minded English Doctor and an intelligent African barrister in which the Doctor thinks the African is "lacking in docility and in gratitude" for "benefits" conferred, and the barrister in "veiled and courteous language has referred to the base motives of the English their selfishness and hypocrisy, the evils which they have introduced with the benefits," the Major in a lucid manner began a self examination as to the detrimental causes which are making for the estrangement of the two races, and blames the Englishman for the iniquitous slave trade of over a hundred years ago. Another evil he points out which did not exist three decades ago is *colour prejudice* (italics are mine). Let me quote him. "The other evil which we have introduced into a land which knew it not even twenty years ago is that of colour prejudice. Because this evil is not only a sin but a stupid one, it must therefore be a mortal sin—mortal to the continuance of the British Empire. This sin is rather of omission than commission, that is to say, that it is seldom expressed in outward action but rather in unspoken contempt for the educated African, who is himself becoming infected with the virus which after all, is the product of our own hands. To the effects of the ignorant prejudice—though all prejudice apart from bias is the result of ignorance—the Englishman seems insensible. Not so with the African who in turn reacts upon us and gives rise to racial hatred."

He admits of course that there are other minor defects which commerce has introduced with its concomitant evils, but none of these can equal that great sin Racial Prejudice, the bane of real progress, and which should be rooted out *en bloc* if real and lasting understanding must exist between the two races. Indeed there are faults, glaring faults on both sides which all lovers of justice and equity desirous of equal opportunity for white and black should strive to remove with that goodwill which must prevail if we are to succeed.

True, we as a people have yet much to learn. If in assimilating Western culture we have done so at too high a pace, it behoves our leaders to try and slaken our speed and inculcate the principle of moderation until we have solidified the ground already gained, thereby showing that we are "truly educated in character and mind."

Here is a calm and well considered advice to Government which they would do well to follow "not only by declaring the door open to the advancement of the African in Government Services, but in fact, showing that it is open" to the intelligentsia of the African race, which is just what has been advocated in the columns of your esteemed journal. Says he, "it is only in the higher posts that the sense of initiative and responsibility can be learnt and in order to enable the African otherwise academically qualified to acquire these essential characteristics we should be prepared somewhat to lower the present high standard obtaining in the Government services."

As we all know in former years most of the positions of great responsibility were held by Africans. To-day with the exception of two or three subordinate posts, the African is shut out from these positions, albeit his fitness and long service may justify his appointment to them.

Major Ruxton wound up his forceful courageous and illuminating article in a serious tone of warning to the Powers—that—be in the British West African Colonies, to reflect well and ponder seriously in whatever future policy they may be suggesting to Downing Street in regard to the welfare of these Colonie.

"Of all non-European races the African is most like ourselves (the English.) His natural intelligence and adaptability, his sense of loyalty his sense of humour, his generosity, thrift and frank geniality, the absence of malice, and his incapacity for hatred, even his natural political conceptions, all remarkably resemble our own characteristics. Unlike in India, we are not confronted by an antique civilisation, a congeries of totally differing races. There are in Africa no caste systems, and no deeply rooted religions, with the one exception of Islam. The task of guiding the African towards his destiny in a civilised world is a relatively simple one. It behoves us to interpret the treasures of our civilisation by easy stages, to remember that as a newcomer to the civilised world he is more sensitive than we are and therefore can be irremediably estranged by tactlessness. If we do estrange his goodwill to us and his undoubted loyalty to the King it will be our own fault. We will do well to remember this."

I cannot take leave of Major Ruxton without doffing my hat to him for his outspokenness and impartial view of the evils which are militating against that complete *rapprochement* which all lovers of both races would like to see and should unremittingly strive to effect.—Yours etc.

FANCY.

Freetown,
20th May, 1931.

Race Problem – 1931

Africa

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

CLOSER UNION.

Mr. Oldham's Evidence.

African World

The Joint Parliamentary Committee on East Africa met on Tuesday at the House of Lords. Lord Stanley of Alderley presided.

At the morning session the Committee sat in private to hear further evidence from Sir Edward Grigg, formerly Governor of Kenya.

3-21-31

Mr. J. H. Oldham, secretary of the International Missionary Council, who was a member of the Hilton Young Commission, gave evidence at a public sitting in the afternoon. He said he wished to draw attention to the essential contribution of the Commission's report, which he thought had been rather obscured in discussions on the subject. The report was so voluminous as to make it difficult to see the wood for the trees.

London England

One could not proceed far with the examination of the question of closer union before being brought up against the question on what political basis the three territories should be united if it were decided to unite them. If the government of the three territories were the same in all as in Tanganyika and Uganda, there would be no serious difficulty about closer union. It would be purely an administrative question, and a Governor-General could be sent out to unite them, as Lord Lugard united the two Nigerias. The whole difficulty arose from the fact that in Kenya there had been introduced the elective principle, which in the minds of a good many people pointed to the evolution of an entirely different type of government. There were certain economic interests in the three territories which in the case of Kenya and Uganda were inseparable, and he thought that the time must come, sooner or later, as those interests grew in complexity and importance, when they must be brought under some kind of unified control. If that was likely to happen it was essential that political development should not take place in any one territory, such as Kenya, which might ultimately compel the whole of East Africa to follow a line of political development which was not in the interests of the whole territory.

In most discussions of the subject it seemed to be assumed that either they must proceed through representative institutions towards responsible government, as in the case of Cape Colony and Natal, or, as the only alternative, that they must maintain the present system of Crown Colony government. The Commission came to the conclusion that no real solution of the problem could be found on those assumptions. The central issue was whether questions involving conflict of racial interests were to be decided by vote of a majority. In that case there seemed to be no escape from the dilemma that they would either have to create a Constitution in which a European majority in the Legislative Council was installed permanently in power, and white was able on every issue to outvote black; or, alternatively, to set up a Constitution in which black might be able some day to outvote white. As a result, undertakings built up by white enterprise would be at the mercy of a less experienced black electorate, a contingency which the European community was bound to resist; while, on the other hand, the natives would be driven to seek to emancipate themselves from a position of political subordination. Consequently, the native mind would be turned to political agitation.

The first thing for Parliament to do was to make up its mind whether government in East Africa should be based on the principle that racial questions should be decided by vote or on some entirely different principle. One direction in which the Government proposals failed to satisfy was that while they preserved unimpaired the overriding authority of the Secretary of State, they did not bring into sufficiently clear relief the fundamental difference between the two principles on which government might be based. The only alternative to a system of voting was decision by some impartial authority. The status quo was not an adequate alternative.

three courses between which choice must be made. The first was that the territories should remain as at present, and that the work of co-ordination, so far as it was necessary, should be left to the Secretary of State. That was a possible course so long as the Secretary of State was in a position to enforce his decision in all three territories, but it did not provide a permanent solution. The second possibility was that they should embark on a course which would lead, by however gradual stages—and he would be in favour of it being as gradual as possible, but inevitably in the end—to unified government. By that he meant government compatible with the provisions of the mandate, and also compatible with a very large devolution of administrative and legislative powers to the territorial Governments, such as existed in India between the Central and Provincial Governments. But once they set up a central authority of any kind they would have established in principle a Central Government of East Africa and a Government which must have the power in respect of both administration and legislation to enforce its decisions in the matters for which it had been made responsible. The third course was to set up a Government under which it was proposed that there should be a progressive transfer of authority to an electorate. Apart from the objections already urged, that seemed irreconcilable with the mandate.

Lord Phillimore asked whether the witness contemplated that the white and black communities should develop their own systems on definitely dissimilar lines.

Mr. Oldham said he thought that for such time as could be foreseen it was most important that the political progress of the native should take place through the evolution of their own institutions.

Replying to Mr. Ormsby-Gore (Stafford, U.), Mr. Oldham said that if government in East Africa was based not on votes but on arbitral authority, then that authority must be embodied in recognised institutions. The task was to create institutions that gave expression to that principle. He thought the idea that native interests ought always to prevail was misleading. In urging the arbitral principle he thought it was as much required in the interests of the white community as of the black community. It provided the only form of security that was real and permanent.

The Committee adjourned until Tuesday next.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

African World

Medicine-Man and Doctor.

3-21-31

The long struggle between the Medicine-man and the Doctor in West Africa has definitely swung in favour of the latter. The people are awakening to a realisation of the immense service to their health rendered by the skill and knowledge of European doctors, and the superiority of European medicaments and surgery to crude herbal remedies and rough handling of the Native doctor. Everywhere they are flocking to the hospitals and making use of the dispensaries. One of the strongest indications of the triumph of science is the conversion of the women, who are beginning to frequent the maternity and child-welfare clinics, not only for the crisis of birth, but also for pre-natal and post-natal advice and help, and for guidance in the rearing of their children. A great impetus to this movement has been given by the provision of female doctors, whose work cannot be too highly praised. The sympathy of sex, and the tact and companionship of another woman who has known, or may know, the pain and burden of motherhood, are doing much to reduce the sacrifices of female and child life which have taken such fearful toll of the population, the increase of which is a primary step to the full development of the latent resources of British West Africa, which would not be overmanned if the present population were doubled. The female doctor and the trained midwife are more potent instruments of this increase than even the sanitary inspectors. The experience of Europe has shown that modern sanitation involves drastic social changes—external changes in the planning of towns, in the construction of roads, in domestic architecture, and in the provision of facilities for cleanliness—and intellectual changes in the mentality of society and its attitude towards dirt and disease. The former are costly and can only be carried out with the support of public opinion, slow of growth, and retarded by many cross-currents of ignorance, prejudice, self-interest, and the stupidity which is the greatest brake on the wheel of progress.

A Hundred Years Ago.

It is not so very long since the superiority of European over African medical knowledge became overwhelming. Before Pasteur and Lister European doctors knew as little about the causes of disease as the African healers, and the origin and spread of malaria were mysteries till Manson and Ross tracked down the mosquito and revealed the secret. There was not even much effort to investigate the causes of the fevers which took such a heavy toll of European life on the West Coast. Dr. James Boyle, in the introduction to his "Practical Medico-Historical Account of the Western Coast of Africa," published in 1831, claims that "no work until the present has been attempted, specifically upon the diseases of Western Africa," and expresses surprise that "whilst the most persevering, fearless, and devoted efforts have been made, year after year, to press into the interior of that country, out of motives of natural curiosity, policy, or benevolence, it is strange, if not humiliating, to reflect that the great object of health should have been so long, and so apathetically passed over without due public consideration." To students of the history of European colonisation, whether in the East or West Indies, or in West Africa, before the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the conditions under which merchants, officials, and, especially, the lower ranks of the Army and Navy, lived are appalling, and the callousness of the home authorities, in face of the frightful mortality, is incomprehensible. Dr. Boyle points out that "the terrors of the climate (of West Africa) have been displayed . . . the bane has been set forth in all its desolating power, but the antidote . . . has been left in obscurity."

Drastic Treatment.

Only a medical man who has practised on the Coast is in a position to adequately appraise the value of this book, but perusal of it fills the layman with gratitude for the advance in medical science since it was written. Dr. Boyle was a conscientious and evidently able practitioner, but he followed the practice of his time, when every doctor constantly carried a lancet, and the first step in treatment was to bleed the patient. He was, I believe, the first to perceive that there were two types of fever prevalent on the Coast, and to distinguish between them. After having had some experience he came to doubt the utility of indiscriminate bleeding on the West Coast. He notes that "patients will generally become faint before one-half of two-thirds of the quantity of blood is abstracted which, with the best results, might be taken from similar subjects, and apparently under similar circumstances, in other warm latitudes." He considered that while bleeding should be practised cautiously and sparingly, "still the result of considerable experience upon the Coast, directly and indirectly, is that blood-letting . . . is, when the symptoms indicate increased arterial action, the first measure for adoption." After the lancet the doctor's chief stand-by was calomel, administered till salivation was caused. "To effect salivation should be the object of the practitioner from the commencement of the disease; and in order to attain success, a scruple (20 grains) of calomel in the case of a male adult, is generally the first dose that should be given; which should be followed, perhaps, by a mild purgative draught . . . which must altogether depend upon circumstances. The first dose successfully administered, two grains of calomel should be given every two hours, and seconded by leeches and blisters, or both, applied to the head. . . . If there is difficulty in keeping the pills down, from vomiting, the scruple dose should be repeated, with the addition of a few grains of calcined magnesia, and if that fail to afford relief, a large blister should be placed over the stomach. . . . When the total lack of skilled nursing, the utter neglect of sanitation, and the generally unclean conditions in which the Europeans of that time lived, together with the prevalent ex-

WEST AFRICAN COCOA: ITS PROCESSES IN EUROPE.

V.—ROASTING, WINNOWING AND BLENDING.

[FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.]

The roasting process about to be described serves a twofold purpose. It makes possible separation of the cocoa nib from the shell, which is indigestible, comparatively flavourless, and of no value in the manufacture of cocoa and chocolate. Secondly, it imparts to the nib that delicate flavour associated with the finished product, and causes it to lose the bitter flavour of the raw bean. At the same time, the colour of the nib darkens to the rich shade commonly known as chocolate brown.

At one time the apparatus used for roasting cocoa was very similar to a large coffee-roaster, and the operation was performed over a coke fire. It is impossible to secure absolutely steady burning where coke is used, and under these conditions the exact length of time the roasting should continue was a matter requiring great judgment on the part of the workman in charge, with nothing but his senses of touch and smell to tell him whether the beans were insufficiently roasted on the one hand or in danger of becoming burnt on the other.

Nowadays gas-heated roasters are commonly employed. They usually take the form of a metal cylinder, with a capacity of from one to two cwts. of cocoa beans, which rotates slowly while a number of gas jets are made to play against its surface by a forced draught. The beans are fed from a storage hopper into the cylinder, which is then set in motion and the gas lighted. The time of roasting naturally varies according to quality and moisture content of beans, size of cylinder, amount of heat applied, and degree of roast required, but normally amounts to about half an hour. Judgment is still necessary to determine the precise moment when the gas should be turned off, but an experie ced workman can control matters in such a way as to ensure that each batch of beans is roasted so as to attain exactly the right colour and flavour.

After the roasting has been completed, the beans are rapidly cooled by drawing air over or through them so as to prevent over-roasting. In course of the roasting the beans naturally lose the greater part of their moisture content, involving loss of 4 per cent. or 5 per cent. of their total weight: this is additional to earlier loss of anything up to 2 per involved in the cleaning processes described in week's article.

The next series of operations are designed to remove the shell, which, as already indicated, is of little value except as an ingredient in cattle-food. Besides being indigestible, it is difficult to grind to a really fine powder and if as little as 3 per cent. or 4 per cent. remains mixed with the nib, the resulting cocoa or chocolate will be too rough for a delicate palate.

After roasting and cooling, the beans are therefore fed between two steel rolls with projecting teeth, which are driven at different speeds and which crack the shell into small pieces without actually crushing the nib. As the beans emerge from this machine, which is called a "breaker," the nib falls in fragments away from the broken shell. Shell and nib together are next passed through a series of sieves of varying gauges. This separates them into different sizes and each size is then subjected to a powerful draught of air which draws off the shell, which is very light, allowing the comparatively heavy nib to remain behind.

The entire process described in the last paragraph is known as kibbling; it yields two main products, broken nib containing not more than 1 per cent. of shell and broken shell containing not more than 1 per cent. of nib. A certain number of unbroken beans usually emerge from the breaker and are passed back to undergo the whole operation afresh, while there is also a small residue consisting of a mixture of shell and nib in varying proportions. This residue may be passed through a second and more delicate winnower known as a shell separator, it may be pressed for the extraction of cocoa butter, or finally, though this is not an ideal use for it, it may be used in conjunction with clean nib for the production of a low grade of cocoa or chocolate.

The proportion by weight of nib to shell varies according to the type of bean and according to the degree of roasting to which the beans have been subjected. If this is high, the shell is naturally almost burnt up before the winnowing stage is reached, whereas with a low roast, although the loss of weight at this stage is less, there is a corresponding greater loss in the winnowing process. With Accra beans which have already lost 5 per cent. of their weight through cleaning and roasting, the further loss is likely to amount to some 12 per cent. of shell, which is either quite clean or contains only a small mixture of nib, while a further 2 per cent. will consist of nib which, though nearly clean, contains a sufficient proportion of shell to make it unsuitable for use in the higher grades of cocoa and chocolate. Altogether, therefore, out of every 100 lbs. of beans which come into the factory in good condition not more than 81 or 82 lbs. are available for grinding. A small proportion of the remainder are of comparatively high value, but at least 5 lbs. have been entirely lost and another 10 lbs. consist of nothing but shell, the market price of which is less than a twentieth of that of raw cocoa.

If any blending of different varieties of cocoa is required, it is usually performed after the roasting and winnowing have been completed and before grinding commences. Owing to the fact that different types of bean require different lengths of roast it would be impracticable to blend the bean at any earlier stage. No special blending operation is required; the different kinds of nib are merely fed into a storage hopper in the required proportions and a thorough mixing is bound to take place when the nib is being ground from a solid condition into a liquid mass.

The Mission Policy of the D.R.C. O.F.S. & Rhodesia.

Last week we published a letter sent to us by Mr. Strydom, General Mission Secretary of the Dutch Reformed Church. The latter is an announcement to the whole world of their Native Policy. There was a time when the D.R.C. was an enemy of the Natives. There were times when it classed them together with dogs, when notices were placed at the entrances of their churches forbidding Natives and dogs to enter. But as times went on the spirit of God worked upon their hearts and they began to realise that they had been failing in their duty by not showing their dusky brother the way to salvation. They began to teach the Natives and to build churches for them. They send out missionaries to Nyassaland, Nigeria and other places and their work there has been praised from time to time.

The D.R.C. represents the greater part of the Europeans in the Union and if the spirit reflected in the church is the spirit of the people it represents then it is a good sign of the good time coming. But we may point out that it is easy to theorise about teaching the Native to think in their own way, and yet when he expresses his own mind and sees things in a different light from those of his teacher he is blamed and considered pervert. He should be allowed to express his mind. If he is wrong he must be convinced with argument and good reason that he is wrong. As it has been in the past confidence to express his own thought on the part of the Native was considered impertinence. This does merely apply to the Dutch Reformed Church but to most missionary bodies. The evil result of this attitude has been to produce as leaders men who accepts as gospel truth anything he is told without thinking out and reasoning things themselves, that is, blind faith.

The objects and aims of the D. R. C. are interesting and give hope to the Native for a happy and brighter future. We shall be pleased to watch and see their policy brought to practice.

Race Problem - 1931

Africa

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

Weekly News

General Secretary's Office,
No. 58/1931/F II — Axim, Gold Coast,
West Africa, 30th June 1931

To the Editor of the WEEKLY NEWS.

Sir,—I beg respectfully to request that you may publish at the earliest opportunity for the information of your readers, the accompanying copies or correspondence recently exchanged between Mr. Charles Taylor as representing a group of race conscious men at Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, British West Indies, and the National Congress of British West Africa; and between the "Negro Progress Convension" of Georgetown, Demerara, British Guiana and the Congress, all of which, speak for themselves.

2. I may add that since the communication from Trinidad, the establishment of the Branch of the Congress therein proposed has materialised under the name of "The African National Congress" the first copy of whose official organ styled *The African Nationalist* full of matter of the greatest interest and benefit to the race is, at this moment, before me. Thanking you for space allowed. Yours etc.,

SAM R. WOOD,
General Secretary.

The Hon. Casely Hayford,
Editor, *Gold Coast Leader*.
P. O, Box 18,
Sekondi,
Cape Coast, West Africa,

The *Nationalist*
83, Quarry Street,
Port of Spain, Trinidad, B.W.I.
14th October, 1930.

Sir,—I have recently come across a copy of the Gold Coast Leader and wish to express my hearty congratulations and appreciation of your laudable effort. Papers with an upstanding and outspoken policy as yours are a blessing to the race at this hour of trial. And I venture to make the suggestion that you consider the practicability of establishing an Agency in Trinidad.

I also note with utmost pride and satisfaction the activities of a certain society for race uplift called the African National Congress. Those who have founded Congress may well take pride in the fact that they have left an invaluable legacy for posterity, I think a great deal of good have already been done and a great deal more shall be done by Congress, not only in the way of bettering the social, educational, political and industrial life of our people, but by way of creating better relationship between European and natives,

We in the Western Hemisphere have our problems, you on that side of Jordan have yours. But altogether we have grounds upon which we meet. That ground is a common ancestry, a common race, a common country and the fact that we have a common destiny. We know we are at a terrible disadvantage in our struggle to gain even the common rights of free citizen and we know the principal canse of this advantage is born in our non-co-operative method of thinking and acting. The great white race marches on to world dominance because they have practiced co-operation as a cult. The African makes feeble efforts, he dissipates becauce he is lacking of the co-operative principle in his policy.

We are thousands of miles apart, but you can do much to help us solve our problems; while we can do much to help you solve yours and together both can do much to solve our common problem if we would but co-operate.

The National Congress and the Gold Coast Leader are the media which I propose, suggesting to you to be used as the fulcrum. I propose to suggest further that you co-operate with me in the establishing of Congress in these parts, and have the *Leader* sold here. Your assistance in the establishing of Congress in the Western World will be only in the nature of rules, literatures, Charter and Congress *Flag* which you will send us and which I venture to express, you will not have to expend much time on.

We, on this side, will be having an organ (weekly) the "Nationalist" and will ask you to help us find a centre for distribution at your end.

All Congresses on this side will work in co-ordination with Congresses on your side, and at certain time we can meet either here or on your side for round-table conferences. You will also do us the favour of placing the Nationalist on your exchange list for the *Leader*. Working along such lines cannot fail to bring substantial reward to our labours.

With the fond hope that you will see your way to give the matter your favourable consideration.

Yours Fraternally,
(Sgd) CHARLES TAYLOR
Edi or, "Nationalist."

P.S.—Please register all mails of importance We will reimburse (Sgd). C.T.

FOUNDING OF CONGRRSS.

83, Quarry Street,
Port of Spain,
Trinidad, B.W. I.
14th October 1930.

It being expedient to the larger advancement of the African race that there should be maintained a spirit of amity and co-operation between each and all African communities of the world, and it being further desirable that a more intimate knowledge of, and contact with, our Fatherland-and-Africa and our kinsmen and women at home be developed and maintained by Africans or their descendants domiciled in the Western World, and whereas the African National Congress of West Africa with its several branches is already functioning in the Fatherland with marked progress towards the direction of racial amity and advancement: BE IT RESOLVED that this meeting organizes itself into and found a West Indies section of the African National Congress with this body as centre. AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a copy of this resolution be forwarded forthwith, together with Notice of intention to affiliate with to the Headquarters in West Africa; and that the names of all members of this meeting be appended to said resolution as passed.

(Signed) Charles Taylor, (Mover) Pres, E. LLoyd Henry, Sec. (Seconder), C. Cumbe, G. S. Franklin, W. A. Byam, G. F. Hoyte, L. E. Simpson, Clement C, Payne, J. Holder.

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83 Quarry Street,
Port of Spain,
Trinidad, B.W.I.
16th October, 1930.

The Hon. Hutton-Mills
President,
African National Congress,
Accra, West Africa.

Sir,—Attached is a copy of a resolution passed by a body of race conscious men, and I am accordingly asking your valued co-operation. I may mention that we have also intimated the subject of this cover to the Hon. Casely Hayford.

Fraternally Yours,
(Sgd.) CHARLES TAYLOR.
President and Founder.

N.B.—Honourable Casely Hayford:—Please forward. Proper address Wanting oblige. (Sgd) C.T.

REPLY.

General Secretary's Office,
No. 41/1931/F 11. Axim, Gold Coast,
West Africa, 21st May, 1931

Charles Taylor, E q.,
Editor, *Nationalist*,
83, Quarry Street,
Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, B.W.1.

Dear Sir,—Your very interesting letter of the 14th October last addressed to the late Hon. J. E. Casely Hayford, M.B.E, the President of the National Congress of British West Africa, who had died on the 11th of August last, was eventually delivered to me by his son Mr. Archie Casely Hayford, M.A. Barrister-at-Law.

2. Concerned as this Congress is with the fortunes of our brethren in various parts of the world, it has given me, and I certainly believe all others in West Africa, pride and satisfaction to learn that the activities of the National Congress of British West Africa had attracted the attention, enlisted the sympathy, and won the admiration of our brethren in the Western Hemisphere—people of a common ancestry, a common race, and a common destiny with us, as you most ably expostulate in yours under reply.

3. I note with still greater satisfaction and encouragement, the resolution passed by a body of race conscious men of your city, to organise itself into and found a West Indies Section of Congress to be affiliated to this Congress. It will be my duty to lay on the table at the next Session of Congress, copy of the said resolution which is appended to your letter as also your application for affiliation to the parent body—the National Congress of British West Africa. In the meantime, I have already circulated copies of your communication together with its enclosures, among the several Sections and Committees of the Congress in British West Africa, the members whereof, as I have since been advised, rejoice in the fact that, at long last, there is going to be a common ground upon which, the African race the wide world over, and especially in the West Indies and other parts of the Western Hemisphere, shall meet.

4. In the regrettable and lamentable circumstances of the deaths of the President of Congress (Hon. Casely Hayford), the Vice-President (Hon. C. May of Sierra Leone) and of the ex-President (Hon. T. Hutton-Mills on the 14th March last); it devolves upon me as the first Officer during the interregnum thus created, to render you the assistance sought in the establishment of Congresses in the Western World. To this end, I have the honour to forward herewith, the following literature concerning the Congress. In them you will have every information for your instruction and guidance as to its history.

aims and objects, and its constitution. The preparation of these voluminous documents and papers, accounts in a great measure for the delay in transmitting this communication.

LITERATURE ENCLOSED.

1. Resolutions of the Conference of Africans of British West Africa, held at Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa from 11th to 29th March 1920.

2. Petition of the National Congress of British West Africa to His Majesty King George V. in Council, by its London Delegation.

3. Memorandum of the case of the National Congress of British West Africa.

4. Report of the Proceedings of a Meeting held in London between the League of Nations Union and the Delegates of the National Congress of British West Africa, on Friday afternoon, October 8th 1920.

5. Presidential Address delivered at the Second Session of Congress, Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa, on the 29th January, 1923, by the Hon. J. E. Casely Hayford, M.B.E., Vice-President of Congress; with Supporting Speech by A. E. Tuboku Metzger, Esq., M.A., Local President of Sierra Leone.

6. Cablegrams and other messages exchanged during the Second Session of Congress held at Freetown, Sierra Leone, January to February 1923.

7. Twenty-four (24) Copies "Extract From Special Prayers" used on the occasion of the special service at Wesley Church, Freetown, Sierra Leone, British West Africa, on Sunday, January 28th 1923 in connection with the Second Session.

8 Four (4) "Programme of Social Functions" in connection with Second Session, Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa, January to February, 1923.

9. Resolutions of the Second Session of Congress held at Freetown, Sierra Leone, January to February 1923.

10. Three (3) Copies of "Order of Closing Service" at St. George's Cathedral, Freetown Sierra Leone, West Africa in connection with Second Session, Sunday, February 11th 1923.

11. One Copy "Revised Programme of Third Session" of Congress held at Bathurst Gambia River, West Africa, December 1925 to January 1926.

12. Presidential Address delivered at the Third Session of Congress, Bathurst, Gambia River, West Africa, on December 29th 1925 by the Hon. J. E. Casely Hayford, M.B.E the Vice President of Congress.

13. Cablegrams and other messages exchanged at the Third Session of Congress held at Bathurst, Gambia River, West Africa December 1925 to January 1926.

14. Two Copies of Notice of Public Meeting on December 31st. 1929, in connection with the Fourth Session of Congress at Lagos Nigeria, West Africa.

15. Twelve Copies of "Programme Of Fourth Session" of Congress held at Lagos Nigeria, West Africa, January 1930.

16. Presidential Address delivered at the Fourth Session of Congress, Lagos, Nigeria West Africa, on January 2nd 1930, by the Hon. J. E. Casely Hayford, M.B.E., President of Congress.

17. Cablegrams and other messages exchanged during the Fourth Session of Congress held at Lagos, Nigeria, West Africa, January 1930.

18. Resolutions of the Third Session of Congress held at Bathurst, Gambia River, December 1925 to January 1926; And of the Fourth Session of Congress held at Lagos, Nigeria, in January 1930, drawn up in parralell form with foot-notes and appendices containing previous resolutions therein referred to.

19. The Constitution of the National Congress of British West Africa as amended by the Lagos Session, January 1930.

20. One Copy of Public Notice of Closing Service in connection with Fourth Session of Congress, held at Lagos, Nigeria, West Africa. January 1930.

been recommended by Sir Edward Bands Denhem, Governor of the Colony and late of Gambia, as one of the three electives to His Majesty for appointment.

To fittingly mark the occasion a function was held in the Town Hall on 14th November last. A copy of the programme is enclosed.

Despite the distance which seperates us it may be possible in the near future for a West African Native and member of your Congress rather than going to England for a holiday to come down here and be the principal speaker at the Annual Gathering which takes place each year on the 1st August, Convention Day.

I make no apology for not otherwise introducing myself,—Yours for the race,

(Sgd) H. A. BRITTON.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RACIAL PREJUDICE.

"COLOUR-DISLIKE" NOT A FUNDAMENTAL INSTINCT

No problem of modern times has been so bedevilled by confused counsel and shallow empiricism as the problem of Colour prejudice. The sciences of biology and anthropology, whose provinces abut upon the sphere of inter-racial rivalry, have been made into propagandist tools for special pleaders with special interests to serve. In the *melée* of opinion the two main trends of thought stand out clearly enough. There are on the one hand critics principally concerned with the maintenance of barriers supposedly beneficial to the White races; and on the other the partly stifled clamour of the Coloured millions in rebellion against the artificial handicaps loaded upon them by social and political measures.

If prejudice be a fundamental human instinct, it may become necessary to envisage a world-future—like some biologist's nightmare—perpetual inter-tribal strife, competition and war. If, however, it should prove that prejudice is merely the particular mind-form shown as a result of a variety of special environmental influences acting upon basic indifferent instincts, the outlook is altogether more hopeful. If prejudice can be learnt by unconscious and conscious processes, the attitude of tolerance can be substituted the moment we understand sufficiently the nature of human mental experience, its growth and development.

It is clear, therefore, that the proper approach lies through the psychology of the individual. The mind is not a static thing, but a dynamic flux conditioned by its own vital and original receptivity to external influences. The study of the individuals must therefore begin with the child, and must be based upon study of the mental life of children of every race and clime.

In view of the confident assertions frequently made by scientists and educators about "inborn prejudices" of human nature, it may surprise many to learn that this field of psychology is practically untouched. In the United States, an inquiry board, directed by Dr. Bruno Lasker, has made an effort to investigate a corner of this wide field along inductive lines. The results represent the first effort of Science to provide a real basis for opinion. I also have for five years been engaged in the collection of material for the study of the race attitudes of English children. From a consideration of over 500 documented cases, the following conclusions seem to me to be established:

1. The English child's race-attitudes cannot be classified on an age basis, but fall naturally into division on a geographical basis. Children in the town areas, where opportunities for direct race-contacts occur most often, show more complex reactions, age for age, than country children.

2. In cases, vouched for as first contacts, the reactions were indubitably along indifferent lines, the emotions being well mixed upon the basic elements of pleasure, surprise and curiosity.

3. The English child recognises race-difference only in the form of some wide departure from the physical norm—such as skin-colour. Slight differences might pass unnoticed, but any difference noticed calls forth the undifferentiated colour reaction. Thus, if an Armenian were dark enough to be distinguished from the average English norm, the child would classify him as being "black."

4. As age increases, the association-ideas connected with skin-colour differences appear. With the fixation of such ideas by "education," prejudice, technically speaking, may be said to begin. The variation of these ideas between extremes, and the close association of such variations with differences in the class, economic circumstances, and culture of the parents prove this point.

Dr. Lasker summarises his own views in the following passage:—

"This evidence proves the non-existence of an inherent, instinctive race-attitude of fear or repulsion as part of human nature. As we see one type of reaction give way to another with the advancing age of the child, and as we see the child react in two different ways to seemingly like stimuli in two distinct situations, we might dogmatically assert that there can be no such inborn trait, and that all the observed responses are the results of acquired habits."

If this view is correct, as I firmly believe it to be then, in tolerating race prejudice, we are tolerating an unnecessary evil inflicted upon ourselves by a corrupt system of "education." Let us change the system in that particular, if we plan for a peaceful future.

V. H.

Race Problem - 1931

Africa

CLOSER UNION IN EAST AFRICA.

FURTHER EVIDENCE BY SIR DONALD CAMERON.

Sir Donald Cameron, lately Governor of Tanganyika, continued the evidence which he began on March 24.

Lord Lugard asked whether in the event of the Committee deciding that there ought to be a High Commissioner for East Africa he should have a legislative council or an advisory council, or no council at all.

Sir Donald Cameron said he did not believe in advisory councils. If it was possible to have a legislative council, he would prefer that, although he was beginning to doubt the possibility. His reason was that he believed in giving non-officials responsibility. If there was an advisory council and they had no responsibility the members got very sick of it and the work became perfunctory.

In reply to questions as to his estimate of the cost of a central administration Sir Donald Cameron said that after reading very carefully the recommendations of the Hilton-Young Commission he came to the conclusion that if they wanted a High Commissioner as visualised by that Commission no single human being would be able to carry out the work unless he so surrounded himself by secretaries that the great bulk of the work was done for him in his office. They all knew that a great deal of the work in the Colonial Office could not be done by the Secretary of State, but it was not thrown violently into the limelight, as it would be if there was a High Commissioner at Zanzibar. He would much rather deal with the Colonial Office, with all its experience, than with a scratch lot put into that position. On the other hand, if they took the recommendations of the Wilson Committee, they would have a High Commissioner who would not have enough to occupy his time. He thought the High Commissioner would have to be given a large staff—and a very good staff—and that the capital cost of houses and offices would run into a lot of money.

On the subject of native administration, Sir Donald Cameron said that in 1926 very many small councils were started, and gradually the natives were persuaded—never forced—to amalgamate. He hoped that as time went on they would be able to get one council for the whole of a province, and then, not very long afterwards, councils covering two or three provinces. Following that—he did not know how many generations it would take—they should have a general native council before which every measure should go that would ordinarily go before a legislative council. On the other side he would have for the non-natives a nominated legislative council, with some scheme for joint sessions or joint committees. It was impossible to have native reserves in Tanganyika or to divide the races geographically. Division in the political field must be racial. There should be native and non-native councils with parallel powers.

Mr. C. R. Buxton, M.P. (Elland, Lab.), asked whether there would be organs of local government.

Sir Donald Cameron said that in 1929 he put forward proposals for a form of local government in the northern provinces. Questions of some delicacy arose. There was the question whether non-British non-natives should have a vote. They would have to pay rates or taxes like everyone else. In Kenya non-British non-natives had no vote either in local government or for the Legislative Council, but he came to the conclusion that in mandated territory they must have votes, and be put on a common roll. Then there was the question of seats on the local government boards. He thought that as the money of non-British people would be spent by those boards, they should have seats on the boards, but that as Tanganyika was under a British mandate the majority of the seats should be reserved for British members. That raised the Indian question. As such delicate questions were raised, the Secretary of State asked him not to proceed with them until the larger matters before that Committee were settled.

The Chairman asked what would be the electorate in the northern provinces.

Sir Donald Cameron said it would be comparatively small, but quite big enough. In the other provinces there were not enough Europeans.

Lord Lugard: Do you say it is not advisable to educate the natives in British political institutions?

Sir Donald Cameron: That will depend on their own genius. They must be given the fullest opportunity to advance in culture and in every other way.

On the question of paramountcy, Sir Donald Cameron said in his conception the paramountcy of the native was an underlying condition, subject to which everything must be done. But the interpretation of the doctrine must be solely in the hands of the chief executive. It was not a doctrine that district officers could be left to apply. It only had to be applied as a rule in a general manner, and he could recollect no case in which the reasonable and legitimate desires of the non-native population had been disallowed on the ground that the right of the native must prevail.

Replying to Mr. Ormsby-Gore, M.P. (Stafford, U.), Sir Donald Cameron said he would not put even the best educated native on a franchise roll at the present time. He wanted them to develop their own political structure. If eventually the genius of the native ran in the line of Western democratic administration then he should be allowed to have it, but it should not be forced on him.

Mr. Ormsby-Gore: Has not the use of the word paramountcy given rise to misunderstanding?

Sir Donald Cameron: I think a great deal of misunderstanding has been manufactured out of it. It was used in 1923 and no one took much notice of it. I regard it as a convenient parrot cry.

Mr. Ormsby-Gore: Is it because the Europeans are frightened that the Government are going to ignore their just rights?

Sir Donald Cameron: Europeans are frightened that their dreams of proceeding to responsible government will not be achieved.

Do you see any advantage to the territory of Tanganyika in any of the schemes of closer union hitherto put forward?—No.

Dealing further with the question of native administration, Sir Donald Cameron said the administrative ability shown by many chiefs and headmen was quite marked. It was of importance in his opinion that chiefs should be educated. If there were uneducated chiefs and educated young men in the tribes trouble must be expected. The native councils must be modernised from time to time. Whether they would remain tribal he could not tell.

Replying to Lord Mersey, Sir Donald Cameron said he had found the liaison between the three territories, outside the common services, satisfactory for practical purposes. There had been occasions when a district officer had to go over the border to talk to the man on the other side, and that had given no trouble.

Indians' Prosperity in Uganda.

Major Leslie Renton, a landowner in Uganda, gave evidence on behalf of the planters of that protectorate. He said that he was nominated unanimously by the two associations of planters, which had a membership of about eighty. The Hilton Young Commission adumbrated the appointment of a High Commissioner. He himself agitated for that years ago, before the war, but he changed his views long ago. He disagreed with the view expressed by Sir Hilton Young, when giving evidence before the Committee, that the Asiatic population in East Africa would dwindle and that the native would squeeze out the Indian. The evidence of Sir Hilton Young was entirely opposite to his own experience.

Indians in Uganda now had practically a monopoly of the coffee trade. He knew one man who had 5,000 acres under sugar. The distributing trade was to a great extent in the hands of Indians, and he himself sold 80 per cent. of his tea to Indians for distribution. How it could be said that such people were going to be ousted by the natives he failed to understand. Co-ordination of native policy with so many and such diverse tribes was an impossible task. Whatever might be the advantage of closer union in economic matters, he did not think there was much to be gained from that point of view. In Uganda no one was politically minded. They were content to go on with their work. Their fear was that if there was a High Commissioner, living hundreds of miles away, he would be even more aloof than some governors had been in the past.

Lord Mersey: You might get a more autocratic régime.—We don't mind autocracy, but we do object to aloofness.

Replying to Mr. Ormsby-Gore, M.P. (Stafford, U.), Major Renton said that the view of the planters was that closer union and the appointment of a High Commissioner would be expensive, and that it was unnecessary except for some political purpose such as to satisfy some feeling of uncertainty with regard to the future of the Tanganyika Mandate.

Mr. Ormsby-Gore: Is there a feeling that the Tanganyika Mandate is in danger?—As far as the Uganda planters are concerned, they would as soon see it go back to Germany.

Why?—We are not interested in it. It is too far away.

In reply to Lord Cranworth, Major Renton said that the planters saw no advantage in amalgamation with Tanganyika, apart from any desire to make Tanganyika permanently part of the Empire. There might be some advantage in joining with Kenya because they were closer neighbours.

Native Interests.

Canon Harry Leakey who represents native interests on the Legislative Council of Kenya gave evidence. He said he had held his position on the Legislative Council for three years as an unofficial member nominated by the Governor. Taking it as a whole he thought the white settlement in Kenya had been attended with advantage to the native population. From the economic point of view that was unquestionably so.

The Chairman: From the moral and ethical point of view is it on the whole of advantage?

Canon Leakey said he would rather stress the economic point. There had been a suggestion that Kenya was not suitable for permanent white settlement. He thought it was suitable, at any rate in the highlands. He objected to the use of the expression pro-native in the sense that it meant anti-white. The word "paramountcy" as used in 1923 seemed unobjectionable, but it had been given an altogether different meaning now. He certainly would not agree with it if it meant that native interests should be exclusively considered. As to the possible effects of closer union, he felt a certain amount of doubt as to the ultimate advantages to the native population.

The Chairman: You think if there is to be closer union it must be a definite union with definite functions assigned to the head of it?

Canon Leakey: Yes.

In reply to Lord Ponsonby, Canon Leakey said he thought the country not only climatically suitable for white settlement, but that there was an economic future for Europeans if they were prepared to work. Some commercial people might intend to stay only for some years in order to make money, but he thought a large proportion of those who settled on the land intended that the colony should be a permanent home for themselves and their children. That was why he was anxious to see a system of government working harmoniously and to abolish racial feeling.

The Committee adjourned until Monday, April 20.

NIGERIA LETTER.

Opportunity for Africans.

The promotion of Mr. J. E. Solade Solomon, after 27 years' service in Nigeria, to be Office Assistant to the Director of Public Works, is an act of justice to one who has constantly won personal commendation and reward for his labours, and is of interest to other Africans, as opening another office to qualified workers. It is to be hoped that other posts will be made available as soon as possible, however, for Mr. Solomon is by no means the only officer in the Department who is qualified for an advancement that would mean a saving of money in passages and pensions, as well as an incentive to general efficiency.

A case that is not so encouraging has occurred in the Marine Department, where one of the first technical apprentices to qualify has just received a severe disappointment. After passing well in the

African Senior Clerical Examination and leaving King's College, a lad was prevailed upon to abstain from the more immediate rewards of clerical employment and to offer himself to the Marine Department for six years' training, which has just been completed with success. To his surprise, and to the discouragement of all who might follow him, he has been offered a post which in pay and prospects is far below that which would have been his had he remained a clerk. Naturally he is dissatisfied, and even if, as an official explanation suggests, he is getting all that was promised him, his experience is not one that will help Africans to arrive at a true view of the relative importance of clerical and technical posts.

The Birth of a Deity.

According to the "Nigerian Daily Times," cassava has recently been raised to a position of considerable dignity among the more backward section of the Sobo people, and is now treated as a god, with priests, priestesses, and a special dance. The cult does not belong to the usual class of modern growths, which have private gain for their principal end, but is a misguided effort to meet a local need, arising from the shortage of cassava last year. This shortage, in reality due to climatic conditions, was ascribed by a local wise man to a determination of cassava to strike against being the staple food of the people and to emigrate, and accordingly a system of worship has been devised to incline it to stay. Since cassava is a crop that rarely fails except through soil exhaustion, the opening of new farms this year will undoubtedly restore the yield to normal once more, and, from the point of view of its devotees, the new cult will have justified itself.

THE CIVIC EQUALITY OF AFRICANS.

By a Correspondent.

Early last month, the Joint Committee on Closer Union of the East African Territories, considered a memorandum addressed to them on the civic equality of Africans by the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, whose vigilant and untiring efforts on behalf of the indigenous races of Africa are so well known and appreciated on this Continent. The witnesses in support of the memorandum, which included the grant of facilities for appeal to the Privy Council, were Major-General Grey, C.B., C.M.G., who saw distinguished service in the Great War, and Mr. John H. Harris, the society's energetic secretary and a former M.P., for North Hackney.

The Society pointed out that in the matter of citizenship France had shown more progress than England, in that to-day, there are in the Chamber of Deputies, some 18 Members of African descent; that recently the Vice-President of the Chamber was an African and that a Senegalese is at the present moment Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, The allusion is to Mons. Blaise Diagne, a pure-blooded Negro, who rose from the peasant class in his homeland on the French Guinea to virtual control of the destinies of France's Colonies and a seat in the French Cabinet. Never has France, ever the champion of Liberty, Fraternity and Equality been more true to the principle of her constitution than in the practical expression she has given to it by the honour she has accorded to Blaise Diagne. This gesture has appealed with considerable force to Africans all the world over and especially to Africans under the French regime, Foulah navvies and other French Guinea natives sojourning in this Colony have, since the memorable incident, seemed to show a brighter glint in the eye and a more conscious manhood, at the thought that their destiny is in their own hands, and that "an honest man though e'er so poor, is 'king o' men for a' that." The very idea of separation from French rule is unthinkable and even undreamable with the African units of the Great French Empire. It is just at this point that a comparison between France and England is almost odious. Obsessed with the idea of white prestige England has, since the past—Victorian era, taken her inspiration from the United States of America and based her principle of government on the no less unwise than un-christian dogma of "keeping" the "nigger" down." Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, with his imperialistic notion of colonising the "vast open spaces" of Africa and exploiting their great resources for the sole benefit of the white man, became the chief apostle of this dangerous school of thought, The white peoples of the Empire were, in effect, to show a united front in an endeavour to make a hewer of wood and a drawer of water of the black man and keep him in his place. Little did he and his following think that come the day would when the white units of Empire should grow lukewarm and less reverential to the Mother Country and even agitate for complete independence. In an instructive in *The Times* for March 12 the distinguished French author M. André Seigfried, has shown that the Dominions, Canada, Australia and South Africa and we would mention the Irish Free State, are chafing under the restraint—at least so much of it as remains—of being held by the leading strings of the Old Country. The last Imperial Trade Conference ended in a fiasco because the Dominions gave England to understand that they would buy and sell where they thought it was to their best interests to do so. The Union of South Africa not so long ago showed what it thought of the unity of the British Empire by rejecting the Union Jack as its standard and disapproving of titles of honour conferred on its citizens by the King-Emperor. Southern Ireland has not minced matters over the question of loyalty to the British Throne. A by no means inconsiderable or uninfluential number of the members of the Dail recently refused to subscribe the usual oath of allegiance before taking their seats in the Free State Parliament and although the other Dominions have not come out so boldly with their feelings, it is so plain that he who runs may read that in the near future Dominion Status will metamorphose into complete independence. And then—where will Great Britain be? If she is wise, her attention and her energies will, in the opinion of M. Siegfried, be directed towards developing not only the resources but the manpower and loyalty of her Crown Colonies. Let England take a lesson from France. No disgrace whatever, attaches to the man who is willing to learn. In the days of the Conquest England learnt much from the French. The arts of Government, political economy, education, architecture and commerce were taught her by France. One should never be ashamed to go to one's old master for tips. These tips France has been offering for many years, regardless of the open derision of the colour-obsessed European races of a comparatively young civilisation. If France had shown the high-brow to peoples of African descent she would to-day have been under the heels of Germany. It was the brave Senegalese and other French citizens of African origin who saved the French republic in the celebrated battles of the Great War. Will England profit by the lesson and come back to her old self and be more motherly to her faithful African children. If she do she will be wise, for the loyalty of Africans is permanent. Speaking for Sierra Leone, we must confess that we have never seen or known of a people more extravagantly loyal. This excess of loyalty the white jingoists have sought to turn against our credit by dubbing us de—Africanised blacks and black Englishmen, Sierra Leoneans—and for the matter of that—British West Africans know better than the puny-minded, Yankee-prejudiced Little Englanders. In the years to come, soon or late, the British Empire will denote Great Britain or possibly England alone and her West African Colonies, to be with her through thick and thin. Will England realise this and give the British West African his deserts?

RED SEA SLAVE TRAFFIC.

Suggested Measures by the Powers.

PARIS, May 10.

The question of the best method of suppressing the slave traffic in the Red Sea came up for discussion at the last meeting of the Academy of Colonial Science, when a communication was read from the Sherif Ibrahim.

In the course of his communication the Sherif Ibrahim states that he does not consider the employment of seaplanes in co-operation with French, British, and Italian gunboats, as suggested some time ago by Mr. Hugh Dalton, British Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, would be at all efficacious.

At the suggestion of the Sherif, the Academy adopted a resolution expressing the view that the only means of suppressing slave traffic in the Red Sea would be by the institution of a system of regular passports based upon control of the individual.

The Academy also decided to request the Government to consider the necessity of the establishment by the powers of two points of exit from the Red Sea and to keep within their frontiers all blacks not in possession of the necessary passport.—Reuter.

TWO UGANDI BOYS GO BACK TO AFRICA

Manuel Homesick for Congo but Diosaner Fights, in Vain, to Remain in Harlem.

SPENT THREE MONTHS HERE

Brought Over by Martin Johnson to Tend His Captured Gorillas in Central Park Zoo.

Manuel and Diosaner have gone back to Africa, one of them disillusioned and the other filled with regret. They left last evening on the Conte Biancamano after three months spent in an about New York—mainly Central Park. They are the pair of Ugandi boys brought over by Martin Johnson to care for the gorillas he captured in the Belgian Congo. Their local history was most spectacular, and so was their departure.

John Kelly, who runs the restaurant near the elephant house in the park, had the task of getting the boys to Weest Fifty-fifth Street and the boat. He started on the job early. Manuel wasn't hard; he wanted to go away and he wanted to go as soon as possible. He was discovered sitting patiently on one of his three trunks, holding his suitcase in his hand. He had no possessions when he arrived.

Then the Park's maitre d'hotel began looking around for Diosaner. He wasn't to be found, nor was his baggage. Kelly went to Harlem and started his search. Finally, after an hour's investigation, he discovered his quarry in a rooming house at 107 West Ninety-ninth Street. Diosaner, with his fists and feet, explained that Africa no longer called to him.

Kelly is a large man and he had been searching long. He dragged Diosaner, literally, from the house. The boy set up a cry in the street and a number of other Negroes advanced to the rescue. But there was a patrolman handy and he rushed in to quell the riot. Diosaner was loaded into the cab, and it set out for the pier. On the way he resumed his struggles, twisted free and jumped out. This time two officers lent their courteous and strong assistance. Back in the cab, he went the rest of the way to the ship without further trouble.

The only comment made by either of the two boys about America, the skyline or their future life along the Congo was contributed by Manuel. He used all the English he knew: "O. K."

And Kelly, mopping his brow, went back home to the solitude that is the restaurant in the park, near the elephant house.

Race Problem-1931

Africa

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Anamabu.

The town of Anamabu has long been eclipsed by its neighbours, Cape Coast and Saltpond, but at the end of the eighteenth century, and during the first quarter of the nineteenth, it was one of the most important and flourishing trading stations on the Gold Coast. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the rise of the English textile industry enabled the English traders at Anamabu to undersell their Dutch and French rivals, and to attract to their factories the Akannies and other traders who came down with gold dust from the interior to barter for European goods. As the rule of the Ashantis was extended over their neighbours and the sources of gold, they established a monopoly by making the trade between the coast and their allies pass through Kumasi, and after the conclusion of the "Treaty of Maclean," in 1831, this trade was sent along the Prahsu Road to Cape Coast. The beginning of the palm-oil trade revived the prosperity of Anamabu for a time, but it was gradually diverted to the more convenient port of Saltpond. During the last two decades of the eighteenth century Anamabu was at the height of its prosperity, its head chief, Amonu Kuma, being courted equally by the Dutch, French and English. The French were particularly assiduous in their attentions, and established good trading relations, but failed to induce the Chief to oust their rivals, the Royal African Company, or at the least, to make them the most favoured nation. Amonu, who had a predilection for the English, and took pleasure in the name of John Corrente which they had bestowed upon him, refused to be moved by the blandishments of the French, though "they boasted mightily of the great Power of their King, the magnificence of his Court, the Extent of his Dominions, the Number, Wealth, and Politeness of his Subjects."

A Visit to France.

The author of the pamphlet from which I take this story says that "honest John Corrente . . . would now and then cross them a little, and seemed to doubt whether all they said was true; upon which they took occasion to propose his sending one of his Sons over to France, who might not only see that Matters were really as they had stated them, but might himself feel the good Effects of the clear Light in which they had represented the Power, the Probity, and the kind Behaviour of the Caboceiro of Annamaboe." After mature consideration, Amonu "saw, or at least he thought he saw, so fair a Prospect attended with so few Difficulties or Inconveniencies, that in the End he consented to their Proposition," and sent one of his sons to the French Company's headquarters at Whydah, whence he sailed to France, with strong recommendations to the directors of the company, who passed them on to the court, where he "was received with all the Honours due to a Prince; he was not only cloathed, lodged, maintained, and attended, but educated in all Respects in a manner suitable to that Dignity, and as such was received at Court, where he appeared in a splendid Dress." He was shown "every thing that might give him high Ideas of the King and People," and at last was sent home "in a very handsome Manner, and with laced Cloaths, to dazzle the Eyes of the Negroes." His report of his treatment and of what he had seen made a great impression on his father and his people, as well as on the traders who visited the town, and spread the report of the greatness and power of the French all over the country. As the writer of the pamphlet says, "So high a Character to be spread amongst so many Thousands of People was very cheaply purchased by two or three Years' Board to a single Man, and the Present of a few fine Cloaths when he was sent home."

The Sequel.

This pleasant story had a sequel, which is the subject of a pamphlet entitled "The Royal African: or Memoirs of the Young Prince of Annamaboe," undated, but evidently published between 1790 and 1800, from which I have quoted above. Chief Amonu was so much impressed by his son's report of the power and wealth of France that his curiosity was aroused as to how that country compared with England, "whether the latter was as good a Country, the King as powerful, or his Subjects as rich." The English traders told him "plainly that the French were a Nation that delighted in Pomp and Splendour; but that the English were much superior in Naval Power, and in the Extent of their Trade; of which the Negro was easily convinced, on comparing the Number of Ships sent by the two Nations on the Coast of Guinea." Desiring to ascertain the truth, Amonu entrusted another of his sons, who had some knowledge of the English language, to a trader who had dwelt at Anamabu for many years and acquired the fullest confidence of the Chief and his people. The young man admitted that during the passage the captain "treated him with all the Tenderness, all the Attention of a Father." On arriving at Barbados he was put into a boat and carried on shore, when he discovered that his supposed kind friend had sold him into slavery. The Captain tried to justify his conduct by setting up a claim for debt, against the Chief, but died soon after. As this treacherous conduct on the part of an Englishman destroyed the Chief's good will to the English, and caused him to favour the French traders on war breaking out between England and France, the English traders ught to put pressure on the Chief by procuring the town to be twice bombarded by British men-of-war. Submitting to these forcible arguments, Amonu agreed to send away the French, but on condition that the Royal African Company should procure the release and restoration of his son. On the arrival of the Company's agent at Barbados the young man was found, redeemed, and taken to England.

W. F. H.

LIBERIA AND THE LEAGUE.

Natives Send Delegation to Geneva.

(Special to "The African World.")

The Hon. Dr. F. W. M. Morais, author of the Minority Report to the House of Representatives, Liberian Legislature, on the International Commission's Report on Slavery and Forced Labour, arrived in England by the m.v. "Apapa" on Sunday to attend both the League Council and the assembly meetings of the League of Nations. He is accompanied by Counsellor N. H. Sie Brownell, one of the leading lawyers of Liberia, to act as legal adviser. Both gentlemen are natives of Liberia, and hold outstanding positions in the political life of the Republic.

When the International Commission's Report was submitted to the National Legislature of Liberia in October last, Dr. Morais was the only member who stood by the people of Liberia for the "clean sweep" they demanded in their petition to that body, so that reforms might be carried out. He filed a Minority Report to the House Committee Report, copies of which were filed in all the legations of the foreign nations represented in Liberia.

Being dissatisfied with the action of the National Legislature of the Whig Party in simply requesting the resignation of President King and Vice-President Yancy, and acquiescing in other lame and ineffective measures which failed of setting the country on a right footing in view of the disclosures contained in the International Commission's Report, Dr. Morais felt bound to leave the Whig Party and the Legislature, which he considered had brought the Republic into disrepute. Though offered the position of Senator to represent his home county, Maryland, he rather accepted nomination on the People's Party ticket as Vice-President, with the Hon. Thos. J. R. Faulkner as Presidential Nominee. The result of the election held in May last showed, it is claimed, that the people actually elected the People's Party candidates, yet the present Government still holds office, declaring itself duly elected.

The natives of Maryland County, learning of the coming of the experts from the League of Nations to obtain data as to how best to aid and reconstruct Liberia, despatched Dr. Morais to Monrovia to present their cause again before the League of Nations through the experts. He was further instructed to proceed to Geneva should need arise to further plead their cause.

The natives of Liberia feel that the country should not be mandated, as is foreshadowed in the foreign press, in view of the fact that the declared failure of the American-Liberians to conduct an orderly government and reform existing conditions is not the failure of the aborigines, who have never been privileged to form a government and direct its policy, or actually participate in the government of their own country. They feel that they should be given a chance. Given that opportunity, they are prepared to accept the reforms suggested by the League of Nations, and are willing to carry them out energetically, and allow the country to be opened to trade and commerce, general education and civilisation. The natives of Liberia feel that they are the real owners of the country, and that their welfare should be paramount in considering the future of Liberia, and their wishes known and respected. For these and other purposes, they have sent Dr. Morais to the League to present their claims.

Counsellor N. H. Sie Brownell, who is associated with Dr. Morais on this all-important mission, puts aside lucrative practice and business in Monrovia to repair to Geneva with Dr. Morais to act as legal adviser on behalf of his country and people.

Dr. Morais and Counsellor Sie Brownell go to the League of Nations with their countrymen's support, and it is hoped that the League, which stands for the welfare of those peoples who are not yet able to stand by themselves will hear their side of the question before Liberia's die is cast.

League Experts at Work.

M. Charles Brunot (French), M. Ligthart (Dutch), and Dr. MacKenzie (British), the experts sent by the Council of the League of Nations to Liberia at the latter's request to investigate what forms of financial, sanitary, and administrative assistance could be usefully recommended to that country, began yesterday at Geneva the preparation of a detailed report, which will be submitted to the special committee of the Council to be presided over by Mr. Henderson (British Minister for Foreign Affairs).

Soil Erosion In Basuto-land.

7-24-31

Mission Basutoland

During the last few years land-hunger has led the Basuto to invade their hitherto exclusively pastoral Maluti. The soil has been turned irrespective of its depth and of the steepness of the gredient. The results have been so disastrous that within a few seasons the invaders have had to abandon their new lands for lack of soil.

Meanwhile the lowlands have shown equally alarming signs of the same malady. Not only have ploughed fields spread beyond their traditional limits and blotted out paths and old roads, but they have actually fused, obliterating boundaries and eliminating the grassy strips which had hitherto checked their erosion.

Finally, lands have not only extended to the giddy edge of the larger sluits and appeared over their flat beds, but, wherever possible, the sloping banks themselves are turned by the plough.

Scientifically built roads are never productive of erosion. In

South Africa and particularly in the Protectorate, the roads mostly originate from mere tracks. The waggon and its span make the road and in course of time unmake it When wheels have crushed and hoofs trampled the grass to dust, the pasture is succeeded by the condition described as "top-crust."

Such a road is necessarily of short duration, and no sooner is it damaged, than it is abandoned. Thus in the days when transport driving was a trade it was a common sight in the Free State to see roads broad enough for waggon and full span to turn about without leaving the track.

Usually however, the older portions of the roads are no longer negotiable. Thus while the latest encroaches on the veld, the original one has become a donga and, between these two extremes, the process of erosion can be followed step by step.

Such conditions prevail in many parts of South Africa to this day and are none too familiar in Basutoland. The more hilly the country the greater the damage done by these roads and the faster their shooting.

To-day however, road-parties are periodically at work on them, but their efforts are often unrational and clumsy. Not infrequently the road lies on a lower level than the surrounding country and offers a convenient channel for flood-water; but by far the greatest crime committed by road-parties is the creation of ditches alongside the tracks. As these are abandoned to the action of water they are rapidly converted into dongas, which simultaneously encroach on the surrounding veld and on the road itself.

FOOT-PATHS.

Cattle-tracks, foot and bridle-paths are as important in this respect as roads. Their most destructive form occurs over mountain-passes where cattle are driven to and fro in large numbers. Within a short time a broad strip of mountain-side is bared of all vegetation and sooner or later ravined. The Maluti which a few years ago were intact are everywhere marred by such unsightly scars.

Another aspect of path-erosion which is extremely common in Basutoland appears between large villages and on the way to the residences of important chiefs. Here paths run parallel in surprising numbers. The writer remembers a sport where no less than seventy-five paths thus ran side by side in close juxta-position. Less than a generation ago their quaint picture lent local colour to the landscape. It evoked cavalcades of gaily blanketed horse-men riding to a common rendezvous. To-day their orderly array has ravished as a dream.

Despite the great number of parallel paths, only a few are used at a time. No sooner is a path too deep and long before it has become impracticable, than it is abandoned and a new course followed alongside. This is repeated indefinitely until year by year a wider strip of veld is destroyed.

Gradually the grass disappears between the paths, their separating ridges collapse, and the tracks unite to simulate, for a time at least, a road Elsewhere, and this is particularly the case on the slope, the paths deepen into rankets and gulleys which finally ecalesce into large and ugly sluits.

Compulsory Segregation in South Africa is Opposed

By Thomas Jesse Jones

Compulsory segregation is impossible to enforce, Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, Educational Director of the Phelps—Stokes Fund, told the white people of South Africa and Rhodesia, where he made fifty speeches on "The Native Problem" at universities and before joint native councils. He spoke under the auspices of the Visitor's Grant Committee of the Carnegie Corporation, and was away six months. Mrs. Jones and a daughter, Carolyn, who made a study of native education for her thesis at Swathmore College, accompanied him.

After four months' stay in South Africa, Dr. Jones spent two months in England in consultation with members of the British Parliament relative to problems in Africa. His visit to South Africa was the third within ten years.

The marked interest in Dr. Jones' utterances on interracial matters was reflected in the columns of the press which quoted him extensively. The Rhodesia Herald in a two-column article, reported his lecture before the Rhodesian Scientific Association, in which he said in part:

"I would suggest that a sounder attitude to the question of the relations of white and black is not to regard it as a problem. As soon as we speak of a 'problem' there is a feeling of apprehension. There is a problem, I admit, but suggest that a better attitude is represented by the word 'responsibility,' or, better still, 'opportunity', for the inter-relations of mankind are first of all responsible and secondly, opportunities. Once we get this idea of fear out of our minds we can approach the subject with confidence.

Dr. Jones related in America difficulty had been experienced in enforcing compulsory education, which could work a great deal of harm, but that beneficial effects had been known to result from voluntary segregation.

Education as a solution

"In my opinion," he said, "the best way of solving interracial perplexities is by education, the encouragement of those influences which make for better, sounder family life. It is not enough to fill a man's head with facts; you must develop his personality."

Addressing representatives of the Methodist Church, Dr. Jones is quoted by The Methodist Churchman, published in Capetown, as saying: "Europeans in South Africa, in my opinion, are in a far stronger position to exert a great influence for good on Africa than their ancestors in North-Western Europe were to influence the world.

"Then I find that some people are very anxious about preserving racial purity, and they fear what will happen should the natives rise higher in the social and economic scale. The development of the Negro in America has not meant the intermingling of blood, but rather the parallel cooperative relationship that all good citizens should have. The educated, progressive Negro is a much more valuable asset to the State as a producer and a consumer that the ignorant, untrained Negro."

What was characterized by Dr. Jones as the "most inspiring meeting he had addressed during any of his three tours of South Africa," was his talk to the delegates of the Free State Dutch Reformed Synod at Bloemfontein. An account of the meeting published in The Friend, stated that "the audience was sympathetic, often enthusiastic, and Dr. Jones was accorded a remarkable reception."

"The whole world has turned its eager attention to South Africa to see how it would deal with its relations," he told the churchman. "On a solution of this problem depends the future welfare of the whole continent of Africa. If you can undertake a settlement in the sense of a great opportunity rather than in a sense of necessity, I am sure you will find God's way of solving your race problem."

Dr. Jones referred to statistics showing that in Bloemfontein the infantile morality among European babies was 56 per 1000, whereas among native babies it was 598 per 1000.

"Some people might not feel much concerned about this in the light of maintaining an equilibrium between white and black, but it certainly has a reaction on the mental and moral fibre of the community in which such a thing happens," Dr. Jones pointed out.

FUTURE OF EAST AFRICA

We have received a cablegram from the Moslem Association of East Africa complaining that the vast community of Mohammedan natives of Kenya and Uganda has been totally ignored by the Joint Parliamentary Committee on East Africa. The community has not been invited to give evidence and no facilities to make their views known have been granted to them.

The Mohammedan natives ask that the opportunity should be given to them for giving evidence from the two territories or submitting a memorandum before the publication of the Joint Committee's report. They ask for facilities for a land grant and financial help for the Mohammedan native missionaries as in the case of the Christian missionaries.

Race Problem—1931

Africa

WILL IT ABATE?

A MESSAGE TO FREETOWN.

By one of her Patriot Sons.

Isaiah lix 1.

"Behold, the Lord's hand is not shortened that it cannot save, neither his ear heavy that it cannot hear."—But.

Two things are preliminary (1) Behold (2 The Lord. Weekly News

Isaiah's prophecy is full of the word "Behold." It is a call to those who are addressed to take notice, give attention. In the Yoruba language it is Kiyese!

We profit by nothing to which we give no attention. In all labour there is profit—but we must labour. And while we labour we must attend to the business on hand.

Attention is required by Sierra Leoneans to-day to every word of God. We attend to matters of Trade. Do we attend to matters of God? Real attention carries with it the whole man. 7-11-31

The Lord. People address God as they FEEL concerning Him. They address Him also as they *know* concerning Him. In the Psalms, and here in Isaiah God is almost always addressed as LORD. The Lord. The meaning is that whatever we may think of ourselves, there is one who is infinitely greater and has under his infinite and unquestionable control—All of us. He has charge of our life and of our death; of our day and of our night; of our Heaven and of Hell; of our Disgrace and of our Glory. And He rules and governs not only ourselves but all the Earth. No. 45. Vol XLII

He says—as Lord—when you forget yourselves and give yourselves over to Evil of thought or action; when you begin to talk pompously, forgetting Me, I will cause the clouds and they shall rain, no rain upon the Earth. I will call the Grasshoppers and they shall eat up the labour of your hands; I will cut trade to pieces and you shall want for bread. I am the Lord. Freetown

So, we should consider this. God is the Lord. (1) All power is with Him (2) As Lord He demands our worship and obedience. And (3) As Lord, He tells us authoritatively that the realisation of our best interest hangs upon the way we serve Him. Sierra Leone

To-day, the cry everywhere amounting to lamentation is concerning our material interests—our trade—our commerce—our means of subsistence,

That which is at present, our perplexity has been coming upon us gradually, And now it has taken seat. Whereas the affliction is heavy, it appears to have come to stay. (1) The affliction is heavy. Whether in the Colony or in the Protectorate men are being put out of work by the score. Some have had to wonder from place to place for months but could not find a job. With women, they labour but no profit. In every way, we are suffering. Is palm oil ever sold at 9d. a tin. Are palm kernels ever sold at £3 a ton? And under circumstances of the kind? Who is happy?

(2). The affliction is not only perplexing but it has come to stay. We put our ears down every week to hear good news but it is evil that we hear instead. And nobody is able to tell us to—Look! There is sign of an abatement of the evil. You ask—watchman, what of the night. Ah—he says—I see nothing but night—deeper, blacker night.

Now, people of good sense are asking—what is the matter. And all sorts of reasons are being given why the present is so, and why the future also is so gloomy for us all.

But whatever the primary, the secondary or other causes may be for the present crisis, what we greatly, utterly need is *Salvation*. We need a turning of the *Tide*; we need competent help.

The God we own with our lips but whom we certainly despise in our ways; whom we play with like a Toy; whom we spit upon in our homes of plenty, whom we set ourselves to argue out of His world in our seasons of prosperity, is the one with whom our Deliverance rests. *Let us take notice of that.* Is it nota fact that at this crisis Government has been unable to help, and that merchants are just squeezing up their business, closing down and sending men away?

The thing appears to be too big for themselves. All we hear from those upon whom we have depended is retrenchment, retrenchment—as though retrenchment is honourable to Government in time of crisis. Retrenchment!! Without the doles given to thousands in England to prevent anarchy and revolution. Simply retrenchment and that is all. If you live, you live, if you die—well—so much the better for you—alas! Men raise ghosts by Foolish wars and then are unable to lay the ghosts. Innocent people must suffer. It is certain that the statesmen of the world are confounded.

Who then? With whom, is help? Competent help.

Here the Text. Behold—give attention—the hand of Him who is Lord—Lord of all—is not shortened that it cannot save, nor is His ear heavy that it cannot hear. BUT.

Sometimes (history proves it) Government are unable; Merchants, the Finance makers of the world are unable; the Statesman of the world are helpless and simply muddle on, BUT there has never been a time when our God, the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and the God under whose wings we Sierra Leoneans were brought up, Could not WORK WONDERS. Take notice of that. And contest the statement, who can. He does work wonders when there cometh the necessity—BUT!

Please turn (whoever reads these lines) to 2nd Kings chap. 6, v. 24. Very human and most divine is the narrative, which th "Higher Centres" of Europe and of West Africa have never attempted to call a legend—a mere fate and not founded on fact.

The newspapers of Freetown are crowded with records of *waiting* by Associations, by Congresses and other self-centred bodies upon Governments for *relief* from distress and for *deliverances* from impending dangers —dangers, yes, like the hateful and unnecessary proposed Criminal Code. The pepole of Freetown are waiting upon kings—which in its place is not bad, but are they waiting upon God? Are they waiting upon God? Freetown Sierra Leone

Since our present crisis has taken seat in our midst and has been deepening in its intensity one has waited in vain to hear some message of comfort sounded by the guardians of the Christian churches of Freetown. The priests have been mute either as being afraid to offend the susceptibilities of their people who have forsaken their God, or as having been themselves converted to the materialism which has taken hold of all our hearts which then is it? Is it a shame to call the people together to the Cathedral, to Wesley to Buxton, to Trinity, to declare the truth to them from the Pulpit and then authoritatively bid them bow seriously and ask collectively for aid and for deliverance from their God? No. 43 Vol XLVII

God says—and this is the present message I have the Power. I am all-Power and all Love. But I work by Law. Since this thing, have you opened your ears to hear and your eyes to see? Have you asked one of another—Take care God is in this Thing? Have you tried to seek Him, to ask of Him that He might show you what to do? To forgive your Transgressions?

The Distress of Samaria was relieved in a night; and NOT through the King but through the prophet. Not through Government but through the Church. And when the Lord turned the captivity of Zion it was like a Dream

Behold, the Lord's arm is not shortened—But. Pull the But. The But of materialism, of Pride, Rebellion, Forgetfulness of God. Destroy the But.

Hymn 812. (Wesley).

A famine, through oppression of Samaria by Syrians, ancestors of our present fellow citizens. So great was it that the people were reduced to extremities far greater than we know in our present crisis; for Samaritan mothers had to "boil a son," and to eat him! A quarrel ensued over the matter. The King of Israel happened to be passing by, and the aggrieved woman cried out to him, "Help—O king." The answer given by Jehoram showed him to be a sensible man—a man who at heart was religious. Help, my lord, O king, you say. If the Lord—the Lord—do not help, whence shall I help thee? Out of the threshing-floor? Out of the wine-press? Even there He has control

Basuto Native Farmers' Association.

Moshochonono 6-24-31

This Association has existed for about a year, and so far nothing of importance could be said about it. It is one of those babies whose births, in this world, are so quiet and they must grow and struggle for life without attracting attention until such a time as its blunders or efforts to achieve something shall draw public attention in a way, and perhaps by continuous effort and diligent work will bring itself to public notice and become popular. We are informed that it has a small membership of about ten or so. She Council Maseru Basutoland

The secretary of the Association had the courtesy to send us a copy of their constitution which we publish here for the information of those who may be interested and may wish to form another association of its like in their neighbourhood.

There was a time when the talk of inculcating modern methods of agriculture in Basutoland would cause laughter, when a great part of the territory was virgin and fertile soil and good crops were harvested from carelessly ploughed lands when the soil retained the moisture for a long time because the ground was covered with plenty of sweet grass which prevented the storms and steady rains from running away into the rivers before soaking the ground. These were the good old days when Basutoland was spoken of by the outsiders as a wealthy part of South Africa. Sheep and goats, cattle and horses thrived then. Dongas and soil erosion were

inknown and everything was ovely.

Those good old days have gone Times have changed the territory has changed, stock has changed, why everything has changed and changed for the worse. The live of stock has shortened owing to want o feed, the country is bare and becoming increasingly barren year by year. It is rapidly and continuously being torn away by storms. The territory that was once famous for its production of grain, fed cattle aarly ponies and good wool has turned to be notorious for its erosion and the production of inferior hides and skins and of noxious weeds, today produces a poor type of Africans.

Something should be done to save the territory and its people. But the territory could be saved by the Basuto themselves waking up from their deep sleep, and shaking themselves up, girding their loins and resigning themselves to hard work to save themselves. They must come together and form farmers associations with the object of "seeking first the kingdom of mealies," to put it in the words of Professor Jabavu of Fort Hare.

Quite a good number of people are already profiting by the practical lessons that are shown them by the government demonstrators who are operating in their neighbourhoods. But even those could gain better results by organising farmers Associations. A lone farmer may produce good crops but still he may have difficulties to encounter but a group of people working together may produce far better crops because they get the benefit of co-operation by exchanging experiences and joining together to obtain what a lone worker could not manage to obtain. By making joint purchases they could get good implements at cheaper prices and by selling together they could get the most value for their crops. Above all that the associations could always enlist the support of the Government. The Agricultural Officer is always ready and willing to help these associations as he is already doing to help the local one. We of this paper would gladly publish any experiences that anybody may wish to spread for the benefit of others.

WOODS GREAT PEPPERMINT CURE.

The Comet

6-24-31

Is the best Remedy for Coughs, Colds or Influenza. It is cheap and good. it quickly makes the sufferer, whether man, woman or child, warm and comfortable and a complete cure soon follows. No one can afford to be without a bottle of this wonderful cure in the House. Get a Bottle to-day from the chemist or Storekeeper

Maseru

Basutoland

To help the members to learn agriculture by lectures from Government Demonstrators.

To try and obtain for the members good prices for their produce.

To obtain for members good seed of different kind.

To jointly buy plows, harrows and planters which are necessary in agriculture.

To encourage members to own well bred animals.

III. MEMBERSHIP

Members shall be confined to Basoto living on the Maseru Reserve.

IV. SUBSCRIPTION

An annual subscription of 5/— payable in June shall be paid by each member, and the money realised shall be used in the purchase of farming newspapers and to defray the expenses of the Association. If the Association requires to purchase implements all the members will be called upon to raise money (pro rata) enough to pay for such implements.

V. OFFICE BEARERS

The Office bearers of the Association shall be:-

a. President- The Agricultural Officer ex-officio.
b. Chairman and Vice Chairman.
c. Secretary and Treasurer
d. Four men to form the Committee.

Four members shall form a quorum, and the Chairman shall exercise casting vote. Voting shall be by show of hands.

VI. MEETINGS

The dates for Committee meeting shall be decided by members at each meeting. The Committee shall meet at least four times a year, once a quarter and a General Meeting shall be held once a year. At each meeting of the Committee, the minutes of the previous meeting must be read and signed by the Chairman and these minutes must be kept in a book known as the "Minute Book" An extra-ordinary General meeting might be called at the written request of ten members.

VII. ELECTION

The Office bearers and the Committee shall be elected at a General Meeting to be held once a year. These hold office for a year but shall be eligible for re-election.

VIII. NON-PAYMENT OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Any member who fails to pay his subscription after 6 months he automatically ceases to be a member.

IX. EQUIPMENT.

The Secretary shall be in charge of all implements belonging to the Association. During the plowing season the Committee shall draw up a Time-Table showing the allotment of implements to members No member will be allowed to keep a harrow or a planter for more than 48 hrs.

X. RESIGNED MEMBERS.

If a member has resigned or been retired from this Association he ceases to have any right to the property of the Association, and cannot be refunded the subscriptions he paid Every member is bound to keep these laws clean, and to obey the Officials of the Association.

The Office bearers can retire a member for showing disrespect to those placed in charge of the property of the Association

XI. QUARRELS AND DISPUTES.

All quarrels and disputes shall be referred to the committee, whose decision shall be final.

Note: These rules may be amended by a two-thirds majority of the Association.

A. J. MOFUBETSOANA,
Atg. Secretary,
Maseru.

Farmers Association

The Comet

7-29-31

Maseru

Basutoland

A public meeting was held in the afternoon of the 14th inst. under the auspices of the local Farmers Association with the object of arousing interest in this movement among the local Natives. The meeting was well attended. Among those who had attended was His Honour the Resident Commissioner, Mr F Foord, the Government Secretary; Mr H. Ashton, Assistant Commissioner and Mr L. F. Wacher, Agricultural Officer. The meeting was addressed by His Honour and his words were very encouraging to the Basuto and we expect that as a result of his address many of those who had not made up their minds to join the movement will readily enlist and avail themselves of the many advantages to be derived from the Association. There were also other speakers including Mr Wacher whose words were on the same strain with those of His Honour. He emphasized that if such a body existed they could count upon the support of the Government who would be willing to lend them implements until such time as they would be in a position to obtain their own. Further the Government would help to find the best market for their produce provided that they made up their minds to sell together.

Mr Mofubetsoana, Acting Secretary of the Association also spoke.

Race Problems-1931

Africa.

AFRICA AND WORLD DESTINY.

THREE-FOLD GIFT TO AMERICA.—MR. PAUL ROBESON ON CULTURE AND RACE.

[By A Special Representative.]

Last week, at the Farringdon Memorial Hall, London, the League of Coloured Peoples was successfully inaugurated.

Dr. Harold Moody, in the chair, said the League would explore every avenue to improve the relations between White and Coloured. Its keynote was co-operation of the Coloured races among themselves and co-operation with Great Britain. Its great objective was the emancipation of humanity.

Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M.A., M.P., advocated the institution of a club and hostel for Africans in London. She referred to the fine type of West African students here, and implied that the Colonial Office was sympathetic towards the founding of a club.

Mr. Fuller referred to the international conference on African children to be held at Geneva from June 21 to 25. The speakers were to be missionaries, anthropologists, administrators, and medical men. They would discuss the welfare of the child before and after birth, and would speak on how to stem the tide of mortality. Also, education and careers would be dealt with. Lord Noel Buxton was president, and nine nations would be represented. The conference had been arranged by the Save the Children Union and was non-political, non-racial, non-sectarian. It was in close contact with the League of Nations.

It was agreed to send to the conference Mr. Sinanan as a delegate from the League of Coloured Peoples.

Mr. E. T. Nelson, a well-known barrister of Manchester, hailing originally from British Guiana, said that in some of the Crown Colonies the people had not a voice in their own affairs. Everything was done from Downing Street. The League of Coloured Peoples in London could help by judicious propaganda, by studying questions affecting their race and putting subjects before the British people. They should co-operate with White people. They owed much to the British Empire.

Mr. Paul Robeson, the famous singer and actor, spoke superbly. Because the cause lay near his heart he disobeyed his doctor in thus making a public appearance.

"I'm glad I came," said this smiling giant in his melodious voice. "Sorry I can't burst into song, but I'll be all right soon." He surveyed the race problem from the cultural angle as it appeared to him, an artist rather than a sociologist. Referring to affronts offered him, he said the incidents were not typical of London. They occurred at hotels which mainly depend on White American *clientele*. Elsewhere, nothing but kindness had come his way. His manager in America had censured him for protesting against the affronts—it was bad for business. Besides, America was their birthplace, and one of the greatest countries could practically do no wrong. (Laughter.) "But I know, and he knows," said Mr. Robeson, "that injustice is done to the Coloured races in America." He thought it unfair that White Americans should seek to impose their unfair ruling in London. He himself, educated at college among White and Black students, had a detached view, but the prejudiced view had its dangers, and England should know them.

Three-fold Gift to America.

Negroes formed one-tenth of America's population. Brought from Africa centuries ago, they formed a part of the American soil. Yet Africa must still be their spiritual home. In America the Negro was reckoned, culturally, at the foot of the ladder, yet, dowered by the Almighty, he had given to America her only folk-music, which derived its rhythm and melody from African sources. Negro drama was the most important part of the American scene. Miss Ethel Barrymore had even tried to play the part of a Negro girl—and played it badly. (Laughter.) "Green Pastures," the Negro play, had broken all records and would run for another year. But the Negroes' supreme gift to America had been the religious spirit. Yet he was not free to foster it in an America which harassed him! He could not rise to spiritual heights if he was in constant dread of being shot for offending some White American. In America the Negro had no right the White man was bound to respect.

Mr. Robeson talked of England's kindness. He had here been taken at his full value, treated as a human being, and without sentimentality. He felt at home in England, which was more than he had ever done in France and America. There was something exotic in the French attitude. They seemed to think that fundamentally he was still a savage. (Laughter.) If to America the Negro had brought spiritual possibilities, what immense soul force lay dormant in Africa, where that spiritual gift existed in all its fullness! All religions had first found their soul in Africa. One day the great culture now existing in Africa might revive, and blossom again. European countries needed to obtain a freshening of their spirit from somewhere. It might come from Africa. Africans everywhere must learn to co-operate. Humanity generally must learn to know itself as one family. (Loud applause.)

DEVELOPING WEST AFRICAN COLONIES.

NEW SIERRA LEONE GOVERNOR'S POLICY.

The new Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Sierra Leone, Mr. Arnold Hodson C.M.G., sailed from Liverpool recently by the Elder Dempster liner Apapa to take up his duties in succession to Sir Joseph Byrne, who has been appointed Governor of Kenya Colony. Prior to his departure Mr. Hodson was entertained at luncheon at the Exchange Station Hotel by Mr. Picton H. Jones, chairman, and the members of the African Trade Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Picton H. Jones presided over the gathering.

The chairman in proposing "H.E. the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Sierra Leone," said it had long been the custom of that Chamber to keep in as close touch as possible with the Governors of the West African Colonies, and to render them all the assistance its members could in developing those colonies in the prosperity of which they in Liverpool, were so vitally interested. Mr. Hodson came to Sierra Leone from that far-flung outpost of the Empire—the Falkland Islands—made famous in the war as the starting point of Admiral Sturdee's epic fight with, and complete defeat of Von Spee in December, 1914. Therefore, while not so far acquainted with West Africa, he had considerable experience of other parts of Africa and of the Empire, and so they felt they had in him a man whose wide and varied experience must serve both them and him in good stead in the administration of the colony of Sierra Leone, which they hoped might yet rival in importance its sister colonies of Nigeria and the Gold Coast. (Here here).

Sierra Leone had not developed in anything like the same ratio as had the other West African colonies. It was a country of great potentialities, and with a wise and enterprising development policy they felt it should have a great future. It was true Mr. Hodson went to the new post under the cloud of an unparalleled trade depression, which was world-wide in its effect, and drastic economy must be the order of the day. Economy was always the most difficult task to undertake, but they felt sure from his past record Mr. Hodson would face the problems awaiting him unflinchingly, and with the help and co-operation of all interests engaged in that trade, whose loyal support could always be assured of, they hoped to see the storm weathered with a return to more prosperous times. (Hear, hear.)

His Excellency, in responding, said he had just come from the Antarctic, and it might interest those present to know that the South Pole was in his previous dominion. He had therefore come from a refrigerator and was going into a radiator, for he was told the West Coast was at least sultry during the rainy season. They had no financial problems in the Falkland Islands, and in this year's Budget he budgeted for a very large surplus; they had, in fact in hand nearly one million sterling, which they lent to the other British colonies. (Laughter.) He hoped that in the future those present would look upon the Falkland Islands with a very different eye from what they looked upon it now.

CUTTING DOWN EXPENDITURE.

He was not going to discuss plans for the future, but he would like to say a few words about finance. He had recently been reading a book by a German writer, and he thought a few words were pertinent to the present situation "that an daministration in a great financial crisis must be judged by its economy, i.e., by ways of cutting down expenses." He thought there was a great deal in those words, because if they suddenly ceased expenditure and cut it out from their programmes all the work and money was thrown away, and when prosperity came back it would be very difficult to start all over again. He hoped those present would realise that they had to go slowly in Sierra Leone. They had to consider all questions and the means of cutting down expenditure, and he could assure them it was a very

strong point with him. He liked to get good value for his money and cut out all unnecessary waste, and that would be the policy in Sierra Leone.

They were going through a bad time. but he believed, in one way, it was a good thing, because a few years ago they were under the asaumption oil and other commodities would keep up their prices for ever. They were inclined to spend a little more money than they should do, not realising that the cycle of trade came up and down, and when bad times came it was essential to have a good bank balance. If the present trade slump had come five years later the position would have been very much worse, because it would have been difficult to pull up and economise sufficiently, but he thought they were going to pull through and that they had all learned the lesson. It was a tribute to the British character, when things were bad to keep a smiling face and hope for the best, and they generrally came through. (Hear hear.)

Mr. W. E. Clucas, chairman of the West African Section of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, in proposing "The Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine," said the school was very closely and directly associated with the colony of Sierra Leone, where they had one of the most important parts of its work. Liverpool citizens had been associated with its origin, development, and history, and they could not express what that school of tropical medicine means to the world at large. The work was, in the main, partly preventive and afterwards remedial, and there was true wisdom in the method of procedure. They could not think of that institution without also thinking of the sacrificial labour of many men, who in more ways than one, had sacrificed their lives for the good of humanity, both European and native.

Professor Warrington Yorke, in responding, said he had been connected with the school for 26 years, and he could honestly say that in no other period of the school's existence had more work been done, or of a higher order, than at the present time. They were busily engaged in Sierra Leone, and also in Liverpool. When trade improved they would expect the members of the African trade to do their duty by the school.

A vote of thanks was accorded to the chairman on the proposition of Mr. J. Albert Eckes, chairman of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce.—*An Exchange.*

The Education of Bantu Girls.

(By SOL. S. M. MOLELLE.)

The Editor of "Mochochonono."

Sir,

May I through the medium of your valuable paper ventilate an opinion on the above subject.

The question of the education of girls is one that needs special attention especially with the Bantu. We are just emerging from darkness into the light of education, from semi-barbarism into the whirlwind of the most complicated civilisation. It is therefore needful that we should make certain that we start with the right foot on the race of national progress. Feeling therefore, that what we decide will determine our position in relation to other advanced nations, I advice my followmen to stamp out that harmful idea which has contributed much towar is the retrogression of our nation the harmful idea of not educating girls.

Educate your girls, this is my message to you sons and daughters of my fatherland, for this will eventually become mothers of the future generations. What a nation is is determined largely by home influence, if the homes influence is not noble, we don't expect to have strong, resolute men who will become pillars of the nation. One intellectual giant writes. "There is one thing that man with all his education cannot make, and that is to make a home. There woman is supreme. It is the greatest of all arts, and the greatest of all sciences A nation is nothing but a collection of homes." We may educate our boys as much as we like and ever obtain the best teachers from them but if they are brought up by illiterate mothers school influence becomes powerless. Since they are such a valuable asset to a home, is not this the very reason why they should be educated?

Girls have natural tenderness and love for the young ones. They have natural patience of a remarkable type. Are these qualities not developed in the Infants department? If they are by far lacking in these, since then providence has endowed girls with such invaluable qualities why should we not educate them while the opportunity is ours, develop and cultivate the important and noble qualities, and make them reach a higher standard of efficieney?

The story of Miss Florence Nightingale is well-known by most people especially by those who like history. The English heroine of the eighteenth century, who left her home and sacrified her life for the soldiers. As a consequence her name lives even though she is dead. The tender characteristic of girls fits them for a noble life of a nurse. Does it not then behove us to educate our girls? For at present we are at the bottom rung of the ladder of civilisation. An educated girl will help towards the uplift of our nation, it is true that no nation can rise above the level of its womanhood. The blackman of America is working hand-in-hand with his wife and the result is that their civilization is at its zenith.

It is a sad truth to realise that wherever a young native girl has fallen into mischief she disappears and in nine cases out of ten she flies into Johannesburg. Let me just mention one sad point about these girls who fly into urban areas. Their employers do not care about these girls, so long as the work is done they are perfectly satisfied. They do not concern themselves with the way in which these girls spend their leisure time and evenings.

Some people always labour under the misapprehension that the education of girls is not worthwhile, for as they say, as soon as these girl students leave school they are married and consequently it is of no use educating them for they do not work after their school-career. I sympathise with these for while they do not reap the benefit of their children's education, who doubts but that the whole nation is blessed by their attainments?

In conclusion, let me say, the times in which we live give no scope to the uneducated. Life is becoming a problem. Boys and girls alike have to look for work at one time or another to earn a living. These girls cannot all go to the farms nor can they go to the mines, yet they have to maintain life. So you see we must educate our girls to enable them to respond to the demands of times.

Bantu men and women let us exercise those powers with which God our Creator has endowed us and support education of our girls because it is through them that we can hope to attain our ideal. Finally let me in the common language of the day implore you Bantu men and women to come within the orb of a progressive world, and move with the times and bear these facts in mind that a bird which never flaps its winds wings never flies, and that the lower the morality of the fair sex, the lower the morality of the nation.

Race Problem - 1931

Africa

PRIZE COMPETITIONS FOR READERS OF "WEST AFRICA."

FOUR PRIZES FOR COAST LIMERICKS.

In accordance with my usual practice at this time of year, I have submitted my Honours List to the Prime Minister for immediate ratification. But, as many of you never see the London dailies and may like to learn of your new Dignities at once, I print the more important of these appointments.

A Nighthood has been conferred upon Señor O. de Ziaku, of Onitsha, with precedence next below Sir Rip v. Winkle. West Africa

Privy Counsellors include Drs. Tripe and O. Somiasis, of Owerri Province, Sir Lagos Executive Development Board, of the Colony of Nigeria, and others, to whose names the prefix of Quite Honourable must henceforth be attached. 5-30-31

I thought it as well to recognise the field of West African poetry, and notable appointments under this heading will be those of Mr. F. C. H. Brain, of Kumasi, "Iyalode," of Ilorin; "Bushman," of Cross River; "A. T. Tempt," Midlothian, who will, respectively, be known as Count, Dame, Lord and Good Gracious, with the honorific prefix, in each case, of The Most Remarkable. London England

Sir O. de Ziaku receives a further honour, in this connection, of a dukedom, the sentences to run concurrently; Sir Kobina Kwaansa and Sir Kwesi Capecoast will rank among the new baronets; and William Bekwai, of "Sweetheart" fame, receives a recommendation to Mercy on his engagement to the irrepressible nag-pot of that name who writes to him in this paper.

* * * * *

I read in another column of WEST AFRICA the other week a pungent comment on a recent letter in the "Times" about Freetown. The writer of the "Times' letter "asked for it," apparently, with the remark (was it a subtle jest) that trade gin was called "mammy palaver"! Yo ho! and a bottle of rum—not so rum as the "Times" correspondent's remark, though. Well, curiously enough, my own historic letter to the "Benin Bulger" includes this superb passage, which I give you without extra charge:—

"Monte Carlo, which is the Forcados of the Mediterranean, provides a horrible object-lesson of what is possible in the non-tropics when the laws of wealth and modern insanity are unintelligently applied. With its defective system of moral drainage, rapacious mammies, and spacious, well-metalled potentates, there is far more risk of ejection from Monte Carlo than from the so-called unhealthy parts of West Africa. To hear it called The Bright Man's Crave must be debilitating to the residents. I have the most miserable recollections of losing my braces in the *mistral* there. And I can turn out this sort of bilge, about places in which I do not have to earn my living, by the ream. And then some."

* * * * *

The fact is, and I have told you before, you must not say even one nasty thing about West Africa. I, myself, cured chronic chilblains and malignant swank during my residence on the Coast. But the truth is that tourists, dashing bloques and other highly-placed observers see more of your game in five minutes than you can pack into five years. And how? I dunno. Do you? But the following little verses from the Old 'Un to the Young 'Un may help us to see what's what, even in the most gauzely spots, my jars, of the cawntinent of Africa. The most gauzely:—

I s'pose you 'ad some sins, ye boob, afore you came out 'ere;
Or was you reared, exclusive, in the pretty-goody pose?
'Cos on the Coast you'll soon be findin' somethin' pretty near
To Beauty in Damn Badness when your pretty-goodness goes!

Second Reproach:

The night's all yourn, an' the day belongs to you;
An' you're pretty bliddy certain what the weather's gonna do.

PORTUGUESE AFRICA.

PORTUGUESE CURRENCY STABILISATION.

West African Herald

110 Escudos to the £.

6-6-31

LISBON, May 31.

The Government has decided to stabilise the currency at the permanent rate of 110 gold escudos for the pound sterling. A long report has been published on this subject by the Minister of Finance, and a new contract has been signed with the Portuguese bank of issue.—Reuter.

London England

The announcement that the Portuguese Government has decided to stabilise the currency was received with satisfaction in the City, says the "Financial Times." The announcement did not occasion much surprise, since the market rate has been steady at the above figure for some time past, and it was known that stabilisation had been under consideration by the Government for a considerable period.

In some quarters it had not been expected that the step would be taken so soon, as it had been thought that stabilisation might have been held up pending more settled conditions. On the other hand, in view of the fact that the escudo has been steady for the last three years, and that the Budget is balanced, it is generally held that there is no reason why the effort now about to be made should not meet with success.

For some months past it has been known that the Ministry of Finance has been preparing a reform of the monetary system and of the constitution of the issuing institution. Note circulation is about £18,000,000, while combined foreign exchange holdings of the Bank of Portugal and the Treasury are approximately £3,000,000.

Necessary Support.

In order to carry out the stabilisation of the escudo it will be necessary for the Government to obtain additional external support. It is generally held that the issue of an external loan at the moment would be difficult, but it is thought that the Government may be successful in obtaining an advance abroad.

When the League of Nations Commission visited Portugal last year it made three recommendations. These were that the Budget should be balanced, the currency stabilised, and the Central Bank reorganised.

The first of these has been achieved and the second will take place as from July 1, while discussions are taking place with a view to the last, but by no means the least, of these important steps.

New Coins to be Issued.

LISBON, June 4.

A second decree amplifying the provisions of the first for the stabilisation of Portugal's currency has been issued by the Minister of Finance.

The new decree authorises the creation of gold coins of 50, 100, and 250 escudos without any limit as to the total number. Silver coins of 2½, 5, and 10 escudos to a total of 100,000 contos are to be issued. Metal tokens of 50 centavos and 1 escudo to a total of of 31,000 contos are also to be issued, together with copper money—Reuter.

Angola.

IMMIGRATION REGULATIONS.

Restrictions on Foreign Residents.

According to a recent Ordinance enacted by the Government of the Colony of Angola regarding the immigration and settlement of foreigners in that country, foreigners with five years of effective residence in the colony are compelled to renew every year their permits of residence. This renewal entails no expense, provided it is made in the month of January, as fixed in the Ordinance. Any change of residence, even within the same colony, for a period of time above thirty days, should be communicated to the local authority, otherwise a heavy fine is imposed.

Owners and managers of hotels and boarding-houses are bound to communicate within seventy-two hours to the local authorities the names of their foreign guests; if not, a fine is levied.

Business concerns, companies, societies and private firms admitting foreigners in their service have to require from ...m the presentation of the permit of residence. Should they fail to present it a communication should be made to the local authorities within forty-eight hours

These regulations are applied to all individuals of the male sex aged 16 years when travelling with or living in the company of their parents or tutors, also to individuals belonging to the female sex coming to their majority. When a foreigner living in the colony comes to the above age he has to present himself to the local authority, who will issue to him a permit of residence.

Foreigners already living in the colony should all the same provide themselves with the permit of residence within sixty days following the date of the coming into force of this Ordinance.

Consuls, vice-consuls, and consular agents in service in the colony, missionaries, foreigners contracted by the Government, and those coming to the colony on temporary missions of official or scientific character, with due authority of the Government, as well as their respective families, are exempted. Political immigrants are exempted of payments, but, all the same, subject to the remaining regulations.

FATE OF MADEIRA REBELS.

The "Republic of Atlantis."

LISBON, May 29.

It is announced that 150 persons were arrested in Madeira and the Azores after the recent unsuccessful revolts. Of these thirty have been sent to Praia, in São Thiago, one of the Cape Verde Islands, to await transportation to the Isla de Sal (Salt Island). In this island, which is about twenty miles long by five miles across, preparations are being made for their accommodation. The remainder are being tried by a special tribunal, and those found guilty will, as soon as accommodation has been arranged, be sent to the Isla de Sal. A detachment of troops is ready to go to the Isla de Sal as soon as arrangements have been made.

The Madeira rebels expected that simultaneous outbreaks would occur in the Azores, the Cape Verde Islands, and Portuguese Guinea, and attempts at revolt did take place in these colonies, which were easily suppressed. Their idea was to form from all these colonies the "Republic of Atlantis," and they hoped that the Canary Islands, which belong to Spain, would join them. From messages intercepted by the Government it appears that Dr. Bernardino Machado, who has twice been President of the Portuguese Republic and thrice Prime Minister, was to have been the first President of the "Republic of Atlantis."—"The Times."

REPORT OF THE 69TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBARTIONS OF THE SIERRA LEONE NATIVE PASTORATE CHURCH.

Weekly News

Nov 14 1931

Following the notices and handbills of the celebrations of the above-named church which had been duly circularised to all our Churches in the Colony and Protectorate. Sermons were preached in all our Churches on Sunday April 26, reminding members of

their duty spiritual moral and [illegible] to their church. On Monday the 28th April at 7 a.m., there was a service for women at the Cathedral in which Rev. E. J. Roberts, L.Th., Pastor of St. Philips preached. The attendance at that service was fair, The preacher based his discourse on the Text "Greet Priscilla and Aquilla, my helpers in Christ Jesus" (Rom. 16 3) pointing out (1) the dignity of being called to serve or help in the cause of God although one's help or service was not taken notice of by man, and (2) that the home was the centre from which Religion should radiate to the outside world. At 7 p.m. of that same day, at the same Cathedral, The United Service of Intercession and Prayer was held, and it was conducted by Rev. Canon S. R Kawaley M.A. Pastor of Holy Trinity. Hymns of consecration and Faith were used. Short addresses were given by the Conductor, interpersed with songs and prayers offered by some of the worshippers present at the Service, The Conductor laid great stress and emphasis on the wireless telegraphy of Prayer, through which we can approach God, and secured from His good Hand, spiritual as well as material blessings. On Tuesday there was a service for men at St. John's Brookfields, in which Rev. P. J. Williams was the preacher. His discourse was based on 1 Timothy 3 15. The preacher read the text from another version which made it clear that the injunction in the text was not to Timothy but to "the men." He stressed the following points in his discourse (1) Reverence in the House of God (2) The Church is the Church of the living God—not of a dead God. (3) The Church exists and stands for the truth. In fine, he gave it out that he had been sick up to about mid-day that day. and that it was his sense of obligation and duty to the Church which made him nerve himself up to come and preach to the men. There were about 175 persons present at that service of which there was a sprinkling of women and children.

On Wednesday April 29 at 7 p.m. there was also a service for men at Holy Trinity the Preacher was the Rev. P. H. Wilson, M.A., D.Th. of Fourah Bay College. His text was "Make the men sit down" (John 6 10). He referred to the dignity of man in the home as being the lord of it; their disinterestedness in the Church, and things religious, and that if the men could only sit and reflect deeply on the benefit the Church confers and is still conferring on them, they would no hesitate to give their support, enlist their interest, for the advancement of the Sierra Leone Church, morally and otherwise. There was a fair number of men present at this service

On Sunday May 3, Parish celebrations. Monday, May 4. was Women's Day. At 7 a.m., there was a Women's Meeting at the Cathedral Schoolroom, presided over by Mrs. Floretta Hebron, ably supported by Vice-Presidents and Supporters. The meeting was rich in tone and quality though on account of the threatening rain the number was not very great. The three ladies who had been asked to speak, spoke very well. The sum total of their addresses was (1) that life is an opportunity for service to God as well as to man (2) that the present world crisis was due to the apathy of men and women towards the things of religion and the ill-use to which we put God's blessing to us to serve our own selfish ends (3) That it was the regenerate life in lay and clergy that will bring again and upon the world the former prosperity in every phase of its life. At 4 p.m., of that same day, the Public Meeting of the Ladies Pastoral Aid Association took place at the Cathedral Schoolroom The chair was taken by Mrs. Janet M. Williams ably seconded by Vice-Presidents and Supporters. Messrs. S. S Scott of Holy Trinity School and Festus N. Jones were the addressers. The former spoke on the "dignity of womanhood," the present activities of women, and that the women should use their influence in the world for good. The latter spoke in almost similar strain, referring to want of cohesion in African Societies whether of men or women pleading with the ladies of the Ladies Pastoral Aid Association to hold together, and to develop the Association so that it may become again the power for good it once was in this Sierra Leone Church.

Tuesday, May 5, was Synod Day Before the Holy Communion, there was a Sermon by His Lordship the Bishop. He based his discourse on a passage taken from St. Luke 10 25. He gave a survey of Life in the different parts of the Diocese He looked forward to a great future for the Church in general, and the church of the Sierra Leone Diocese in particular when they shall be privileged to see the sights of and to hear about, which Kings and prophets had desired, but had been denied them. After the Holy Communion at the Cathedral (at which Communion Service all present partook) the Pastors, Wardens and Delegates repaired to the Memorial Hall for Synod. At 10 a.m., Synod opened with Prayer by the Archdeacon, followed by the Lord's Prayer. The Bishop the President of the Synod, gave Direction as to how, meeting of Synod should be conducted. After which the minutes of the last Synod were read by Rev. Canon Kawaley, Secretary of the Synod. Under matters arising from the minutes (1) Some amendments were made in the Constitution (2) Honorary Secretary of the Synod read the recommendations of the Diocesan Board on the question of the C.M.S. Grammar School. The A.W.M. School being taken over and controlled by the Synod of the Sierra Leone Church. The Local C.M.S. Executive from its present attitude toward this matter, seemed to wish to give a death-blow to the question. It was resolved, on the suggestion of Mr. Wilfred S. Cole that the recommendation of the Diocesan Board on this question be sent to C.M.S. in England through its Local Secretary. All agreed *nem con*, accounts of work in Conakry and at the Gambia. were given by Canon M'cwen and Mr. Hunter respectively the account of work in the Gambia was from Rev. S. F. W. During its present Chaplain.

The Bishop after this, announced the incoporation of Bullom and Tassoh District with the Missions. The Archdeacon announced that there was now a Scholarship available for only *one* candidate who had a vocation for the Ministry and who can pass the Matriculation Examination at Fourah Bay College and requested that this should be made known. The Synod was brought to a close with prayer by the Secretary and the Benediction by the President at about 11.30 a.m. After Synod the members repaired to the Church House for breakfast It was first class.

The Children Service at 3 p.m. at the Cathedral somehow was scrapped out. At 7 p.m. of that same day the Annual Thanksgiving Service and Sermon took place at the Cathedral when the Bishop of Liberia preached. It was simply splendid and soul-uplifting to witness the procession of clergy, lay workers and choristers about 200, chanting the Litany from the Cathedral schoolroom, wending the way to the Cathedral, and much more so as the 36 clergy, the Archdeacon, and the Bishop with the augmented choir leading from the west door singing Hymn 375 "Onward Christian Soldiers." The number of people registered to have been present at that service was 1,436. His Lordship preached from the text found in Judges 5 20 'the stars in their courses fought against Sisera.' His Lordship the Bishop of Liberia amongst other things in his sermon, referred (1) to his previous connection with Sierra Leone, and with the St. George's Cathedral, stating that his being asked to preach a special sermon in connection with the 69th Anniversary Celebrations of our Church will help to cement the bond of love and fellowship between Sierra Leone and Liberia. (2) That there was in the world a struggle, a moral struggle between good and evil, right and wrong, and that the good and the right must prevail. (3) That it was only by endeavouring to live the christian life, should we in every phase of life, be able to go on conquering and to conquer. All went away from that service that night satisfied with the message of the Bishop and the service as a whole. On Wednesday, May 6, at 8,30 a.m there was the administration of the Holy Communion, after which the District Council met at the Wilberforce Memorial Hall. At 10 a.m. the meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. D. A, H. McFoy, followed by the Lord's Prayer. Following up the Agenda, the President (The Bishop of Sierra Leone) asked the Secretary to read the minutes of the last meeting (September 25, 1930.) The minutes were read and confirmed. The accounts of the different Parishes and Stations were presented. The Reports from the Secretaries of the different board were also read. Council was adjourned at about 12 to 2 30 p.m, at the Cathedral Schoolroom. Breakfast at the Church House came between.

At the District Council at the Cathedral Schoolroom at 2 30 p.m. The recommendations of the Finance Board for the regrouping of Stations was read by the Secretary of the Finance Board. Rev. E. J Roberts. Several speeches were made by several gentlemen Clerical and Lay in the way of their own observations on the recommendations of the Board. Council was adjourned at 4 p.m., to resume its sitting at 10 a.m., the next day.

On Wednesday, May 6, the District Public Meeting was held at the Wilberforce Memorial Hall at about 7.15 p.m., when the Hon. J. A. Songo Davies took the chair. The chairman in his speech likened the church to a mother, rearing children, and giving them of her best for their highest good. Such children, said he, were, by duty bound to support their mother in old age. In this way he explained our relation as members to the church. The speakers to the Resolutions spoke very well. The two speakers—Rev. E. J. T. Harris and Dr. I. C. Pratt who had topic for discussions were simply interesting. The songs rendered by the soloists was entrancing. The meeting came to an end about 9.20 p.m.

The District Council resumed sitting at the Memorial Hall, after the Holy Communion at the Cathedral on May 7, at 10 a.m.

As a result of the discussions on the recommendations above referred to. Two resolutions were sent to the Finance Board for their consideration and action. The subject of Missions was also discussed. The District Council came to a close with prayer by the Archdeacon and the Benediction by the Bishop at about 11 a.m.

The Celebration of the 69th Anniversary of our Sierra Leone Church, showed a definite move forward. Let us all, clergy and lay, hope and pray that the present is only a foreshadowing of a glorious future that awaits our Sierra Leone Native Pastorate Church in the days that are to come.

O. P.

Race Problem – 1931

Africa

NEW RACE PROBLEM IN U.S.A.

Manchester Guardian Weekly

Influx of Filipinos

4-17-31

By a Correspondent.

The United States is facing a new problem of coloured mass immigration which has some very peculiar features. It is that of Filipinos. As the Philippines are under the American flag their inhabitants are not "aliens." No quota system restricts their entry; no Gentlemen's Agreement keeps them out. An agitation to exclude them has the support of the American Legion, the American Federation of Labour, and the California State Legislature.

Manchester Guardian England

The facts have been scarcely reported in Europe. They are not widely known in the United States. But for nearly three years a bill to declare Filipinos aliens has been before Congress. In view of it the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations decided to undertake an inquiry. For this purpose they employed Mr. Bruno Lasker, a highly skilled investigator with special experience of inter-racial problems. His report, a bulky 440-page document, has just been issued by the University of Chicago Press, with a preface by Professor J. T. Shotwell, well known in England through his connection with the Carnegie publications.

Manchester Guardian Weekly.

There are now about 60,000 Filipinos on the American mainland, largely concentrated on the Pacific coast. There are also 75,000 in Hawaii (in a total population of about 370,000 only). Most of them (nine-tenths on the mainland) are males, and most (four-fifths on the mainland) are under thirty years of age. One might have written off these young men as temporary visitors, but, in fact, very few return home—only one in fifteen of those who have settled in Hawaii and not more than one in five of those on the mainland. The tide flows one way, with very little backwash. Meantime the fact that it is composed of young bachelors creates social and sex problems, which many witnesses regard as the principal cause of their unpopularity.

Racially they are Malay, often with large admixture of Chinese. But they regard themselves as white. Spain, which ruled them for centuries, knew no colour line. Under American administration they have attended American schools, where democracy and the rights of man are taught without dilution. So they claim to be treated as social equals by Americans, including American women. Thus race sentiment is challenged; and even people who are above vulgar race prejudice have to ask themselves whether they want a considerable Asiastic strain introduced into the race composition of the American nation. While Englishmen, Germans, and Scandinavians are kept to quotas, it does seem anomalous that Filipinos should be quota-free.

There are, however, great difficulties in the way of any exclusion policy. In the first place, it raises the whole question of Philippine independence. For the United States to exclude her own subjects is an awkward proposition. Again, it would react very unfavourably on the sentiment of other Oriental peoples whom Washington is most anxious to conciliate. And there is a peculiar hitch over Hawaii. To Hawaii the Filipinos have made themselves economically indispensable. They form 39 per cent of the employees on the sugar plantations; and if Congress adopted an exclusion measure, Hawaii would in all probability have to seek exemption from it. But if it did, what about its much-cherished claim to eventual statehood within the American Republic?

For these and other reasons many thinking people oppose exclusion. On the other hand, where the problem is immediate and visible—i.e., on the Pacific coast—public opinion is exclusionist. Mr. Lasker makes it clear that this is very little due to economic conflict. Filipinos perform very cheap labour tasks, chiefly in the fields. They do not displace other labour, save, at times, Mexicans. At most their availability may be held to postpone certain possible forms of mechanisation. The feeling against them is on racial, social, and sexual grounds. It is a race cleavage.

THE FORTHCOMING INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AT GENEVA.

The Weekly News

4-11-31

Vol XLVII

No 32

As previously announced in this Journal and elsewhere, the Public Meeting convened by the Sierra Leone Section of the National Congress of British West Africa was held on Tuesday the 24th ultimo at 4.45 p.m., in the Wilberforce Memorial Hall, to consider the necessity of sending a Delegate or Delegates to attend the International Conference at Geneva in June next regarding the Welfare of African children with respect to Infantile Mortality, Child Welfare and Education in relation to labour.

The meeting was opened with prayer offered by the Rev. C. A. E. Macauley, Assistant Director of Education.

The chair was taken by A. E. Tuboku-Metzger, Esq., J.P., President of the Sierra Leone Section of the Congress who gave a brief historical sketch of the League of Nations its objects and aims stressed the necessity for the sending of an African delegate or delegates on a matter which concerned Africans and mentioned the decision already taken in Lagos to send its own delegate for Nigeria to the Conference.

Sierra Leone

He appealed to all to give their support to the movement and then called upon the Principal speaker Mrs. Casely Hayford to address the meeting.

Mrs. Hayford who on rising was cheered, after expressing regret at the paucity of the attendance at such an important meeting and she hoped that what it lacked in numbers it might gain in spirit, said:—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—As the Chairman has already told you the full purport of the meeting there is no necessity for me to dilate any further. I would like however to draw your attention to the fact that when we study the history of the world we shall find that every nation has been through the same experience. All races have started with primitive savagery, and through the process of time have evolved to a higher state of civilzation. An Italian to-day would blush with shame if you were to recall the devilish cruelties that took place in the Roman Empire in the days of Nero. The astrocities and brutalities that we hear of in the darkest corners of our country are not any worse than the awful crimes which were perpetrated in England under the Norman Kings. So right down through the ages, people have evolved gradually from darkness into light.

If we consider the great multitude of illiterate aborigines and the very small minority of educated people we can safely say that Africa is still at the beginning of things. Hence, it is very interesting to note what other races have done when they too were at the beginning of things. They have done the only sensible thing to do. They just took what God had given them, and made use of that. The Esquimaux who live in the coldest regions of the earth where there is perpetual show, will for seven or eight months of the year make a living by trapping animals which have been provided with a rich coat of fur to protect them from the extreme cold. By trading in furs to supply wealthy European ladies with fur coats they have acquired some economic independence. Hence, they are now turning their attention to founding splendid schools, building better houses and enjoying more of the amenities of civilization.

But most races have started with simple agriculture. Then when the need for better implements and decent machinery arose, they began to turn their attention to industries. When through this channel economic independence had been established, then they began to think of arts and crafts, of higher learning and professions.

Our only bid then for real prosperity lies first of all in the cultivation of the land. Tea has made Japan; rubber has made Ceylon; cocoa has made the Gold Coast; wheat has made Canada; pine-apple has made the Hawaian Islands; cocoa-nuts have made the Philippines; bananas have made the Canaries: palm oil has nearly made us but not quite because in my opinion it is not an organized industry. I should like to see proper palm-oil plantations, with up to date machinery for extracting the oil, and for cleaning it in such a way as to create a big demand for it.

I said just now that bananas had made the Canaries. Well, why not Sierra Leone?—Thirty years ago, I travelled in a steamer which was literally weighed down with the freight of the banana consignments on board and in those days it took just as long to get from the Canaries to Liverpool as it does now to get from Sierra Leone to Plymouth. There is an increasing demand for bananas, because they are so wholesome, nourishing and they contain some of the principal vitamins for maintaining health. There is always a great demand for pine-apples. If ours could only be cultivated, I am quite sure they would out rival the Hawaian pine-apple, which is the king of the market at present.

On the Gold Coast the Government spends a considerable amount every year in importing American rice to feed the Kroo boys. Why could not Sierra Leone become a rice producing country? Our rice is more wholesome more nourishing more satisfying, and not at all insipid.

Now as you know a very weighty questionnaire, pertaining to the life of the African child has been distributed, the answers to which will form the basis of the arguments to be discussed at the Conference. But the one pertinent question which interests us is this:—What would you suggest for the amelioration of existing conditions. Without hesitation my first suggestion was—

1. Agricultural Schools, not merely experimental stations—which would turn out experts to deal with our own particular agricultural problems, who in their turn would go to the different tribes and teach the people by practical demonstration how to make the best use of their land. We must first of all have a hard working wage-earning proletariat before we can think of my second suggestion.

2. Trade Schools, for carpenters, masons plumbers blacksmith painters, etc., so that our houses will equal those of any other county.

3. School for Tailoring, Dyeing and Cleaning Shoe-making.

4. School for Engineering and Motor Mechanics.

5. Business Schools which would turn out first class Shorthand Typists and teach our boys up-to-date method of business.

6. Teacher Training School for all types of Teachers—Academic, Handicraft or Physical Culture Teachers for both sexes.

7. School for Native Arts and Crafts.

You may not think this suggestion necessary, but to my mind it is highly so. At present this is the principal channel by which we can express ourselves to the world. Then too it is a splendid means of promoting pride of race and love of country. When I was in America some years ago, I took some of our curios to an Art dealer in Fifth Avenue. He was delighted with them but said it would not be possible to entertain business propositions unless

(a) Regular consignments in large quantities were available.

(b) That a good many should be *exactly* alike.

An untrained native does not seem to be able to comply with the last request, but boys and girls who are more enlightened through their training in school would probably be able to meet this demand.

Now for a brief moment let me turn my attention to the *Girls*, the most important factor in this project for the betterment of the race. For them the first need is a Real School for Home Economics—a whole-time Institution. Home life is the bed-rock foundation upon which all national life is built, and just as a babe depends upon its mother for sustenance, so a nation depends upon its homes

or its pride, its progress, its welfare, and its glory. The outstanding feature of the home is the mother. Therefore we need mothers whose duty to there homes, their husbands and their children will form the main objective of their existence. Domestic life will always be women's chief vocation, and for the girl in the street it would be infinitely prefarable to the petty hawking which is her chief occupation at present. As a matter of fact house girls do all the domestic work in other parts of Africa, in the West Indies, in America. If the same system could prevail on the West Coast there would be quite a large percentage of boys available for work on the farms, which on account of our depleted population would be a veritable godsend.

1. A school for Dress-making and Millinery which would turn out such efficient work, that there would never be any need to send to England for these commodities.

2. A school for Native Arts, Crafts, especially spinning, weaving and basketry would help the situation tremendously if available markets for the finished articles could be procured

3. Teacher Training Colleges, which would really turn out good teachers for all branches of work.

4. A Practice Home for Brides-to-be, which would be entirely run by the girls themselves so that they would get a thoroughly practical experience in every form of home-craft including laundry, cooking, housewifery, infant welfare, home nursing, account keeping, buying and social entertaining. Incidentally I might mention that a school for husbands would be of invaluable benefit to the country (laughter).

5. A much larger percentage of the Revenue should be spent on the education of the African child, which would then make it possible :—

(a) To give more salaries to teachers.
(b) To have really efficiently trained teachers.
(c) To have much better buildings with adequate playing fields.
(d) To have better equipment.

With a view to induce Government to adopt for to assist it in carrying out these suggestions at as early a date as possible. I would propose, and this I do with bated breath, the introduction when prosperity returns to our land of an education tax, under the auspices of the Municipal Council. This mode of procedure is resorted to, in every progressive country, and has proved itself abundantly worth while. People are taxed according to their income. Hence the burden would fall principally on the rich, and the poorest child would have a chance of a thorough up-to-date education free of charge.

Just a word about Infantile Mortality before I resume my seat. For a country, to be over populated is by no means an unmixed blessing but to be under populated is infinitely worse. Now the West Coast of Africa is very sparsely populated owing to the ravages through improper feeding coupled with malaria. You would be surprised to learn that eighty per cent of the school children in Freetown are suffering from malaria, which account for their lethargic attitude towards life sometimes. The future of our country will very largely depend upon a sufficient number of the sons of the soil for its development. The Government and Missionary Medical Departments are taking up this matter very seriously for which we are exceedingly grateful. But much remains to be done. Our day will soon be over. Surely the least we can do is to try and open the door of opportunity for our children of tomorrow. Our action of to-day will very largely determine what the future will be. Shall we not therefore make every effort to take advantage of this unique opportunity now offered to us of sending to the Conference a representative who will be able to state the case for the Negro child from a Negro standpoint?

In conclusion, may I ask you to take everything I have said in the spirit in which it is meant. I am honestly, whole-heartedly, sincerely devoting the evening of my life to the welfare of the coming generations of our race. If I sometimes allow my tongue to run away with my judgement. I am sure you will forgive me, and try to realize the sincerity of my endeavours.

The audience applauded the speaker for her earnest forceful and eloquent speech.

The President expressed regret for the unavoidable absence of the Venerable Archdeacon E. T. Cole M.A., and called upon the next speaker, Mr. O. J. V. Tuboku Metzger to address the meeting.

Mr. Metzger moved and spoke logically and forcefully to the first Resolution to the effect that the meeting was of opinion that is was necessary to send a delegate or delegates to the Conference either by Sierra Leone alone or in conjunction with any or all of the three Colonies and that a fund be raised in the Colony and Protectorate on that behalf and pledging its support to the raising of such fund.

Mr. Metzger pointed out that the cost of a return passage to and from England would be £70 and that from London to Geneva would be £10 making £80 or say, including incidentals, £100. This sum he did not consider impossible or even too difficult to raise, despite the depressed condition of trade and the hardness of the times. He suggested the opening of subscription lists and that an appeal be made for the giving of small as well as large sums, the getting up and presentation of a strong petition to Messrs. Elder Dempster and Co., to grant a free or reduced passage to the delegate—a petition which he had no doubt would be favourably entertained by that sympathetic and generous friendly-to-African Firm.

The Resolution was ably seconded by Dr. I. C. Pratt who suggested the formation of a Committee to raise the necessary fund.

The Resolution was put and carried unanimously.

The meeting agreed to the formation of a Committee and nominated sixteen person for the same with power to add to the number.

Mr. F. A. Miller then moved the second Resolution expressing appreciation of the efforts of the National Congress (Sierra Leone Section) and pledging the adequate support of the inhabitants of both Colony and Protectorate on its behalf.

Mr. Miller spoke briefly to the Resolution which was well seconded by Mr. S. Adolphus Hughes. It was put and carried unanimously.

The singing of the National Anthem and the pronouncement of the Benediction by the Rev. Canon Kawaley brought this interesting and successful meeting to a close.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA (SIERRA LEONE SECTION.)

REVIVAL OF LADIES BRANCH.

A large number of Ladies, representing different sections of the Community met at the City Hotel, at 4 p.m., on Wednesday the 22nd April where a very interesting, profitable, and enjoyable two hours were spent.

Some of the executive Committee of the National Congress of British West Africa, Sierra Leone Section, received the guests as they arrived, at the main entrance of the hotel. While the indefatigable Mr. Newton Faulkner escorted them to the lounge to await the other guests. After almost all the guests had assembled they adjourned to the Dinning Room, where tea was served. Lively conversations sprung up amongst different groups of ladies, which were kept rolling while other guests turned up. After tea, the ladies were thanked for responding to the invitation and the Committee members of the Congress present explained the object of calling them together.

Mr. Baanah W. Davies, the Treasurer briefly explained that in the course of events some men had found out that it was time there should be a greater cohesion between the women of this community if some lasting good for the welfare of the people is to be achieved. He instanced the combination of women in civilized countries and the results accruing to their efforts, and stressed the point that the action of the Ibo women of Southern Nigeria a few months ago when the collection of the iniquitous House Tax resulted in the deaths of many of them, that evoked an outcry in England, which ended in a very searching enquiry etc. If those present would form an organization by means of which they would act together for the welfare of the community, much good would result therefrom. Mr. Sam. A. Hughes, Asst. Secretary, supported Mr. Davis's remarks. Mr. A. E. Tuboku-Metzger, President of the Congress, endorsed the sentiments and stated it was the wish of the Executive Committee that a Ladies Branch of the Sierra Leone Section of the Congress should be revived so as to work co-operatively with the Section. On inquiry whether the Ladies present would be willing to do so, they unanimously responded in the affirmative.

Mr. Miller mentioned the existence of a former Ladies Branch of which the late Madame Scotland was President, Mrs. Rose Palmer, Vice-President, and Mrs. May, Secretary—of the good work done, and that the revival of the Branch would form an historic link with the past, that he had been striving for the past two years to bring the ladies together as had been done that day and expressed his pleasure at the result.

Whereupon it was moved and seconded that the Ladies Branch of the Sierra Leone Section of the National Congress of British West Africa be revived and that the Ladies present do form a part of and become the members of the revived Ladies Branch. This was unanimously carried.

It was then resolved that the officers be nominated and appointed forthwith. Several names were suggested and after putting them to the vote, the following were elected. Mrs. A. C. May, President; Mesdames Eliza D. Macfoy, and Roberta Taylor, Vice-Presidents; Mrs. Humphrey Williams, Secretary; Muriel During, Assisting Secretary and Mrs. Virtue Harding, Treasurer.

Mr. A. E. Tuboku-Metzger thanked the members and the Ladies for their attendance and enthusiastic adoption of the suggestion of the Executive Committee. He was sure with their active co-operation better results would now attend the efforts of the Congress. Then followed the announcement that there will be a Concert and Dance at the Wilberforce Memorial Hall on the 15th May to which the newly formed Branch pledged their whole hearted support.

The next meeting was fixed for the second Friday in May, with the pronouncement of the benediction by the President this eventful meeting came to a close.

We are convinced that this revived Ladies Branch of the Sierra Leone Section of the Congress will give just that incentive to the Section in the carrying out of its varied plans for the economic and political welfare of our people, country and race. We wish the Branch a long and prosperous and greatly useful and beneficial life.

A CALL TO AFRICANS.

"Mochochonono" is the only newspaper that the African Race publishes that speaks for the Entire Race where they live and whatever their condition and station in life.

It is the only African Newspaper that is directly interested in the destiny and welfare of the Negro motherland—Africa, I remember the time of my forefathers when they and their children were sold to the white men.

HIGHER KNOWLEDGE OF LIFE.

Black men and women will you get the knowledge the white man has that causes him to be Leader and master in the world. Isn't it strange whenever the white is found he takes precedence over the African? Why is that so? Please answer that yourself European and African.

Whereever you see a white man and black man the Black man of this country has to go down in defeat before the white man of Europe whether it be in England in France or in America the Black has to go down to the white man yet he has two big eyes, two feet, and two hands, same passions same feelings and senses, as you have, your feet are not put on opposite side nor your hands turned the other way around, but it is because you fail to use your will; your knowledge and your mental faculties to the point where you will enjoy life around you.

ALL MEN EQUAL.

No man has been born above other men. God so loved mankind that He made all men equal in spirit and Soul. Will you rise to the attainments of the great men and women that have come into the world, will you rise to the heights of

Yours obedient servant,
P. J. MOTETE

Race Problem-1921

Africa

ON SOME RECENT MOVEMENTS IN WEST AFRICA. A STUDY OF WHITE METHODS OF REPRESSION.

Weekly news

By Kobina Sekyi.

We reproduce below from the Gold Coast Times this able article from the pen of Mr. Kobina Sekyi for the benefit of our local readers. 6-27-31

Freetown Sierra Leone

II.

The unity which the African clerks by their action disclosed and loyalty ~~which the~~ junior clerks shewed towards the senior clerks and towards their cause astounded and perhaps shocked the confirmed unbelievers in African capacity for united action. These latter forgot, or could not realise, that the only obstacle to the combination of Africans is the same as that which could prevent members of other races from combining, namely, a lack of appreciation of the nature of the object at stake. In this case the sting was felt by all the clerks alike, and all the clerks, therefore, were equally alive to their interests in this startling movement: they knew that the white official was so vindictive and so clever in disguising his motives when he can do so with the help of the privileged that prevents disclosure of definite proofs of official camouflage that if they did not stand firmly together their situation would become quite dangerous In fact the week-kneed and the sneakish among the clerks either definitely refused to associate themselves openly with the movement or else played a game in the movement which later secured them promotion. The fate of at least one of the most senior clerks who has been permanently stationed at Accra before the movement started and who, since the defeat of the movement, had been bandied about from station to station, as if with the object of compelling him to resign in protest, or of goading him into some act of insubordination, has become patent to all observant minds; and it has been rumoured with some persistence that the extraordinary good fortune of a clerk, comparatively unknown before the defeat of the movement; who, shortly after that catastrophe, was very much advanced in status, is, in the circles where such "good fortune" is considered unexceptionable, regarded as proof of the white man's power to turn treachery into something quite glorious and worthy to be emulated.

We all knew Sir Hugh Clifford and what he could do when his anger was aroused. In this case he was desperate, but trusted to the English capacity for "bluff" to pull him through. It would have reflected very badly indeed on him as the head of the administration if his principal assistant was recalled on the ground of colour prejudice; and it would have been a serious blow to his prestige as a gentleman if he allowed his friend, as we all understood the then Colonial Secretary to be (especially since he had been in Ceylon with Sir Hugh Clifford and had come here after the latter had been appointed to govern here) disgraced without doing his utmost to save him. Weekly news

But like many other pro-consuls, or even heads of departments before him, he knew the weakness of the African aspirant to high government honours: the sort of person whom we know as *suabonyi*, a toady or over-humble servant or dependent. With the very willing help of some highly-placed Africans, and I have no doubt, of very many clerks who had subtle schemes to work for their own advancement, the Governor was able to cow the principal clerks into submission and the movement collapse. Several of us are certain that in spite of the treachery of some of those in the movement, such rank outsiders as the African unofficial members of the Legislative Council, who acted as intermediaries for the purpose of getting the dispute settled, could have done nothing to shake the purpose of the splendid men who led the movement; but the latter were overwhelmed, and, perhaps, grieved, by the words and actions of their countrymen as were then honourable by the courtesy of the Colonial Government, into acknowledging that they had made a miscalculation in relying on the support of such honourable reeds shaken with the official wind. 6-27-31

We come now to deal with the Congress Petition. Freetown Sierra Leone

The Congress was (or perhaps I) a body that arose out of the Conference of Africans of British West Africa which had a very disturbing effect on officials like Sir Hugh Clifford, then Governor of Nigeria, and set him and other officials of the type of the late Sir Gordon Guggisberg, then Governor of the Colony in this country, on a line of conduct which cannot possibly be said to be chivalrous. This body, which was intended by its promoters to be a permanent executive, gave directions, and contributed funds for the despatch to England of a delegation to do propaganda work, especially through the establishment of a Press, to educate the minds of the British in the metropolis of the Empire about the undesirable aspects or incidents of colonial rule. It was the object of the Congress that a petition should be presented, but it was not intended that the petition should be rushed. In fact, however, the petition was precipitated into the hands of the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, the late Lord Milner, through the suggestions of an African (so the delegates reported) a retired civil servant. This government pensioner either held himself out to, or was accepted by, the delegation as a person well in the good graces of Lord Milner, and, with his advice (so said the delegates, after the catastrophe of their defeat) they presented their petition, a very well-drawn up document, to the proper authority,

It is well-known that the Conference of Africans of British West Africa started by "treading on the pet corns" of the persons composing the Executive Committee of the older and more national organisation known as the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society. There was some inexplicable rivalry between the two leading legal luminaries of that organisation, which rivalry was considered, by those who said they knew to have had a source very trival in relation to the interests endangered by such rivalry. These two legal luminaries were of a much lesser degree of brightness than the principal legal luminary whom they had succeeded. Whatever may have been the origin of such rivalry, and however it may have influenced the gentlemen forming the Executive of the Aborigines Society, the latter were strongly of the opinion not only that the idea of such a Conference was premature and dangerous to the exlusiveness or uniqueness of the Gold Coast; but also that the Natural Rulers for whom they acted should not be given a chance to debate whether the movement towards the holding of such a conference should be approved or not. The Natural Rulers, however, thought otherwise, and they very nearly decided the matter one day, during the session of a protracted conference of the Executive with them. On this day the conference sat from about 10 a.m. to 6 30 p.m., when, by a manœuvre, the then President of the Society succeeded in obtaining the consent of the Natural Rulers for an adjournment to the next morning. That day the speeches indicated that most of the States represented were in favour of giving the idea of the West African Conference, as it was then called, a trial. When the Conference re-assembled the next day the atmosphere was somewhat changed, and the Chiefs were not so definitely in favour of a trial of the scheme as they had appeared to be at the previous sitting. Ultimately it was concluded that correspondence with a view to obtaining more information on the subject should be engaged in by the Secretary with the promoters of the West African Conference. The conference of the Society then adjourned *sine die*. It does not appear that the Secretary of the Society ever followed the decision of the Natural Rulers in Conference assembled. For when, later, as a result of the enquiry by the Natural Rulers in Conference assembled into the charges or allegations brought before them, by the Executive, against members of the Executive who had been expelled for participating in the activities leading to the establishment of the Congress the facts came out, it was clear that those thus expelled, as the Natural Rulers declared without proper cause, had been tired of waiting for an approval that was never likely to be given, and were obliged to proceed to hold the West African Conference without the formal sanction of the society, but with the sanction of a considerable number of Natural Rulers acting with the authority of their respective States.

The rivalry between the legal light that directed the movements of the then Executive of the Gold Coast Aborigineas Rights Protection Society and the other legal luminary which performed the same function, though with more restrains on his power, for the Gold Coast Committee of the West African Conference led to a great deal of mischief: it was as responsible for the craft or cunning, of which subsequent inquiry proved the Executive to have been guilty, as it was for the precipitation, which, in a large measure, contributed to the failure of the Congress leaders to sustain their capacity to represent the African of British West Africa. The Natural Rulers, who assembled at the Conference at which the Executive executed masterly manœuvre referred to suspected that there was some mutual bad feeling between the two legal advisers of the Society, and made an effort to settle whatever differences were between them; they did not succeed, However, the Executive were led by their cunning, not only to expel the members who had definitely associated themselves with the West African Conference, but went further and entered into a secret correspondence, marked, after the official method, "strictly confidential" with the Omanhin of Akim Abuakwa the present reigning Chief. The latter, on the strength of the authority which he maintains he obtained from the Executive of the Aborigines Society, but which some of us suspect was only a blind suggested by some high European officials then either in this country or in Nigeria, was enabled to make the notorious speech in the Legislative Council which, was, as far as I remember, cabled by the Governor, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, at the public expense, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. It will be remembered that this speech, which was endorsed by the then Omanhe of Anamabu (Amonu V) and the other African unofficial members of the Legislative Council of the Colony, was delivered at almost the same time as the equally notorious speech of Sir Hugh Clifford on the same object, delivered to the Legislative Council of Nigeria. These speeches of the Omanhene of Akyem Abuakwa and Sir Hugh Clifford, as far as we were aware, were made the ground upon which the Secretary of State based his advice that the petition of the National Congress was not authorised by responsible native authorities among the Africans in West Africa, and should be refused.

MISSION NOTES.

The "Prophet Movement" in Nigeria fills an important place in the May "Western Equatorial Africa Church Magazine," (W. Watson, 24, Grey Street, Newcastle—3d.), a fairly sympathetic article by the Rev. H. Dallimore being supported by comments in the usual monthly letter from Bishop Melville Jones. The sincerity of the original "Aladura," Joseph Babalola, is admitted, but his use of "Blessed Water" to attract the people is criticised much as non-missionaries have criticised Baptism and Holy Communion itself, as likely to carry a magical meaning to the ignorant. Babalola has been followed, unfortunately, by a number of less disinterested "prophets," but while much of their work is undoubtedly bad, to say that it is easy "to get hundreds, or even thousands, of Africans to give up their idols" is to belittle the results that missions themselves have achieved. The following is also two-edged comment:—"It is commonly argued by those attracted to them that the Aladuras must be good men for they take no pay for their services. If this were really so, it would be a great test, but as far as one can gather they make a good living from gifts. I am not sure that man for man they may not be receiving *quite as much, if not more*, than the average Church agent." Such charges, and that of unsound mentality, also brought, have been the lot of most religious leaders, worthy and unworthy, and arise through confusing the work with the workman, but fortunately good progress is also being made by the churches in turning the emotional fervour excited into better and more permanent channels.

The opening of the new Wesley Guild Hospital at Segbwema by the Acting Governor of Sierra Leone is described in the "Foreign Field" for May (W.M.M.S., 24, Bishopsgate, E.C.2—2d.). The hospital, which has sheltered patients since the end of November—some weeks before its completion and official opening—contains men's and women's blocks, an operating theatre, out-patients' block, and the necessary residential and administrative buildings for the staff.

The S. P. G. Report for 1930 (S. P. G., 15, Tufton Street, S.W.1—1s.) contains very little in regard to West Africa, for the only areas assisted by grants are the Diocese of Accra, and the Rio Pongas Mission, attached to Sierra Leone, but likely soon to have a bishop of its own. It offers a very wide view of mission activity in Africa, for the Society is particularly strong in South and East Africa, and is bearing its full share of the burden of reducing racial antipathies. In spite of the 7½ per cent. retrenchment policy made necessary by the financial outlook in 1929, and the stringency that is so obvious in many sections of the report, the general response to missionary effort, in the other continents as well as in Africa, shows considerable promise of a great step forward as soon as the present period of depression has passed. Unfortunately, that time had not arrived in 1930, and the Society's total income, £328,958, exclusive of special gifts and legacies, £58,362, was £2,304 less than in the previous year.

An S. P. G. announcement states that the Rev. Philip Quaque, who was ordained in 1765, was the first man of another race to be ordained in the English Church since the Reformation. A facsimile extract of a letter from him is published in the May "Mission Field," (S. P. G.), and shows a handwriting that was as beautifully formed as any of his time.

Publication of this quarter's "Golden Shore" (Editor, Tilden Grange, Tonbridge—3d.) has been somewhat delayed owing to Bishop Aglionby's absence in the bush, but his monthly letter, descriptive of his trek, proves, as usual, to be worth waiting for. A number of different aspects of mission work in the Gold Coast are described, a particularly interesting paper being that showing what the school at Tarkwa is doing in the way of self-help by touring the district and giving concerts. At home in England, the Accra Diocesan Association has been carrying out equally good work, for the £3,000 fixed as the financial aim for the past year was exceeded by £454 through a special effort at the eleventh hour.

C. A. U. Movement.

Protestant Missionaries and Storekeepers Pact.

Dear Mr. Editor—Please allow me a space in your valuable paper to say what we Basuto think about the C. A. U. Movement. It is true all along we as people have been holding our peace, not because we are not interested in the matter, but because we had to learn facts before we could venture to give opinion on such a momentus subject; as the proverb says—'look before you leap.'

Fortunately I am not biased on this matter because I belong to neither of the three recognised churches in Basutoland; I am as you may like to say it, a pagan.

It is the first time in the history of this territory to find missionaries and traders singing the same song and paddling the same boat. Traders are interested in the welfare of the Protestant Missionaries and they accuse the R. C. Mission that it is trying to Romanise the adherents of the other churches.

May I be allowed to ask. Has the Chamber of Commerce sent a deputation to Cape Town to interview the High Commissioner that the R. C. Mission threatens to rob the other churches of their members? Nay! a thousand times nay! Why not come with truth that they (traders) have hitherto been practising the well known maxim—'fools are the inheritance of the wise and now the R. C. Mission is telling or rather teaching the Basuto to be wise and to look after their pockets.

Logically, let us suppose that traders were not charging exorbitant prices for the goods we buy from them; surely they would have welcomed the C. A. U. movement without fear of competition but on the contrary, as you and and your readers know that the prices we pay for the goods in Basutoland are three times more than what we pay for the same goods over the Caledon River.

What surprises me, and I believe many of your readers also is to find churches joining hands with the traders in singing the trades favourite roundelay—"300 lbs. for a Basuto bag of grain and 200lbs. when we buy back from them. Keep Mosuto in ignorance and all will be well with us. God is in heaven all is well with the world.

Mr. Editor, we are puzzled for we do not find the cause of the fear the Chamber of Commerce has, as they aim simply at teaching the Basuto people economy and how to save money by means of co-operative effort. The movement requires that its members must buy from the traders (willing to co-operate) in bulk strickly on cash basis, no credit. It does not say that traders must sell at cost price. What provokes religious prejudice and antipathy in this? Bamna, is this how the churches teach us or at least you to love one another, and not to speak ill of thy neighbour?

Co-operative Societies have existed for years in Europe, but churches with the welfare of the people at heart never raised a cry against them.

Finally I appeal to you christians, but not as such, but as a nation to support the movement irrespective of colour, creed or friendship.

At the beginning, we thought nothing of the C. A. U. movement, we believed that like other good movements eventually it would face its natural death-but now we see our friends traders up in arms against it, and we begin to suspect something. Yes, our friends, like other capitalists of the world aim not at the welfare of the nation but at getting as much from it as would quickly fill their purses.

Personally I do not care if the movement is good and is for the welfare of my people, I must support it, it might have come from a Protestant, Roman Catholic, a pagan or a devil.

Let us pause and think for a while why so much talk about C. A. U. if it is not a good movement fraught with momentous issues? A dog barks at something but never at nothing.

Thank you ever so much Mr. Editor,

yours etc.,
Pagan.

ZULUS HONOR ROYALTY.

To Erect Monuments to Quartet of Rulers.

VRYHEID, Natal, July 18.—(AP)—Chaka, Cetewayo, Dinizulu and Mpande, Zulu kings whom Sir Rider Haggard immortalized in his African romances, are to be commemorated by four monuments at various centers in the Zulu nation.

This is the first time that the Zulus have erected any memorials after the modern fashion.

Race Problem - 1931

African

A LANDMARK IN BRITISH-AFRICAN HISTORY.

END OF THE 10-YEARS' ELEKO LITIGATION IN NIGERIA.—THE PRIVY COUNCIL AS AN IMPERIAL FORCE.

Lagos, July 9 (special cable): The Eleko case, after over 10 years' proceedings here and in London before the Privy Council, is at an end, to the satisfaction of the community of Lagos and indeed a great part of Nigeria as a whole; for the effects of the division to which it led were not confined to the capital.

The announcement of the ending of the case was made on the hearing of a motion before Mr. Justice Butler Lloyd.

Counsel for the applicant (the Eleko) were the Hon. Eric O. Moore, M.L.C., and Mr. Wells Palmer, and for the respondents, the Government, the Acting Attorney-General.

The Government's counsel said that since the judgment delivered by His Majesty's Judges of the Privy Council [reported fully in WEST AFRICA for March 28 last] he had given very careful consideration to this matter and had come to the conclusion that the respondents (the Government) should not continue this fight any longer. He had so advised his Excellency the Governor, who had accepted the advice. In the circumstances, therefore, the respondents did not show cause in this matter and the orders of the 6th and 8th August, 1925, providing for the deportation of the applicant (the Eleko), would be rescinded by a "Gazette" notice, which would be published at once. In view of the position adopted by the Government, his learned friends would withdraw the motion. A further term of the settlement would be that the respondent would pay the sum of £400 agreed costs, to the applicant.

Mr. Wells Palmer said he was instructed by the applicant —with whom were associated in this the Princes and Princesses of the House of Docemo—to withdraw the motion before the Court, upon the condition submitted by counsel for the Crown. His clients wished him (Mr. Palmer) to assure his Majesty's Government of Nigeria, through the learned Judge, publicly, of their loyalty to the Government and of their willingness to assist the Government by loyal co-operation in the interests of all classes, and particularly in the interests of peace, order, and good government.

Prince Eshugbayi (the Eleko) has arrived in Lagos in terms of the order of Court and is now once again in residence at Iga Indunganran.

A Political Landmark.

Behind the above formal announcement lies a footnote to West African history, and a profoundly interesting human story, parts of which read more like an extract from the "Arabian Nights" than a recital of prosaic, recent facts. It is an episode from which more than one useful moral may be drawn. It proves afresh the vital importance of the Privy Council. It shows that African public men in Nigeria, while supporting British prestige, are neither to be coerced nor cajoled into accepting high-handedness masquerading as prestige. It suggests that in tropical Africa, just as in India or Ceylon, the day is past when Government can hope to dispose of a public question without explanation. It proves afresh the constitutional character of the Africans and their patient reliance upon the justice of the highest British tribunal, in the little-known court-room in Whitehall, once the facts can be placed before that august tribunal. One thing further. This country and Nigeria have not had to wait many days after Sir Donald Cameron's getting into harness at Lagos for fresh proof of his statesmanship and of the trust reposed in him by the Africans.

Material for the Novelist.

Mr. "Archie" Hastings, Mr. Warren Henry, Mr. Gascoigne Lumley, or another of our Coast novelists might find in the Eleko case, and in the activities and personality of Mr. Herbert Macaulay, material for one of their novels.

The business has been for more than a decade at an acute stage, but it was begun in the days of Lord (then Sir Frederick) Lugard's Governor-Generalship, if not earlier. It arises, indeed, out of the cession of Lagos, nearly three-quarters of a century ago. When that took place the ancestor of the Eleko now restored, was guaranteed, by the gentleman acting for the British Government, a yearly allowance equal to "the net revenue hitherto received by him" from certain dues admittedly his. This sum was about £2,000 a year. Nothing was put in the document about payments to future Kings, which suggests that the then King was unfortunate in his legal advice—if he had any. The British Government does not seem ever to have taken up the position that, though no mention was made of future Kings, the allowance was for one life only. It continued the allowance, but reduced the amount. Within five years of the cession King Docemo complained that the £1,000 he then received was not equal to the annual net revenue received by him during his independent kingship, and Colonel Ord, R.E., who inquired into the matter for the British Government, reported with soldierly brevity that the King's complaint appeared to be true and that augmentation of pension might well be made "from the ample revenue which the settlement is returning." A compromise was arrived at and some payment was made (apparently about £500 a year) to King Docemo's successors. Each Eleko became less powerful than his predecessor. He had to do, under the system of government in the South. (It is important to reflect that had the Northern system of Indirect Rule been followed at Lagos, the difficulty would not have arisen, because the Eleko, or other Natural Ruler, would have had his share of the revenue, as the Emirs have. Some critics at Lagos, who have deplored the poverty of the Eleko while denouncing the Northern system as allowing the Natural Ruler to take the people's money, do not seem consistent.)

A Reasonable Case.

Such was the state of affairs when Mr. Herbert Macaulay took up afresh the case for revision of subsidy or allowance, which meant, of course, increase. This was towards the end of Sir F. Lugard's tenure, and matters did not go beyond exchange of preliminary remarks. This may have been because Eleko fell into the error of failing to keep an appointment with the Governor, which his Excellency had fixed at Eleko's own request. Eleko apologised, and the way in which Sir Frederick Lugard dealt with the incident and the apology is an object-lesson in courtesy and dignity worthy of the finest gentleman of whom one could wish to read. On another occasion, after the Lugard *régime*, Eleko erred again, in interfering in certain Mohameddan appointments, he being nominally a Pagan. But these errors were trifles compared with that into which the Nigerian Government was moving.

Eleko had a reasonable case when, after the War, Mr. Macaulay re-opened it. The Empire and its allies had won. West Africa had been magnificently loyal. Her sons, Nigeria's sons decidedly not least, had played a gallant part. Had it been suggested from the right quarter that it would be graceful to act at Lagos in the spirit of French action recently in Dahomey, and to a certain extent British action at Kumasi with Nana Prempeh, the strong probability is that the reply would have been encouraging. A few thousand pounds spent in replacing the Eleko's tumbledown house with a building in African style, housing a Southern Nigerian museum, housing the Eleko, being the meeting place of him and his Chiefs, and also of the Municipal Council, its occupant, the Eleko, with an allowance of, say, £1,000 a year—such a programme as this would on merit and in normal circumstances, have appealed to the heart and imagination of the distinguished man who succeeded Sir Frederick Lugard in Nigeria. There was no question of anti-Africanism on his part. He proved that, when he opposed the late Lord Leverhulme, and warned him and all others against interference with the immemorial right of the Africans to their land.

Mr. Herbert Macaulay.

But that distinguished Governor would give no support to the Eleko's case as presented by Mr. Herbert Macaulay. Who and what is Mr. Macaulay? He is a grandson of Dr. Crowther, first African Bishop of the Niger. He was educated in England, on a grant from Government, and he became a civil engineer and surveyor. Mr. Macaulay is perhaps the ablest *political* West African, which is saying a great deal, of a country which numbers among its sons such able men as the Emir of Katsina, Mr. Kobina Sekyi, Mr. Montacute Thompson, Mr. E. M. Agbebi, Mr. Latunde Johnson, Mr. Hayfron-Benjamin, Mr. Peter Thomas, Dr. Danquah, Sir Ofori Atta and others whom one might name. Nearer 70 than 60, he looks many years younger. If he were a Governor he would look the part better than most Governors we have had. He has a voice and a laugh which would be passports anywhere. The quickness, the energy, the comprehensiveness, with which he can write an article—or a book, if need be—or make a speech, or organise a demonstration, are incredible. The Coast, which kills the energy of so many seems to have given him a quadruple supply. He has never fallen into the blunder of "anti-Whiteism." He has an immense admiration for the British people, for the Crown, for the British connection, and he never hides it. But he claims for his race every jot of its rights as part of the Empire. He leads the politically articulate Africans of Lagos, whom he has formed into a solid party. It is an intellectual treat to read a document in which he replies to the argument of the Nigerian Government of 1921, that the Eleko was without political functions. Sir John Simon could not have done it with a more Socratic thoroughness. In a word, Mr. Herbert Macaulay is precisely the type of man whom most Governments acclaim as a patriot if he is "agin" another Government, and curse if he is "agin" themselves.

The Staff; the Oluwa; the "Daily Mail."

Something over 10 years ago Mr. Macaulay re-visited London. The Oluwa, one of the Eleko's sub-Chiefs, was here in a land case, and Mr. Macaulay came as his secretary. He brought with him, as the Eleko's assurance to the Privy Council that the Oluwa was one of his Chiefs, a silver-mounted staff, presented by Queen Victoria to the Eleko's ancestor. The Oluwa, he and the staff, were seen everywhere. Among

other places, they got into the office of the "Daily Mail," which—of all papers!—in this month of July 11 years ago published the following, which is more redolent of the "Daily Herald" than of the "Daily Mail":—

"A protest against features of the British administration of the seventeen million loyal Natives of Nigeria is to be made by the Nigerian party now in England under Chief Oluwa of Lagos.

The grievances of the country were described to a "Daily Mail" reporter by the secretary of Chief Oluwa, Mr. Herbert Macaulay, who described certain of the errors of policy as 'Empire-breaking rather than Empire-making.' He translated the conversation to the Chief, who does not speak English, and among the interjections of Oluwa were: 'Our people are grieved—grieved,' and 'We have confidence. We are all loyal to the British throne.'

Among the grievances which are to be made known in official quarters later are:—

That Prince Eleko, who is acclaimed by the seventeen million Nigerians as the titular King of Lagos, and whose grandfather ceded the port and island of Lagos to the British Government, now receives less pay than the lowest-paid European gardener there, and that his palace is being allowed to fall into decay.

That Prince Eleko, the chief Negro in a possession three times the size of the United Kingdom, was told by a former Lieutenant-Governor to 'Stand up, not sit down, when you are talking to me.'

'Our Prince is getting £300 a year only, and that is described as a compassionate allowance,' said Mr. Macaulay. 'Moreover, that allowance has been stopped on two occasions. King Docemo, who ceded Lagos in 1861, "in order that the Queen of England might be better enabled to assist, defend, and protect the inhabitants and to put an end to slave traffic," was promised a pension equal to the net revenue—and that he did not receive. To-day the net revenue to the British Government is four millions sterling.'"

The Government of Nigeria had a simple reply to the most "tendentious" of these statements. It was that the four millions sterling is spent upon the country, and is in no sense "successor" to the £2,000 revenue of Docemo, inasmuch as the British King did not personally get four pence of it. Instead of meeting the argument in that way, the Government at Lagos put itself, by one hot-headed, high-handed stroke, fatally out of court.

Somehow—whether a word was cabled erroneously, whether a clerk copied something incorrectly—it was published at Lagos, under the authority of Government, that Mr. Macaulay had described Eleko as titular King of *Nigeria* (which would have been an affront to the Emirs, the Alafin, the Alake, the Oba, and other rulers), whereas he had said titular King of *Lagos*. The Nigerian Government had lost its land case. The Oluwa and Mr. Macaulay had been made much of everywhere. This last touch was to the Government the last straw. The Government turned upon the Eleko, reproached him with having lent his official staff to the Oluwa, thus assuming responsibility for all that the Oluwa and his secretary might say or do, and called upon him to send his bellman round Lagos, saying the following:—

"Attention! Eleko instructs me to tell you all, ... Eleko has since heard that Oluwa, through mouth of his interpreter, Mr. H. Macaulay, who is bearing the staff entrusted to the Oluwa, has been making certain absurd statements to the people in England. He has told them, among other things, that Eleko is the King of the 17,000,000 people in Nigeria; that he is entitled to the revenue of the whole of Nigeria, £5,000,000, as his salary, and that he is robbed of his rights by the Government. Eleko wants everybody to know that he never sent Oluwa or Macaulay with any such message to England; that these words are theirs and not his own; and that these words are lies. He has already told this to the Government, and he wants everybody to know that he has nothing to do with such words."

A Ten-Years' Chess Game.

The Eleko was in an awkward corner. He acted in a way which reminds one of something said by a famous South African, namely, that there are two men in Africa who are politicians—the Boer, and the African. The Eleko said that if Mr. Macaulay had said what was alleged he would repudiate it and him; but he would first hear Mr. Macaulay's version. The Government said that would not do. "Very well," the Eleko blandly replied, "then I and two barristers will go to England and hear with our own ears what was said." Imagine the effect of the Eleko's going up and down Great Britain telling the British public about the smallness of his stipend, etc., etc.! *That* suggestion was turned down. The Government withdrew the Eleko's allowance, lowered his status to that of a private person, and began looking out for another Eleko.

A little later, on Mr. Macaulay's return, began what one may describe as a 10-years' chess game between the "old" Eleko's party and the Legal Department at Lagos. The local courts decided application after application in favour of the Government. Each side knew—it was plain to the layman—that the moment the simple fact of the action taken upon the false rendering of the "Daily Mail" article could be got to the notice of the Privy Council, the case of the Legal Department would go to pieces. But for years the Eleko could not get to the Privy Council. Everything that could be done was done to keep him from it, including his deportation. But at last he got to that court-room in Whitehall, which is the true centre of the British Empire. Even then he got there only on a preliminary issue, but everybody who read the judgment in WEST AFRICA for March 28, saw that, as WEST AFRICA then said, on every point which the Privy Council had before it, the supreme British tribunal decided for the Eleko and against the Nigerian Government, with costs. When, instructed by his solicitor during all the years (Mr. E. F. Hunt), Sir Boyd Merriman and Mr. Wells Palmer (the latter of the Nigerian Bar), presented the Eleko's case in its preliminary phase, it became plain to every hearer that whenever, if ever, the Privy Council got to the plain, simple, central issue, the African ruler would win.

Nevertheless, if the Eleko had come to the Privy Council on the initial episode, and if he had won again, it would still have been open to the Government to hold that the deed of cession does not require it to recognise or to pay any allowance to any successor of Docemo's. Therefore, the case was one, not for going to the extreme step, but for an honourable settlement. This it has got. The Eleko is in his old position, in every respect. The British connection is stronger than ever. Both parties to the settlement deserve sincere congratulations.

Self Rule for Africa Asked

No Reforms But Self-Determination for Continent

GENEVA MEET TOLD

Self Rule for Africa Demanded at Geneva

GENEVA.—At the Meeting of the International Congress on African Children, a strong speech was delivered by Mitra Sinnanan, representing the League of Colored Peoples in London. He said the remedy for Africa's troubles lay not in child welfare work but in emancipation from foreign control. The African demanded self-determination and self-Government.

One hundred and fifty delegates of nine nationalities, both white and coloured, including Great Britain and Belgium, met to discuss the position of African Children, under the presidency of Lord Noel Buxton, who declared that they wanted to introduce into Africa the health standards of the West. Some of the main question to be considered would be infant mortality, stillbirth and education in connection with labour.

The Duchess of Atholl drew attention to the question of the circumcision of females, which should be prohibited, and suggested various remedial measures.

The startling assertion that in one part of Africa children were being produced specially for the slave trade and a considerable trade was going on in the exchange of children for arms and ammunition, was made at the International Conference on African children by John Harris, representing the Anti-Slavery Society. He added that the children seemed to be only raw material in Africa, the price of which was appreciating today.

Mr. R. V. Varnon, Assistant Secretary to the Colonial Office, said he was convinced that there was no general cruelty to children in Africa, though it is possible there were cases in which work beyond their strength might have been forced upon them in the normal course as members of a family or tribe.

Mr. Ford, representing the Negro Workers Trade Union Congress said they wished to secure a programme including freedom of association and the abolition of all forced and contract labour and they would refuse to serve as soldiers for imperialist end.

Race Problem-1931

Africa.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Changing Africa.

One of the leading problems of the twentieth century is the reaction of Africa to the impact of the Western Civilisation which has taken possession of a great part of the Continent, and has penetrated by broad floods, or by tiny tricklings, to its most secret recesses. There is no possibility of evading it—it faces the colonising Powers in the results of their past dealings as much as in their hopes and plans for the future. By whatever avenue the problem is approached the seekers, however distant from each other their starting-places, find their paths converging till they meet in the African peoples. Trade, agriculture, mining, communications, and transport, and the development of markets are as much concerned with the Africans as administration, education, and even the doctors and missionaries who come into direct contact with them in the care of their bodily and spiritual welfare. For markets are not blocks of territory, but masses of human beings, whose desires and needs, whose likes and dislikes dictate the nature of the trade, and whether there shall be any trade at all. The whole machinery of development is directed to the discovery of these needs and desires, to increasing and multiplying them, as well as to the methods of gratifying them. In the process the African must inevitably be profoundly affected for good or evil. As modern British opinion will no longer tolerate the callous corruption and destruction of primitive races, it is necessary to take in hand the guidance of the transformation which the injection of so many new and powerful stimulants is effecting in African life. The April issue of "Africa" contains an article on "The Missionary as an Anthropological Field-Worker," by Dr. Westermann, than whom there is no one better qualified by knowledge and sympathy to write on the subject. Though addressed to missionaries for their guidance in anthropological work, the principles it lays down should guide every one concerned with the handling of African problems of administration and trade, as well as the special activities of missionaries. The important thing for each worker is to know the material in which he is working, "the most important thing is just the ordinary everyday life of the tribe, and care must be taken not to allow attention to be diverted to what is strange or unusual, to the detriment of the daily happenings and normal life of the people." Most of the failures, and many of the troubles, in West Africa have been caused by ignorance of the speech and daily lives of the peoples among teachers and administrators. "Only those who know the traditional environment of the native have the opportunity and the right of effecting such a transformation, as they are thus in the position to forge links between the old and the new, and in consequence will make the new ideas develop naturally from the old." The collection of descriptions of customs and rites and beliefs is only a first step towards this knowledge; he who aspires to guide the African on the path of progress must endeavour to get inside the life of the people, and to view it subjectively. As Professor Westermann says, "every effort should be made to find out what each idea or custom means in the life of the people, how far it is living and effective, and what influence it has on the external and inner life of the individual and the community." The important thing is to ascertain "what is the reaction of the African to the ever-spreading European civilisation, what elements in his indigenous culture are destroyed by the impact with Western ideas, and what are the results in native life. What elements of African culture are strong enough to maintain their utility today, or to what changes they are subject, can the old be woven into the new to make a fresh whole, and what is the judgment of the African on these changes."

Native Education.

These principles inform two other articles —"An Outline of the Native Conception of Education," by Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé, Lecturer in Social Anthropology at the University of Witwatersrand, and "Einflüsse der Europäischen Zivilisation auf das Familienleben der Bantu," by D. S. Knak, director of the Berlin Missionary Society, of which a summary in English is given. Mrs. Hoernlé says: "If we wish to understand and help these African peoples it is essential that we should learn to look at their culture and their world with their eyes—otherwise we run a grave risk of inadvertently destroying the foundations of the social organisation and belief which make life not only tolerable but possible to all. . . . Only when we have a fair understanding of how the culture works as a functioning system can we know how to set about producing any particular modification that may be desired, or avoid bringing harm or even disaster to the people themselves by our intervention." In producing these modifications the most malleable elements are the children. As Herr Knak says: "When the old and the new are so different and so opposed to each other as European civilisation and African family life, or Christianity and Paganism, the young people are naturally the strategic point on the possession of which everything depends." Hence the importance of education, which is too often assumed to be a European innovation. But Mrs. Hoernlé shows that there was a pre-European native system of education, differing in its object just as the African's outlook on life differs from that of the European. While the European regards himself as a citizen of the world, interested in everything that affects humanity, "if we turn to the African in his native environment," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "we find that events outside his own community concern him hardly at all. In a great many tribes he is hardly concerned with anything beyond his own little village community, and the real centre of his life is his own homestead"; his education is directed to teaching him his relation and duty to the other members of his group.

Other Articles.

Dr. Mary Blacklock in "Co-operation in Health Education" emphasises the importance of popular co-operation, "only possible if the general population, both male and female, is capable and willing to put the necessary preventive methods into force . . . as, fortunately, many of the most prevalent diseases are comparatively easily prevented." Father Labrecque, of the Mission des Pères Blancs, writes on "Marriage Among the Babemba," who claim to have originated in Lunda, "one of the most powerful negro kingdoms of Africa," and to have a dynasty of thirty kings and a glorious history, having resisted and defeated the Bangoni, who subdued and put to tribute all their neighbours.

W. F. H.

Co-operative Societies.

The Comet 5-27-31

Rev. B. Huss of Mariazell Mission, Matatiele whose itinerary of a lecture tour on the above subject was recently published in the local papers, addressed a fairly large meeting of the local Natives and those of the surrounding villages in the National Council Chamber on Saturday afternoon the 16th inst. The meeting might have been far larger than it was but as it happened there were so many attractions that resulted in reducing the attendance to what it was.

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Rev B. Huss, as it is well-known, has devoted himself to the work of helping the Natives of South Africa to improve their present deplorable conditions of life. He has written several useful books for them and he is still engaged on other publications. The utility of his books is not a temporary one but they will continue to serve the Natives perhaps for centuries to come. His first publication was The Text-Book for Native Agriculture which was followed by the following: Psychology for Everyday Life, Elementary Economics, Social History or Story of Rochdale Co-orative Stores, Psychology Part II, Group Mind. He has travelled in all the Union Provinces lecturing to the Natives and sometimes to mixed audiences on these subjects.

Basutoland

In his opening remarks Rev. B. Huss remarked that he had travelled far and wide addressing the Natives on Co-operative Societies. People differed about his lectures. Some criticised him while others thanked him. Some Europeans also thanked him for the reason that the speaker's advices to the Natives helped them in their work. Others said if the speaker could fall in their hands they would give him a severe thrashing. The subject upon which he would talk was a broad one and if he would go into the details he feared he would over-tax their patience. He would therefore only touch upon some of the important points.

He could divide his subject into three parts, namely: (a) the great wealth of Africa (b) the great waste with which this wealth was handled (c) how to avoid that waste.

The wealth of Africa is the plants, animals, soil minerals and the people. He likened Africa as a large water tank with holes through which the water leaked. There were many holes through which this wealth of Africa was running. He then described how that wealth was being wasted and vividly pointed to the Natives how they were being used as tools for digging precious stones out of the bowels of the country and putting them in the pockets of the whitemen. He then showed the Natives how they had lost their habit of co-operation through jealousy and hatred which resulted in disorganisation.

The lecturer however did not discourage his audience. He gave them a message of hope. He exhorted them to take the example of those who had long experience, and to follow the beaten track of the whiteman. If they did that they were bound to succeed. They must learn the habits of thrift, honesty, hard work and sacrifice. They must do things for themselves. They must gather together and start Co-operative Credit Societies or in other words Peoples Banks. Some people may laugh at that. Some people laughed when the poor in Europe talked of that but ultimately those banks came about and they were a success. Some people laughed when

he advised the Natives of Transkei to co-operate and start their own banks but in one location near Umtata there is to-day a nice building, well furnished and the Natives are doing their banking business there. There are already in existence in the Transkei Natives Banks with amounts of money ranging from £3000 to £25,000. What other Natives can do elsewhere the Basuto can do as well. But they must first learn to be honest, to work together, to trust their leaders, to save something from their earnings regularly and to do things themselves. They could not do these things at once. They must go slowly and work their way from one stage to another. When they have started they could write to him and ask him to come and advise them and he would always be willing to help them.

He strongly encouraged the Basuto to start with farmers associations and work onwards.

After a few questions were asked and replied to Rev. B. Huss was thanked for his educative lecture and it was hoped that the seed he had sown would bear fruit in course of time.

HAS THE AFRICAN A FUTURE?

Weekly News 6-13-31

WHENEVER we see articles with such a heading we are always curious to know who the writer is and what his views are on such an important subject. Sir NORMAN ANGELL, M.P., an eminent economist, in the June number of the *Elders West African Review* contributes an article on this subject, which is so important that we are adopting it as our Editorial for this week. The future of the African is one which has formed the subject of much speculation in the past, and although some have attempted to belittle the place that he is destined to play in the future of the world, yet it is an undeniable fact that the African is making such progress that will entitle him to serious consideration in the future.

No other race (with perhaps the single exception of the ancient Israelites) has passed through the difficulties that the African has passed through and yet survives. After four centuries of slavery, the African has emerged with a mental and physical condition that does not show any trace of the ill-treatment and hardship that it passed during that period.

Indeed as Sir NORMAN ANGELL says it has shown wonderful powers of reception, and has acquired in twelve years knowledge which has taken the human race as a whole twelve thousand years to accumulate. It is needless now to assert the principle of inherent superiority of any race, for given the opportunity, the Japenese, the Indians and the Africans have shown themselves almost equal to the European race in every field of development. With this fact becoming more pronounced as the years go by, it will be idle to continue to administer Africa as a country where the Europeans must rule because of his inherent superiority.

European heads will for some time to come be still necessary in Africa and particularly in West Africa, but such men should be men who would excel both intellectually and morally. They must be men who when tested would be able to hold their own if they are to continue to command the respect of the African.

Sir NORMAN ANGELL has stressed what he conceives will be the claim of the African as regards the assertion of European superiority as follows :—

> "Whatever my degree of civilisation whatever my character, culture, education and social worth, I shall never be regarded as anything but inferior to the worst European."

Already this attitude is being adopted by some Africans and was dealt with in our last editorial. The African will not admit that every European is superior to him ; in fact he sees many in Africa who have no right to such claim, and as long as that is asserted so long will it cause a misunderstanding. Under the question of the future of the African is that of his economic future. Several writers have written of the important part that engineering in all its branches will take in the future development of Africa, and the African is being urged to concentrate more on this sort of education than that of the law and kindred profession. The African whilst fully appreciative of the position, is slow to embark in engineering because the prospects are not encouraging. Until the African can establish engineering business and can make himself independent of the Government or European Firms, his engineering career will prove a failure ; for the status of an African Engineer or Mechanic is far below that of his brothers of the law and kindred profession and the inducements for employment are practically nil. There are at present many Africans who have qualified in the different kinds of engineering who find it difficult to earn a livelihood. Under such circumstances it is not difficult to understand why young men fight shy of these vocations.

PROSPECTS IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

Queen Victoria 6-20-31 London 6 England M1443 Vol CXV

We are pleased to note from the Director of Agriculture's Report from Southern Rhodesia that the future outlook is more than hopeful. Figures show that the year's agriculture was handicapped as the result of a poor growing season, which was "capricious and disappointing." The season, however, was a favourable one for livestock. Notwithstanding late rains, the cattle carried over the winter in good condition and practically no losses were experienced. There was, however, a falling off in the yields of maize, wheat and tobacco. Though the tobacco showed a decrease, there was a noticeable improvement in quality as compared with the past two seasons. There was an advance in the output of cotton and ground nuts, both of which are steadily increasing. The feature of the cattle industry in Southern Rhodesia for the past five years has been the decrease of European-owned cattle and the increase of native-owned cattle. Comparatively, figures for the past nine years show that whereas in 1921 905,040 head of cattle belonged to Europeans and 854,498 to natives, in 1929 the figures were 902,163 and 1,495,966 respectively. With commendable enterprise the Government spent £30,893 in a bounty of 1s. per bag on 617,869 bags of mealies. It was paid on every bag exported overseas from the Colony where the net price including the bounty did not exceed 11s. 6d. per bag. The wheat crop suffered severely through the unusually late frost. The results of the Tobacco Growers' Delegation to England resulted in the whole question of Empire tobacco being discussed. It is anticipated that the results will have an important bearing on the tobacco industry in all parts of the Empire and further its use in the markets of the United Kingdom. We can only hope that Mr. Brain's optimism is but the prelude to better prospects in Southern Rhodesia. Certainly the Southern Rhodesia Government is doing all in its power to make for success, and it only needs more propitious world-conditions to bring one of our most promising colonies into its own.

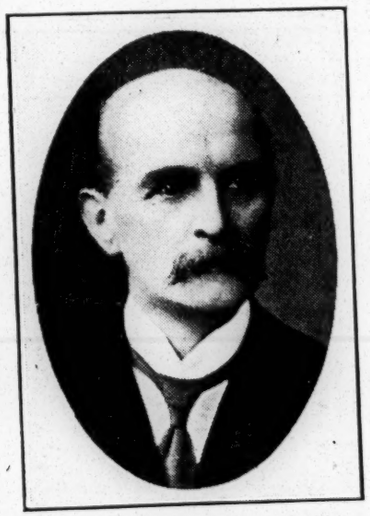
Africa.

A New Daily Paper.

Lagos believes that it possesses a journalistic "record" for Africa in the fact that its latest paper, "The Nigerian Daily Herald," is owned and edited by a lady journalist, Miss E. R. Ajayi (whose portrait, it may be remembered, appeared in our art pages on November 22 last in connection with a fashionable wedding. Miss Ajayi, who is a member of a well-known Catholic family in Lagos, obtained her journalistic experience with the "Nigerian Daily Telegraph," but in her new paper she intends to break new ground by stressing the problems and opportunities of Nigerian women, from dowry questions to female franchise, besides giving the usual attention to the news of the day. The new paper made its first appearance on April 29, when it received a warm welcome both from the public and from its contemporaries.

FUNDS FOR AFRICAN STUDIES.

Under the chairmanship of Lord Lugard, the ninth meeting of the council of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures has just been held in Paris. The members of the council were received by Dr. Charcot, the president of the Geographical Society of France, and M. Grandidier, secretary-general of the society.



THE RT. HON LORD LUGARD, G.C.M.G., P.C.

At the beginning of the meeting, which lasted for three days, the chairman announced that the Rockefeller Foundation of New York had decided to give to the institute a yearly contribution of £5,000 for five years, plus a further contribution calculated at the rate of £1 for every £2 obtained by the institute from other sources to enable it to carry out further study and research in Africa.

THE GAMBIA TRADE REPORT.

The report on the trade of the Gambia for 1930, signed by Mr. M. M. Auchinleck, Acting Receiver-General, has been issued as an "Extraordinary Gazette" (Crown Agents,—6d.), and gives the usual detailed tables and summaries. Exclusive of specie, the total trade amounted to £1,428,792, a decrease of £9,298 compared with 1929, and nearly £200,000 below the last ten years' average. The imports amounted to £529,985, against £597,161 in 1921, and over a million in the previous year. The chief were rice, £114,578, cotton goods and yarns, £105,391, and kolas, £48,836, there being no other class totalling £20,000 or over. As might be expected every few imports showed increases, the following being the only ones of note:—tea, by £3,821 to £13,888; edible oils, by £3,222 to £12,221; sugar, by £2,764 to £18,502; apparel, by £2,046 to £11,894; and wheaten flour, by £1,931 to £11,786. There were decreases in cotton goods and yarns, by £10,442 to £105,391; lumber, by £6,558 to £4,035; kola, by £6,081 to £48,836; metal (all kinds), by £4,782 to £15,108; cement, by £4,265 to £2,007; while other decreases over £3,000 occurred in coal. motor-cars, rice, and bags and sacks. Imports of spirits totalled 4,133 gallons, value £3,151, as compared with 4,069 and £3,336 in 1929. Whisky imports fell from 1,509 gallons to 1,403, but gin rose from 1,287 to 1,381, rum from 857 to 966, and brandy from 80 to 202 gallons, changes which seem to be the result of falling prices more than anything else.

The exports, which, like the imports, passed the million mark in 1928, totalled £898,807, as compared with £840,929 in 1929, but showed little change in general composition. Ground-nuts remained the great stand-by, the exports amounting to 74,761 tons through Bathurst and 3,815 through the French port of Saboya, these figures representing increases of 18,306 and 2,080 tons over 1929. The value of the nuts, after due allowance has been made for a slight error in the comparative tables provided in the report, appears to be £902,513, as against £785,516 for the previous year. Other exports were palm-kernels, 606 tons and £6,583, against 735 and £10,232; hides, 131,655 lbs. and £2,462, against 196,968 and £6,155; and beeswax, which nearly doubled in weight to 12,092 lbs., but only increased in value from £318 to £466.

Among the countries trading with the Gambia, the United Kingdom and British Colonies took 21.31% of the exports and supplied 45.5% of the imports, against 18.82 and 45.11 in 1929; France took 39.95% and supplied 29.75%, against 33.03 and 39.65; the United States supplied 6.87% against 6.63%; Germany took 17.82%, against 28.01%, and Holland took 16.17%, against 10.26%. The revenue collected amounted to £5,207 from miscellaneous sources, chiefly buoyage and light dues, as compared with £5,821 in 1929, and £139,927 from the Customs, against £124,396, the respective figures for export duty on ground-nuts included in these totals being £74,309 and £55,733.

THE SOUTHERN PROVINCES OF NIGERIA.

The Annual Report on the Southern Provinces of Nigeria for 1929 (Crown Agents,—3s. 6d.) is exceptionally late in appearance, but its aim is merely to place on detailed record matters which for most practical purposes have already been sufficiently described in the Governor's annual address for the various departmental reports. Apart from the transfer of the headquarters of the Provinces to Enugu, the outstanding event of the year was of course the rioting in the Owerri and Calabar Provinces, but this is dealt with in a purely objective manner, presumably because the reports were written before the Aba Commission completed its work. Stress is laid upon the progress made in unearthing the tribal, clan, and village organisations, and the practical application of the knowledge thus gained is shown in the rearrangement of Native Court areas on less artificial lines. The task is an immense one, however, for in 89,670 square miles of country and a population of 8,361,726 there were but 142 Administrative Officers. The eleven provinces possessed 52 Native Treasuries, of which those in Oyo, Abeokuta, Ijebu Ode, and one in Benin, were partly or wholly organised, and 43 others unorganised. Their revenue and expenditure amounted to £671,075 and £601,936, while between them they held surplus funds of £396,132,—sufficient to make it comprehensible why at the time of the Women's Riots some of the people considered that the results of the expenditure of taxation were not sufficiently visible. The 413 Native Courts handled 277,619 cases, the increase of over 13,000 showing that their work was appreciated by the people, while the number of appeals to District Officers was relatively small. The report closes with a summary of the work of the chief departments, although that dealing with the prisons is the only one that is now occupied with the Southern Provinces.

THE TRAINING OF AFRICAN TEACHERS.

"Suggestions for the Training of African Teachers" (Longmans Green and Co., Ltd., 39, Paternoster Row, E.C.4, 1s. 3d. net), by Mr. R. R. Young, is a little book that will be useful not only to those who are called upon to perform such service, but also to the teachers themselves in preparing their own work. Mr. R. R. Young, who has performed useful work both as a Supervisor of Schools in Sierra Leone, and also as Normal Master at Fourah Bay College, is well qualified to advise others upon his subject, even though the preface by Prof. A. V. Murray may, in its broad insistence upon the need of the teacher to adapt, and not to adopt, the methods of others, make some readers feel that books upon method are useless. Mr. Young's suggestions fall into two parts, the second detailing a scheme of work suitable for a vernacular school offering a four-years' course, with oral English beginning in the second half. The first part describes the general principles of education and teaching method, and advocates a system of groups in which each student-teacher is given definite lines of investigation as being favourable to the development of initiative and personal interest when the conclusions of each group form the basis of class discussion. The subjects that may be so handled fall into several great sections,—the needs of the community, the relation of the village school to them, the child himself, the organisation of the school, the subjects to be taught, and so on,—and examples of the questions that individual teachers, may be called upon to investigate, with hints as to sources of information, offer valuable suggestions that may be adapted to almost any local need. One great need of most African communities is nowhere specifically mentioned, however, namely, that of an income, and the village school may foster the liveliest interest in food, housing, clothes, and hygiene, without getting far if it does not at the same time show how these matters are directly linked with production, and are not dependent upon the fatherly interest of a government giving doles from a revenue of which the source is but vaguely comprehended.

THE BIBLE SOCIETY IN WEST AFRICA.

May is the month in which all the great missionary and philanthropic societies hold their annual meetings. Several of these have special links with West Africa.

Of these, the British and Foreign Bible Society claims pride of place by virtue of the fact that its activities are inter-denominational, and so touch all the rest.

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For the first time in the Society's history the figure for the year's distribution has exceeded 12 million copies. Of these, rather more than one million copies were whole Bibles, rather more than one million New Testaments, and rather less than ten millions were portions only. Considered geographically, one million were sold in the British Isles, another million in the Dominions, and ten millions elsewhere.

Those 10 million copies sold elsewhere than in the Homeland and the big English-speaking Dominions,—what a romantic story they might tell! For they are in 629 different languages, and they have gone to practically every nook and corner of the globe. Adding English, the number is 630, and it is increasing at the amazing rate of one each month, twelve each year. Of these twelve, eight are African, five being *West* African. This is admittedly only a rough gauge of missionary progress, but it *is* a gauge, and it challenges the imagination of the mathematically-minded. How many independent languages are there in West Africa? And if they are captured and revivified at the rate of five each year, how long before West Africa becomes both Christian and literate?

Carry the process of dissection a step further. Who, and what, and where are these five newly translated West African tongues? Three represent the vast regions of the Congo basin, stained until comparatively recently by "Red Rubber." One is a di-glot version for the Conakry district of French Senegambia, and one,—a single gospel—for the French Ivory Coast. The di-glot version is in Susu and French. It marks the latest phase of missionary work in the language where modern West African missionary work first began. It is specially associated with the Rio Pongas Mission, and therefore with the life and work of the late Archdeacon Farquhar, who supervised that mission for half a lifetime, and whose daughters are now training in France to qualify for educational work, under the new conditions which French Colonial policy imposes.

But the one new version which more than all others fires the imagination is that for the Dida people of the French Ivory Coast. The work, of which this new version is one interesting sequel, was being done in the years 1913-14, by that strange free-lance, the late "Prophet Harris." Quite irregular in character and in method, doubtful in educational and spiritual quality, the work of the old man has resulted in the greatest successful "mass-movement" towards Christianity that West Africa has seen. This is not the place for the details of that story, but they are of surpassing interest, and will well repay unbiassed inquiry. And the hero of the story when deported by the French in April, 1915 (for "there was a war on," and any popular movement was naturally viewed with concern) yielded, almost without a murmur, to superior authority, passed into obscurity, and died in poverty in his native village in Liberia, less than a year ago. And the Dida people, for whom this new version of St. Mark's Gospel is intended, is only one of the 10 tribes, who, at this old man's bidding, absolutely abandoned their fetish-worship and built large, substantial churches, where for 10 years they met Sunday by Sunday and prayed and waited for Christian teachers. When West African Christianity reaches the stage of canonising its pioneers, Prophet Harris should surely hold an honoured place in its calendar of saints.

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Lt.-Col. the Lord Francis Scott's Speech.

Do you, ladies and gentlemen, realise what has actually happened in Kenya? Only thirty years ago or less the country was entirely overrun by Masai, other tribes hiding in the forests. The Kavirondo, a big tribe, were entirely naked—in fact, it was typical of darkest Africa and savagery.

In 1893 Sir Gerald Portal was sent to Uganda to settle the differences there, especially between the three religions—Roman Catholic, Protestant and Mohammedan. He recommended Great Britain should take over what is now Kenya from the I.B.E.A. (Chartered Company). Then the railway was built to get in touch, for Imperial reasons, with Uganda. That railway was responsible for the beginning of white settlement, which was actively encouraged by the late Sir C. Eliot, and settlers were invited by the Imperial Government to go out to British East Africa.

As order was gradually brought to the country, so the other tribes, being freed from the menace of the Masai, were enabled to settle down and get on with their cultivation, etc., outside the shelter of the forests. A treaty was made with the Masai which gave them definite lands to live in, and freed the rest of the country over which they had roamed, and which was not occupied by any other tribes, for white settlement. Sir Gerald Portal in his book records how no natives, except two marauding parties of Masai, were seen from Fort Smith (near Nairobi) to Kavirondo (near Uganda). That settlement, starting in a small way, has now grown into a total of nearly 17,000 white people, including officials and missionaries.

Soldier Settlement.

After the War ex-soldiers were invited by the Government to go out and settle in Kenya, and several hundreds went, including myself, of whom the large majority are still there and bringing up their families as Kenyans.

Now, the white farmer is not as sometimes pictured a man of large income who sits on his verandah and rakes in large incomes from the work of the natives. On the contrary, unless the European works hard from early dawn to dusk, and personally supervises all that is going on on his farm, he is doomed to failure. Apart from supervising all the farming work, he has to be an amateur doctor to attend to all the ills and injuries, etc., of the native labour, and do every sort of odd job on the place. Some people are now trying to make out that white settlement is a failure. That is far from the truth, as can be shown by the following facts and figures:—

In 1901 the total inward and outward trade at Mombasa was £503,000. In 1929 it was just under £20,000,000. According to the agricultural census in the year 1929-1930, the value of the domestic exports from Kenya was £2,901,000, of which £2,451,000 was produced by Europeans. The value of products exported by each European occupier in 1929-1930 was an average of £119 8s. per head. I think these figures give an indication of what has been done by European settlement in a very short time.

Then others try to say it is not a white man's country from a health point of view. Time alone can prove this, but anyone who sees the children out there now (and there are over 1,000 at the various schools) cannot but admit that they are splendid specimens of humanity. If you go to Nairobi you will find up-to-date methods of traffic control, with "one-way" traffic streets and native constables on point duty. The rateable value of Nairobi is over £3,500,000, and the Nairobi municipal area covers as much ground as Manchester. Four buildings have recently been erected there for banks, Shell Company, hotels, etc., at a cost of £250,000. Now, all this shows how civilisation has been introduced into darkest Africa by our own people. But you will say, "Yes, but what about the native?" There are rather fewer than 3,000,000 natives in the country, who have recently had their lands (30,000,000 acres) safeguarded to them for all time by law last year. They are completely free to work as they like, either on their own lands in the reserve or for on their own employers or the Government, white

Attitude Towards Natives.

Policy is definite facts, as opposed to theories, in support of our contentions.

What a far happier position than many of our unfortunate countrymen in this country to-day! Their taxation, according to latest available official statistics, works out what is known as the "Dual Policy" What we especially want to do while at home is to dissipate much of the misunderstandings which prevail about our country and about our own attitude towards the natives, and to do so we hope to produce

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Now, the white farmer is not as sometimes pictured a man of large income who sits on his verandah and rakes in large incomes from the work of the natives. On the contrary, unless the European works hard from early dawn to dusk, and personally supervises all that is going on on his farm, he is doomed to failure. Apart from supervising all the farming work, he has to be an amateur doctor to attend to all the ills and injuries, etc., of the native labour, and do every sort of odd job on the place. Some people are now trying to make out that white settlement is a failure. That is far from the truth, as can be shown by the following facts and figures:—

In 1901 the total inward and outward trade at Mombasa was £503,000. In 1929 it was just under £20,000,000. According to the agricultural census in the year 1929-1930, the value of the domestic exports from Kenya was £2,901,000, of which £2,451,000 was produced by Europeans. The value of products exported by each European occupier in 1929-1930 was an average of £119 8s. per head. I think these figures give an indication of what has been done by European settlement in a very short time.

Then others try to say it is not a white man's country from a health point of view. Time alone can prove this, but anyone who sees the children out there now (and there are over 1,000 at the various schools) cannot but admit that they are splendid specimens of humanity. If you go to Nairobi you will find up-to-date methods of traffic control, with "one-way" traffic streets

Attitude Towards Natives.

Policy is definite facts, as opposed to theories, in fair deal, support of our contentions.

What a far happier position than countrymen in Their taxation, accord official statistics, whilst Europe and about our own attitude towards the natives, and to do so we hope to produce

Race Problem 1931

Africa.

WEST AFRICAN COCOA: ITS PROCESSES IN EUROPE.

X.—DISTRIBUTION TO THE CONSUMER.

[FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.]

We have now described in brief outline the stages by which cocoa is transformed into finished products ready for consumption; it remains to deal even more briefly with the second, and under modern conditions, in many ways the more difficult half of the manufacturer's task, the distribution of his wares to the ultimate consumer.

West Africa

Broadly speaking, the business of distribution involves two quite separate problems. On the one hand it is necessary to provide the most efficient and economical organisation for the transport and sale via the wholesaler and retailer to the public of products for which a demand is already known to exist. On the other hand, in order to keep the factory running at full speed, and to foster a steady expansion of business, it is essential by the development of a judicious marketing policy and by carefully devised schemes of publicity to increase the demand for existing products, and year by year to introduce new ones for which a fresh demand may be created. In this article we shall discuss the physical aspect of distribution and selling; in the one which will follow we shall have something to say on the subject of advertising and marketing.

5-30-31

In the confectionery trade as a whole it is still fair to say that the normal avenue of distribution from manufacturer to retailer lies through the wholesaler as intermediary, though some of the larger manufacturers try as far as possible to deal with the retail trade direct. Two or three of the largest firms have probably gone about as far as is economically possible in the direction of direct dealing, but even these find it necessary, and so long as the retail trade retains anything like its present structure will continue to find it necessary, to dispose of a substantial proportion of their output through the wholesaler. The number of retail selling points for cocoa and chocolate in Great Britain is not exactly known, but if, in addition to confectionery shops proper, we include all the grocers, general dealers, tobacconists, newsagents, cafes, cinemas and other miscellaneous places where one or other of these products is sold, it cannot be less than 250,000. It is obvious that the smaller manufacturers cannot hope to have direct dealings with more than a few thousand of these shops, and that even in the case of the largest firms of all the majority of the selling points will have to be served through the wholesaler. Taking the industry as a whole it seems probable that about three-quarters of the annual trade passes through the wholesaler's hand and not more than a quarter direct to the retail shop, though for the big manufacturers, these figures would have to be altered to perhaps two-thirds and one-third respectively. Both wholesaler and retailer have to live; the former on a small gross margin of profit earned on a comparatively large turnover, the latter on an apparently generous margin—from 25 per cent. to 30 per cent—but earned on an exceedingly small total trade. There is no doubt that the average retailer at the present time could make a better living if he were employed as a factory hand, and though the wholesaler normally is rather better off, his earnings are seldom in any sense commensurate with either the considerable capital involved in the business or the serious risks to which it is exposed. In spite of this, the earnings of the wholesale and retail trade, taken in the aggregate, absorb about one-third of the final cost of chocolates and sweets and over one-fifth of that of cocoa. To this figure must be added cost to the manufacturer of maintaining his staff of travellers, which will perhaps amount to three or four per cent., if not more, of the final cost.

We have said nothing so far of the delivery from the factory to the customer. The larger manufacturers maintain fleets of delivery vans operating within a radius of perhaps 50 miles from the factory, beyond which area they in many cases have a number of depots, to which goods are consigned in bulk by rail, and from each of which a road delivery service is operated similar to that maintained at headquarters. The smaller firms rely more exclusively on outside carriers—either by rail or road—though even they will normally have a van or two for the needs of nearby customers. In either case, whether payment is made to an outside agency for each parcel of goods the manufacturer dispatches, or the entire operation of delivery is performed by himself, the cost is considerable. Under modern conditions the tendency is for retailers to order small quantities at frequent intervals. In itself this is a desirable policy in the case of commodities like chocolates where freshness is essential, but it makes distribution more expensive. At holiday periods, in particular, rush orders have to be executed by passenger train or special van delivery, and if below a fairly large figure, are likely to involve the manufacturer in a direct loss.

Over and above the direct cost of selling and delivery, there are the various office expenses in connection with each order. A careful watch on customers' credit standing has to be kept, invoices to be typed, extended and checked, ledgers entered up and allowance made for discounts and bad debts. Many orders entail correspondence, as do the collection of some accounts, and postage alone is a heavy item. All these expenses do not amount to much in the case of really large orders, but for those which fall to a figure of a few pounds, they may add as much as two or three per cent. to the manufacturer's costs.

THE FRIEND OF SLAVES.

QUAKER MISSIONARY'S 34 YEARS ON ISLE OF PEMBA.

Weekly News

The Isle of Pemba, 30 miles off the coast of East Africa, just North of Zanzibar, used to be one of the great "clearing houses" of the slave trade. From Pemba the slaves were sent to Persia, Arabia and to Turkey after they had been collected by the Arab traders on the mainland.

6-27-31

This island has for 34 years been the home of Theordore Burtt, the Quaker missionary, and his wife, who have devoted all their energies, first to helping the slave population to claim the freedom which legally became theirs a few months after Mr. Burtt reached Pemba in 1897, and secondly to educating them into self-respecting manhood and womanhood.

Mr. and Mrs. Burtt have just retired and have returned to England, where they will make their home near Lincoln, in an area where the Burtts have long been a well known Quaker family. Mrs. Burtt was formerly Miss Jessie Hutchinson of Carlisle.

"When Henry Stanley Newman of Leominster (father of Sir George Newman) and I went out to investigate the condition of the slaves and ex-slaves in East Africa on behalf of the Quaker Anti-Slavery Committee," said Mr. Burtt, "many people declared that the slaves were uneducable. We went to see Lord Curzon at the Foreign Office before we left and found him very sympathetic. He encouraged us to go out for he said some one must look after the slaves whose freedom was formally declared three months after our arrival.

Freetown Sierra Leone

"For a long time our chief work was that of helping the slaves make their claim before the courts; and we have a book containing particulars of over a thousand whom we particularly helped. It was interesting when the Government authorities kindly gave a farewell tea in our honour just before we left Pemba a month or two ago to meet in the company several leading Arabs of Pemba who, when we arrived on the island, were slave-owners, and some of whose slaves we helped regain their freedom!"

The education Mr. Burtt and his helpers have provided has included industrial training as well as the three "R's." This has been mainly through the cultivation of cloves and cocoanuts on a plantation at Banani. There are now also other centres at Chake Chake and M'tambile.

"It is true that education presents a greater difficulty in the case of those who were brought up in slavery or have a slave ancestry," than is the case with ordinary Africans said Mr. Burtt. "Besides the question of environment, it must be remembered that it was often the wrong doers in the tribe whom a chief sold to the Arab slave-traders and therefore the stock is not of the best.

"Nevertheless in the past generation enormous progress has been made. At Banani, Lesley Juma, the Clerk of the Quaker Meeting, was born in slavery, as were three of the six Elders and Overseers, some of whom are women. The business is conducted on the same principles as among white Quakers."

In Pemba there is an almost entire absence of race and sectarian prejudice, says Mr. Burtt. African, Arab and European, Moslem, Quaker, Anglican and Roman Catholic get on most happily together.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

Weekly News

CONCERT AND DANCE.

6-7-31

On the night of Friday 29th May, at the Wilberforce Memorial Hall a Concert and Dance was given under the auspices of the National Congress of British West Africa, (Sierra Leone Section) to raise funds on its behalf.

A varied and interesting programme was got up for the Concert under the directorship of our able and indefatigable Professor Greywoode, and the talented artistes who took part gave us of their best. Miss Dorkoh King opened with a Pianoforte Solo brilliantly executed. Next followed Miss Margaret Thomas with her song "Lonely" which was rendered with much feeling. Miss Nada Easmon's "Recitation" was amusing and effective Mr. J. Taylor-Harding the well-known Tenor of Wesley Church choir fame simply delighted the audience with his song "Your Chance." Another member of Wesley choir Mr. Modu L. Palmer followed with a Monologue—"A Dissertation on Love"—which was instructive and refreshing. We were next treated to a song "Tit for Tat" by Mrs. Gladys Edwin Taylor who rendered that old familiar song in a sweet entrancing voice which reminded us of the Lark as also some of those charming singers of by-gone days as the late Miss Violet Boyle and others. Miss Admira Sawyerr sang "A little love, a little Kiss" in a charming voice. Miss Hannah Luke followed with a Recitation which was humorous, exciting and much appreciated. A Duet "Watchman what of the Night" by Messrs. Sam Pratt and Victor Buckle in which they eclipsed themselves, brought to mind the fact that now-a-days one seldom is privileged to listen to Duets. Individual effort is the order of the day. But Duets are always appreciated when the voices blend in harmony and produce just that effect which is lacking in individual effort. Then last though not the least item on the programme was a song "I trust you still," by our well-known friend Mr. Julius Beetts rendered with such volume in his inimitable style, forcibly reminded us that there is no diminution of his vocal powers since he first gave us his song years ago, on this return from his last visit to England. We hope his voice will remain unimpaired for many long years to delight us whenever the opportunity offers. This concluded the first part of the programme.

The chairs were then removed and dancing started at 10.5 p.m., by the band of the R.W.A.F.F. playing a March. The sweet strains brought in many of the dancers who were outside enjoying the cool air and brilliant moonlight. Dancing had only been going for about 20 minutes when we were informed that the car of His Excellency the Governor was approaching.

Punctually at 10.25 p.m. His Excellency the Governor accompanied by his private Secretary Mr. Flemming and Mr. Drummond one of the Asst. Colonial Secretaries, alighted from his car and was received at the entrance by Mr. F. A. Miller, Hon. Secretary of Congress in the absence of the President A. E. Tuboku-Metzger Esq., J.P., through indisposition, who presented to him some members of the executive who had lined up at the vestible of the Hall with whom His Excellency shook hands The party then ascended the staircase and on arriving at the landing the whole assembly rose while the Band struck the first bars of the National Anthem. After which the Governor and party were escorted to their seats on the stage by the Master of Ceremony, Mr. J. Newton Faulkner. There was much straining of necks to catch a glimpse of His Excellency as this was his first appearance at a Public Social function since his arrival.

Dancing was resumed while Messrs. Miller, B. W. Davis, Eleady Cole, Sam Hughes and Newton Faulkner entertained their distinguished guests. After some time had elapsed a few of the members of the Ladies Branch of the Congress led by their President Mrs. A. C. May, were presented to His Excellency, who chatted with each individual member for a few minutes. Soon after His Excellency rose to retire after spending about an hour, the Band struck up the first Bars of the National Anthem, and then at the call of the M.C., three cheers for His Excellency were heartily given by all. This brought a smile of satisfaction to His Excellency who then preceded by the Hon. Secretary descended the staircase accompanied by some members of the Executive. On entering his car the huge crowd outside also gave three rousing cheers for His Excellency which must have resounded very far and must be gratifying to the Head of the Executive as showing how quickly the people are able to discern the friendly qualities which he has already shewn and which if continued must endear him to the hearts of all.

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There was a fair number of Dances at the Hall and everyone expressed his or her satisfaction that there was not a crush to impede free movement in the enjoyment of the "Light Fantastic Toe," and regretted when the calls of duty on the morrow reminded them it was time to forego the desire to continue longer.

All praise is due to the Managing Committee and all those who contributed in making this first Social function of the National Congress this year in all respects other than financial a complete success.

As the amount contemplated to be realized had been earmarked to be devoted to the Section's share of contribution to the Fund of the Central Secretariat and in view of the unpopularity of the proposed sending of Delegates to the forthcoming International Conference at Geneva, it became necessary for the Managing Committee to state definitely on the Posters and Cards that no portion of the proceeds would be assigned to the Delegations Fund.

FANCY

THE KISSY TOWN COUNCIL COMMITTEE.

Weekly News

A Conquering Report—

re Pride and its Defence.

To the Editor of the WEEKLY NEWS.

Sir,—Will you please allow me space in your valuable journal, so that I may be able to remind the men at Kissy who boasted to be men of recognized recognition, whereas they are wolves in sheep's clothing; that their views should not be recognized by the Authorities. In the article on 13th September, 1930 published in the Sierra Leone *Spectator* which appeared that the Assistant Commissioner of Police, Sub. Inspector Brandon, and about six Police Constables were at Kissy on the day previous to the above date to institute enquiry into the allegations made to the Honourable the Attorney General, and the Commissioner of Police by Mr. Reid Herbalist against the administration, and of the Headman and Committee that the allegations were unfounded that during the investigations by the Assistant Commissioner of Police, one Maligy, Mr. Reid's principle witness whilst answering the Commissioner became unconscious and would have dropped heavily on the ground, but for the timely aid of Mr. C. Williams. That not less than three hundred persons were present at the enquiry, which took place in the village market. That a vote of confidence was passed for the Headman and Committee by the villagers, and one Okiki Paul, one of the number present of the villagers proper made a statement on behalf of Mr. Reid calling special attention of the Authorities and Community. Although I have not come to a conclusion on this matter, but upon my common sense and my cult knowledge the writer and the people who called themselves men of recognized recognition (Isaiah chapter 28, verse 8) is too good to be their portion. To prove my statement—to show devilish works and arbitary actions and gross advantages that the men who are in the Government, who compose the Kissy Committee, and who equip themselves in a way for the people at Kissy to dread them so that they could do any and everything that they like, who make misrepresentations to the Authorities and style themselves men of recognised recognition whilst they are worse than Nebuchadnezzar. To prove my statement if these men are peopleof interest vide the Government records against the very people of recognised recognition on the article from the *Sierra Leone Spectator* of 27th September and 4th October 1930. I hereby invite the public to read carefully after the Government has gone into the details of my report, the reply from the Honourable Colonial Secretary, from this, one will be able to judge whether the people who dwell within the compound of the Lunatic Asylum have a very good idea in actions and character than those who style themselves to be men of recognized recognition.—Yours etc.,

S. E. REID H.P. K.B.

To help the Bantu Financially.

The Comet

6-10-31

The South African Outlook, in its issue of the 1st. inst. under the above sub heading refers to the scheme of the Educanional Buyers and Sellers Association recently started by the Roman Catholic Mission in Batutoland, which is a subject of public discussion, at present, between the traders and the missionaries, in this Territory. The traders are strongly protesting against it on the grounds that the Roman Catholics are aiming at propaganda and merely disguise their object by giving it a different name while they want to get converts by offering them commodities and goods at cheaper prices than those advertised by traders.

(Mochuenyane)

To strengthen their protest the traders are enlisting the support of the Protestant Churches. The Basuto so far have taken no part in the discussion and appear to be disinterested spectators to the battle of words that is going on between missionaries and traders The fact, however, remains, that the Basuto are in great need of help economically, a fact that the traders themselves admit, and they are ready to receive with open hands any movement that promises to improve their present position. Commiting on this movement the "South African Outlook says:

This hopeful venture is known as the Basutoland Roman Catholic Educational Buyers and Sellers Association, and it is stated that the Association shall make no financial profits in any of its transactions. Missions have revolutionised Native economics: clothing, education books church collection, and many other things, due in part to the Missionary impact, in part to the impact of western civilization, have increased enomously the Budget of a Bantu family. Yet how little has been done at most mission stations to help the people intelligently to meet these new demands in a practical way. The giving of book education has been comparatively easy and inexpensive Helping the Bantu to lay a solid economic foundation on which to build better homes, better family life and better what is being begun in Basutoland social conditions generally, has not, will act as a stimulus to other missions. Practical experience will except in rare instances been adequately tackled. An advance along show which methods are good and this line is long overdue. We hope which can be improved upon.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

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(March 1930)

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Basutoland

will act as a stimulus to other missions. Practical experience show which methods are good and

Race Problem - 1931

Africa

GOLD COAST LETTER.

THE COCOA BROKER

With the intensification of Government propaganda regarding agricultural societies the fears of the middleman have been aroused, not unnaturally, since his existence is threatened. His first argument is, of course, that a middleman as the agent between the producer and the manufacturer, or between the manufacturer and the consumer, is a drag on business, then practically all traders, European or African, are equally a drag on industry, and to convince him it will be useless to speak of licensing him, or even of registering his kind, for he will regard such proposals as mere racial discrimination in favour of his more powerful European broker. Before the small buyer can be condemned, it must be shown that the services that he renders to the cocoa industry are not worth the profit that he makes on each load, and that a real saving in time and trouble is effected by co-operative marketing by the farmers' own organisations. Unfortunately, at the moment, the benefit of more even quality throughout a large consignment, secured by co-operative action, produces less financial benefit than ever before, so that the benefits of a co-operation that does not include co-operative shipment and sale in Europe may easily be misunderstood as a further effort to oust the African from everything but the actual production of his crop. In reporting the results of the 1930 operations of the agricultural societies, it is to be hoped that the Agricultural Department will make a point of specifying the services, and their cash value to the farmer, which decides him to sell to the broker at a lower price than he could obtain by disposal elsewhere.

Young Africa and "European Marriage."

The triumph of the "Noes" in the debate at the Young People's Literary Club at Accra on the question, "Is the European form of marriage beneficial to the African" has led to a considerable amount of discussion among their elders on the same subject, and in so far as the question was regarded as one of monogamy v. polygamy it is satisfactory to see that those of more mature years recognise that the advantages of our system at any rate outweigh its disadvantages. From a purely biological point of view a case is sometimes made out for polygamy in Africa, but in no aspect of human relationships can biological considerations be considered supreme, and it is the rigidity of European systems rather than their monogamous nature that makes them unwelcome to the "bush" African, to whom reproduction is indivisibly joined with ancestral cults, and who therefore could no more tolerate the risk of permanent union to a barren spouse than he would accept the almost permanent inability to marry again which the Christian Church associates with divorce. In this respect his difficulties are very similar to those that have recently been set forth in the columns of the London "Times."

The Patriotic Festivals.

A strong distinction is drawn between Empire Day and the King's Birthday in the Gold Coast, in that the former is chiefly a festival of the school-children, while the latter is an occasion for the military ceremonial of trooping the colour, and can therefore only be observed fully in one or two fortunate centres. As reported previously, Empire Day was celebrated at Accra in the usual manner, the parade of 7,500 children being carried through without a hitch, thanks largely to the organising ability of Mr. Kitson-Mills, the secretary of the local Celebration Committee. In Kumasi, Mr. Dickinson, District Commissioner, addressed the children, and the inter-schools sports resulted in the retention of the challenge shield by the Wesleyan School. Among the lesser celebrations that at Osino was noteworthy as including a stage rendering of fetish worship, which familiarised both children and onlookers with the hollowness of the pretensions of many such cults. The King's Birthday was an extremely busy day for Sir Ransford and Lady Slater, since it included a picturesque military ceremonial parade in the morning, a hasty inspection of the schools present, a levee at the Legislative Council Chamber, and a dance in the evening at which some 300 European and African guests were present.

NATIVES IN THE MINES.

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The Chairman, Major Richard Rigg, O.B.E., J.P., delivered a vigorous address, in the course of which he said that the conference was being held in order further the interests of their great patriotic movement, one which was identified with a cause involving the good name of the English race. The forty-four years of the committee's history had been marked by sustained efforts and by gratifying success. Pointing out the committee's habitual concentration upon its aims, purposes pursued without partisanship or sectarianism, the chairman passed on to emphasise the significance of the fact that the Brussels General Act of 1891 bracketed the liquor traffic with the slave trade; and, when telling of the average annual pre-war importation of six millions of gallons of alcoholic liquors into West Africa, he pointed out that the Act's restrictions had been adopted only as regards the northern region, and that the coastal sections had been neglected.

During the war there was a substantial reduction in the imports of intoxicating drink, and there had simultaneously been a marvellous social transformation, including improvement in quality of work and amount of production. One of the most impressive parts of the speaker's comprehensive survey of the situation was that in which he told of the resentment of the better classes of natives against the continuance of the traffic. He emphasised the greatly adverse reactions of the traffic upon legitimate trade, and directed attention to the serious results to this land of the spread of the belief that it patronises the liquor traffic in order to keep native races in subjection; whereas the aim ought to be that of training and elevating them generally helping them.

In conclusion, he referred to the committee having enlisted the valuable aid of Mr. Linfield, who possessed unique first-hand knowledge of the subject arising out of his practical experience, including a visit to West Africa, as well as a visit to East Africa as a member of the Parliamentary Commission which investigated native conditions there a few years ago.

The other speakers included Sir Robert Newman, Bt., M.P., Sir Robert Young, M.P., and Mr. Milner Gray, M.P.

One of the two resolutions which were unanimously adopted was to the effect that such governmental steps should be taken as would lead to the reduction and to the ultimate extinction of the liquor traffic amongst native races. Those of our readers who are specially interested in foreign missions may like to know that the meetings were taken part in by the Rev. Dr. M. J. Elliott (West Africa), the Rev. W. F. Mellor (Nigeria), and the Ven. Archdeacon W. E. Owen (Kenya).

Race Problem - 1931

Africa

GOLD COAST LETTER.

THE COCOA BROKER

With the intensification of Government propaganda regarding agricultural societies the fears of the middleman have been aroused, not unnaturally, since his existence is threatened. His first argument is, of course, that he, a middleman as the agent between the producer and the manufacturer, or between the manufacturer and the consumer, is a drag on business, then practically all traders, European or African, are equally a drag on industry, and to convince him it will be useless to speak of licensing him, or even of registering his kind, for he will regard such proposals as mere racial discrimination in favour of his more powerful European brother. Before the small buyer can be condemned, it must be shown that the services that he renders to the cocoa industry are not worth the profit that he makes on each load, and that a real saving in time and trouble is effected by co-operative marketing by the farmers' own organisations. Unfortunately, at the moment, the benefit of more even quality throughout a large consignment, secured by co-operative action, produces less financial benefit than ever before, so that the benefits of a co-operation that does not include co-operative shipment and sale in Europe may easily be misunderstood as a further effort to oust the African from everything but the actual production of his crop. In reporting the results of the 1930 operations of the agricultural societies, it is to be hoped that the Agricultural Department will make a point of specifying the services, and their cash value to the farmer, which decides him to sell to the broker at a lower price than he could obtain by disposal elsewhere.

Young Africa and "European Marriage."

The triumph of the "Noes" in the debate at the Young People's Literary Club at Accra on the question, "Is the European form of marriage beneficial to the African" has led to a considerable amount of discussion among their elders on the same subject, and in so far as the question was regarded as one of monogamy v. polygamy it is satisfactory to see that those of more mature years recognise that the advantages of our system at any rate outweigh its disadvantages. From a purely biological point of view a case is sometimes made out for polygamy in Africa, but in no aspect of human relationships can biological considerations be considered supreme, and it is the rigidity of European systems rather than their monogamous nature that makes them unwelcome to the "bush" African, to whom reproduction is indivisibly joined with ancestral cults, and who therefore could no more tolerate the risk of permanent union to a barren spouse than he would accept the almost permanent inability to marry again which the Christian Church associates with divorce. In this respect his difficulties are very similar to those that have recently been set forth in the columns of the London "Times."

The Patriotic Festivals.

A strong distinction is drawn between Empire Day and the King's Birthday in the Gold Coast, in that the former is chiefly a festival of the school-children, while the latter is an occasion for the military ceremonial of trooping the colour, and can therefore only be observed fully in one or two fortunate centres. As reported previously, Empire Day was celebrated at Accra in the usual manner, the parade of 7,500 children being carried through without a hitch, thanks largely to the organising ability of Mr. Kitson-Mills, the secretary of the local Celebration Committee. In Kumasi, Mr. Dickinson, District Commissioner, addressed the children, and the inter-schools sports resulted in the retention of the challenge shield by the Wesleyan School. Among the lesser celebrations that at Osino was noteworthy as including a stage rendering of fetish worship, which familiarised both children and onlookers with the hollowness of the pretensions of many such cults. The King's Birthday was an extremely busy day for Sir Ransford and Lady Slater, since it included a picturesque military ceremonial parade in the morning, a hasty inspection of the schools present, a levee at the Legislative Council Chamber, and a dance in the evening at which some 300 European and African guests were present.

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Those of our interested in that by the Ven. Archdeacon W. E. Owen (Kenya).

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Deficiency Diseases.

Until a few years ago it was assumed that abundance of food meant good feeding, and that the African peoples were especially favoured by the ease with which the fertility of their soil enabled them to fill their stomachs. The discovery of the part played in nutrition by the obscure and still somewhat mysterious substances called vitamins showed that an abundant dietary may lack nutritive quality, and gave a clue to the cause of the prevalence of "deficiency diseases" in many parts of Africa. The existence of these diseases was known, but their importance was underestimated, and their occurrence was attributed to faults of the indigenous methods of food production, which it was the task of agricultural departments to remedy. Medical men confined themselves to curing the cases of "deficiency" which came under their care, without concerning themselves to test the truth of the general assumption that these diseases were due to deficiency of food, and could be remedied by increasing the supply, and improvement of methods of production and distribution which would abolish the "hungry months" and eliminate the famines following bad seasons. Realisation is growing that the damage inflicted by these diseases is out of all proportion to the mortality they cause, and that relative tolerance or immunity is attained at the cost of a general lowering of vitality which saps energy and retards progress. As Dr. Mary Blacklock wrote in her article on "Co-operation in Health Education" in "Africa," Voi. iv. No. 2, "The relative immunity or tolerance which Africans develop to certain infections, such as malaria and hookworm, is only acquired by much suffering in the earlier years of their lives." The adult African's tolerance of the malaria, which is so fatal to non-Africans, is an example of "survival of the fittest" through "natural selection" by recurrent attacks of malaria during childhood, which weed out the weakly individuals, leaving only the strongest to enjoy the immunity of which this fiery ordeal is the price. Fortunately, as Dr. Blacklock pointed out, prevention of the most prevalent diseases is comparatively easy with the co-operation of the people, who must be educated in hygiene, both public and personal. The teachers also must be trained to appreciate the importance of preventing the prevailing local diseases.

Vitamins and Health.

The discovery of the indispensable influence of the vitamins on the nutritive value of food was the key which opened the door to discovery of the causes of many obscure diseases. The attention of medical men was turned to the desirability of using diet to prevent disease, rather than drugs to cure them, and few branches of medical research have made greater strides during the last twenty years than that dealing with the relation between diet and disease. While the basic demands of the human body for nutrition are probably the same for all races, the methods of satisfying them may differ widely according to circumstances. The difference in the amount of pigmentation makes the white man's need for foods containing vitamin D to differ from that of the black man. The fixed pigment in the white man's skin is probably the same as that in the black man's, but it is less in quantity. The white skin throws back the ultra-violet rays, but examination of the skin under filtered ultra-violet, or "black light," shows that the negro's skin does not fluoresce under its rays—all the ultra-violet is absorbed. Therefore the negro (in Africa) would seem to require less of foods containing vitamin D than the European. As the negro skin's complete absorption follows full exposure to the ultra-violet rays the question arises, how far is the power of absorption affected by the adoption of European clothing? If it is diminished, how will the diminution affect the body's power of preserving vitamin A? Research has also shown the importance of the effect of the constituents of the soil on foods, and also that the constituents of the food do not always tally with the percentages found in the soil in which it is grown. These and other problems of African dietetics cannot be settled by laboratory analysis, or European experiments, as the foods used for the purpose may differ widely in vitamin content from those produced in Africa. Observations must be made on the spot, and under local conditions, such as those recently carried out on two tribes in East Africa. "The diet of one of them, consisting mainly of cereals, was deficient in calcium and the vitamins A and D, and it was found that bronchitis and pneumonia accounted for a third of all cases of sickness, tropical ulcer for another third, and pulmonary tuberculosis for 6 per cent." This is of interest to West Africa, among whose mainly vegetarian peoples the incidence of tropical ulcer is as high as among these East Africans, and may also be caused by lack of vitamin A, which is "particularly associated with the functional health of the cells covering the body, both within and without." In the other tribe investigated, whose diet consisted mainly of milk, meat, and raw blood, and was therefore rich in the elements that the other lacked, the incidence of tropical ulcer was only 3 per cent. This may suggest the advisability of including more meat in the West African dietary; but it must not be of the tinned variety.

Food and Population.

The effect of deficiency diseases is far-reaching, and extends beyond their immediate victims; they are among the most potent checks on the increase of the African population. By causing sterility in both males and females they lower the birth-rate, and the children that are born are weakened by the lowering of the vitality of the mothers, who are unable to give their infants proper nourishment. The importance of right feeding has received little attention because what constitutes right feeding was not known before the discovery of vitamins. One of the earliest detailed studies of the effect of food in health and population is "Dietetics in Warm Countries," by Dr. J. Neil Leitch (Harrison & Sons, Ltd., 25s.), published with the aid of a grant from the Government of Sierra Leone, of whose medical staff he is a member. Much of the book is intended for the author's fellow professionals, but the sections dealing with the choice, preparation and cooking of food in the tropics are of interest to Europeans as well as Africans, and especially to those in charge of institutions or labour camps.

W. F. H.

NIGERIA AND THE LIQUOR TRADE.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—The appointment of a new Governor for Nigeria may serve as a reason for again raising the question of the trade in ardent spirits in that Colony.

Recent events in the Gold Coast fill one with hope that administrators and traders now take a less self-regarding view, and that following upon the Ordinance which will in 10 years close the gin trade in the Gold Coast, similar legislation may be placed on the statute-book of Nigeria.

West African merchants have always advocated identical legislation and identical Customs duties in the four British Colonies, so here is an opportunity for them to plead for the realisation of their views in Nigeria and Sierra Leone.

The appeal from Sir Ofori Atta to "stop gin," reinforced by the efforts of other Gold Coast Chiefs, was an important factor in bringing about this reform. Will the Chiefs and leaders of public opinion in Nigeria not ask, with, I hope, the co-operation of the merchants, for the enactment of an identical Ordinance? The moral and economic welfare of their fellow-men would seem ample justification. I believe that the leaven is working, and that trading opinion is being gradually modified in favour of further restriction.

May I recall a personal experience of March, 1909, in support of my opinion?

There was then a trade association of merchants on similar lines to the existing Association of West African Merchants, the Secretary being Mr. George Dickinson, of Messrs. Hill, Dickinson and Co., the well-known shipping lawyers.

The Colonial Office made known its intention of appointing a Committee of Inquiry into the liquor traffic in Southern Nigeria, and at one of the meetings of the association in Messrs. Hill, Dickinson's board room, the chairman, after the business on the agenda had been disposed of, rose and said that he did not think it necessary that the association should ask for representation on the Committee of Inquiry, as one or their members had been appointed.

As I had, two or three weeks previously, received a letter from the Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies inviting me to serve on the committee, an invitation which I had accepted, I concluded that the chairman referred to me. I said at once that I had been invited to serve, and had accepted the invitation, but as the letter was private, I had told no one. To my surprise the chairman said at once, "But we don't want you: you are an extreme man"! This remark he repeated, when I replied that "I could at least claim to be disinterested, as whether the Natives got liquor or not did not concern me personally." The meeting then broke up, but before we separated another of the leading merchants came and congratulated me and expressed his good wishes, in kindly and courteous terms. Of all those present on this occasion, I think Mr. Pickering Jones and myself are the only survivors. To-day I do not think any of the merchants would oppose the appointment of a disinterested person on any similar committee.

After the War was over the gentleman who thought me "an extreme man" came to my office and said that the war restrictions had not affected the volume of produce, and that he believed trade could go on quite well without liquor, and would I bring the question before the Association of West African Merchants? Knowing how futile any representation from me would be, I said "It's your job, not mine; you have two or three directors on the committee of the Association: let them bring it up." I was not at the next meeting of the committee, but one of those present told me it had been brought up, but nothing was done; evidently the members were not impressed with the desirability of a change.

When the committee got to work they found, naturally enough, that not a single agent favoured either prohibition or increase of duty. Officials preserved a correct attitude in general: one over-zealous official, however, the Acting Resident in Ibadan, stopped the stipend paid by the Central Government to the ruler (or Balé as he was called) of that important Province because he (the Balé) had sent his bellman round advising his people not to drink gin. The stoppage of his pay led to the sudden conversion of the Balé; "he came to ban, but remained to bless—gin." There was consternation at headquarters when the Resident's action became known, and payment of stipend was resumed, with all arrears.

Your obedient servant,

THOMAS WELSH.

Glasgow, May 20.

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The reasons adduced for a continuance of the trade always seem inadequate and uneconomic, even unpatriotic; two favourites are that indulgence has not affected the health of the race to any great extent, and that the African has been accustomed to strong drink for centuries.

In French West Africa drink has made havoc with the population, as administrators and merchants testify.

That the African has been accustomed to weak fermented liquor for centuries is true, but it was the White man who gave him strong distilled liquor.

But all this is beside the question: it is the "molasses of religion," the sugar-coating of an unpalatable trade. The question is, Does liquor do good? Is it a trade worthy of any nation which has temporary control of a weaker race?

Your obedient servant,

Glasgow, May 20. THOMAS WELSH.

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Race Problem - 1931

Africa

ST. LOUIS, MO.
POST DISPATCH

DEC 3 1931

False and True Paths to Peace

African war, costing hundreds of lives, started over stolen pig; most conflicts have similar trivial causes; disarmament alone is no cure, for these natives fought without modern weapons; superior force interfered there, but League of Nations has no power to take this step; brotherly love thus is the real necessity for peace.

From the Belleville (Ill.) Messenger.

IT was a costly pig that somebody stole somewhere in Portuguese Guinea on the west coast of Africa. Hundreds of Negroes were killed recently on account of that pig. Heaps of human bodies were found under the smoldering ruins of burned native huts. We don't know how it all started, except that somebody stole a dirty pig, and then the war began, between two tribes who didn't like each other any too well to begin with.

A more complete report might inform us that one man stole a pig, that the owner of the pig went after him with a club, that the pig had already been roasted and was being consumed by a jolly crowd of friends and neighbors of the thief, that the owner of the pig was abused by the jolly crowd, that he went back to his own tribe and gathered a band of men for a punitive expedition, that the jolly crowd got word of it and collected an army of its own, that the owner's party mobilized a still bigger force, that one battle was fought and then another, that whole villages were burned and hundreds of men, women and children destroyed, either by arms or by fire—all because somebody stole a dirty pig.

Most wars start about the same way. Somebody either steals a pig, or kidnaps a woman, or shoots a Crown Prince, or refuses to pay his debts, or spits on a flag, or removes his fence beyond the line, and then his friends and neighbors go on the war path in order to punish the thief, kidnaper, murderer, debtor, fence-mover and his friends and allies.

* * *

One thing is necessary before war can start properly. The two parties must bear a grudge beforehand. They must know that there is danger of a conflict. Their minds must be prepared for war, and they must feel that it is advisable to keep their powder dry.

Disarmament, after all, seems to be the only effective means to prevent war. Armaments consist chiefly in big guns and machine guns, battleships and submarines, airplanes and poison gases, munition factories and trained armies, and plenty of money. Disarmament consists in doing away with these things.

But there is a difficulty. Those Negro tribes in Portuguese Guinea had neither money nor munition factories, neither standing armies nor poison gases, neither submarines nor battleships, neither big guns nor machine guns, and yet they had a war, a real war, in which hundreds of men were slaughtered or burned to death in their huts.

Those Negroes didn't need battleships and airplanes and machine guns for a war. Probably they used clubs, knives, stones and ancient muskets abandoned by Portuguese pirates and slave dealers. One sort of weapon they did use, and that was fire, and they made mightily effective use of it.

That reminds us. There have been wars before in which fire was used to good effect. Gen. Sherman used plenty of fire in his march to the sea. The old Romans set fire to the camps and cities of their enemies. Our own American Indians had a weakness for fire. Warships were set on fire in former times. Liquid fire was a powerful weapon once upon a time. We can imagine a war in which laden gasoline tank wagons, hundreds at a time, driven by men willing to sacrifice their own lives, rush into a big city and are exploded by their own drivers.

What will disarmament amount to if fire is not disarmed? We ourselves would much rather be shot down by a French 75 than be roasted alive in our private office. With genuine conviction, we offer that suggestion to the forthcoming great disarmament conference of Geneva. Disarm fire and all the evil things connected with fire. No nation will be safe as long as any other is permitted to use fire in warfare.

* * *

We read that the Portuguese Government had some 4000 Negroes of one of the fighting tribes arrested, transferred to a small island near the coast and deposited there for safe-keeping. That's another bright idea. We suggest that this same thing be done with the Japanese in Manchuria. Have every blessed one of them arrested, bind them hand and foot and deposit them on the original Japanese islands for safe-keeping.

However, and there's the rub, on whom shall we call to arrest the Japanese in Manchuria? The Chinese police force is inadequate. The Russians are too busy with their five-year plan to take time off for the job. Uncle Sam seems indisposed. Great Britain has cramps in the stomach, in the pocketbook and in India. France is not at all inclined to cause Japan any annoyance. Is there nobody, then, to handle the Japanese?

Hold on. There is somebody. The League of Nations is still with us. Why didn't we think of the League right away? The League shall tell those confounded Japs where to get off.

The League of Nations opened its mouth and spoke to Japan. All the world listened. But Japan closed her ears. The League ordered the Japanese to withdraw their military forces within a stated time. It was a risky thing for the League to do. Unless the League was prepared to use force, it was unlikely that Japan would heed the League's order.

Japan knew that the League was not prepared to use force. The League's order was disregarded. Under present circumstances, the League evidently does not possess the superior force which the Portuguese could employ against the Negro tribe.

* * *

There will be circumstances when the League's orders will be obeyed. But, under different circumstances, they will not be obeyed. Japan refused to obey, because there is no way to compel her to obey. The League may try to give orders to France next year at the disarmament conference. Will France obey? It is more than doubtful.

Those Negro tribes in Portuguese Guinea would never have gone to war if they had not borne a previous grudge against each other. France and Italy would not be in danger of war if neither nation felt unkindly toward the other. Indeed, we always have come back to the law of brotherly love. Disarmament and leagues will amount to very little until brotherly love becomes the superior force for the enforcement of peace. When will that be?

Native Education in Zanzibar
Awfully Slow, Not Above Primary

BY AN AFRICAN
(From Zanzibar Voice)

Glancing at the various editorials emanating from your able pen which have been appearing week after week in the columns of your valuable paper it reflects upon one's mind to pause and consider the progress that has been achieved by the Department of Education since the 25 odd years which saw the advent of western education among the backward races in this Protectorate. Practically speaking it is obvious to any one that the progress has been dramatically slow (or perhaps purposely retarded) and the result appalling.

It is needless for me to outline in detail the several pitfalls that have been deliberately created with a view to finding fault on the weakness of the mental capacity of the African native whose so-called enertiatic condition does not make it wise or possible perhaps for the Department to advance his education beyond the primary stage even after the lapse of quarter of a century.

Is it to be wondered at then, if a layman like myself who is practically ignorant of the modern method of Education as preached in Zanzibar be inclined to think that after all this fuss and muddle is otherwise intended to serve as outwardly show, and of course one cannot help but arriving at the conclusion that "all that glitters is not gold" as far as education in Zanzibar is concerned.

In the Zanzibar Protectorate the colloquial language of the majority of the inhabitants not excluding a number of Indians who have made their homes here, is Swahili, and for this reason it is held essential that instruction in the Government school must necessarily be through the medium of this language. There is no shadow of doubt as to the feasibility of this fact; but in spite of that it cannot be argued with honesty that it must be taught for more than two or three years in the most.

No person of intelligence can deny the fact that Swahili is but a primitive language which possesses no literature worthy of the name, and one can safely predict that it will not have any for at least a hundred years hence, in spite of the efforts of the (European) International Institute of African languages.

None can appreciate better than myself the efforts of this noble Institute whose members have taken upon themselves the beautifying of our several African languages, but we can also understand to a certain extent the motives underlying those efforts.

Often instances do arise in Zanzibar where a locally educated prospective candidate for employment in a Government Department is required to furnish English qualifications which he does not possess, for the simple reason that the course through which he had undergone in the Government schools does not provide such qualifications, and consequently only those who have had the opportunity of acquiring University training or had been through a college in India are employed, with the result there are several young men here today who are out of employment for whom the Government and their respective communal institutions have wasted several hundred pounds of public revenue in order to make men out of them.

Will the Authorities realize as yet of the erroneous policy which they persist upon following in respect of the education of the people of this protectorate? Let us hope they will, if not, poor African natives themselves will not be to blame.

Martin Johnsons Thrill Audience With Picture of African Wonders

Atlanta Georgia 11-24-21

Martin and Osa Johnson, that couple who have made of married life a continuous seeking after adventure in the far places of the world, have come to Atlanta with seven reels of motion pictures they call "The Wonders of the Congo."

Monday night, at Emory University, they showed this picture and, preceding it and during the showing, they talked, comfortably and at home, easily and naturally. Their talks added immeasurably to the enjoyment of the evening.

Let it be recorded here and now that "The Wonders of the Congo" takes rank as one of the most fascinating things the screen has brought us since first pictures began to move. Take the most thrilling, the most dramatic and the most absorbing drama that ever came out of Hollywood and for sheer fascination and compelling interest it has to take second place before this record of daily life in Africa.

Fortunately, Atlanta has further opportunities to enjoy this attraction. The Johnsons will be at the Paramount theater, with their pictures, today and Wednesday at 3 and 8 p. m., and on Thanksgiving morning at 10 o'clock.

The pictures are so satisfyingly real. They bring the realization of Africa's teeming life, man, beast and bird, so compellingly before you. They are marvelously made and represent almost two years of patient, careful, brilliant work by the Johnsons.

For the first time these pictures of a strange country satisfy. Instead of all too short glimpses of the pygmies, for instance, they bring to you scene after scene of many hundreds of the tiny folk. Close-up after close-up of these fantastic creatures in human mould, creatures near to the utmost in the primitive. Yet creatures that fascinate and, by their self-evident happiness, arouse your friendly interest but never your pity.

The shots of rhinos, of lions, of deer, of zebra, of elephants, hippos and, above all, of gorillas, touch the apogee of perfection. And that scene of the birds, literally myriads of them, on the shores of the great lake, is positively the most marvelous thing in nature.

Mr. Johnson spoke first and described the modern civilization of Africa and its strange contrasts. He told of the modern home he and his wife have at Nairobi, but how he could find 20 kinds of savage game within a 20-minute walk. How a railroad as up-to-date as any in America runs from Mobasa to Nairobi, yet how the trains sometimes have to wait while a herd of elephants crosses the track and how a station agent one day sent a telegram reporting 11 lions at that moment on the platform and requesting a gun and—optimistic soul—11 cartridges to deal with the situation.

Mrs. Johnson told of some of the humorous incidents of their hunting with cameras and then, while the pictures were running, both stood on the platform and explained. They also answered many questions from the audience.

Russell Bridges, of the Alkahest Bureau, which brought the Johnsons here, on Monday received a letter from Superintendent Willis A. Sutton of the Atlanta schools, which said in part:

"It has been my pleasure to see these pictures and hear the explanation as given by the Martin Johnsons. I feel that their treatment of animal life; their exciting story of adventures and their wide experience and sound philosophy are helpful to the youth of our nation. It gives me pleasure to commend good, clean recreational, informative pictures and I believe this to be one of that type."

—RALPH T. JONES

Race Problem - 1931

Africa

THE BLACK REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA AND THE WHITE CIVILISED NATIONS OF THE WORLD.

Weekly News

FINAL.

IF we have taken the position of registering a most vigorous protest against, and felt it incumbent on us to expose what in our judgement tantamounts to, a *secret reserve* policy of depriving the Black R public of Liberia of its independence, its right to function as an accredited and responsible party of the League of Nations, it should in no way be construed that our attitude is intended to justify or in any way condone such policy of misrule covering acts of cruelties on, or exploitation of the rights and liberties by, the Ruling factors of the aboriginal inhabitants, —the indigenes of the Republic. We register our unqualified condemnation of the misuse and abuse of sacred trust, in so far as this has been brought home to the Executive Authorities of the Republic. We further aver that such defaults or neglect which have been pointed out in the direction either of providing improved travelling facilities, or the amenities of hygienic sani ary measures, are very much to be deplored and call for immediate remedial measures, if the claim to exercise autonomous rule should be respected. We further most solemnly declare that in our judgment, much of the drawback in the lack of the ability to function may be traced to internal rivalries and jealousies, the pit ing of private interests by some who hold prominent positions against matters of vital public interests. There is rumoured that the Americo-Liberians do not at all take kindly to people of other Colonies, particularly those from Sierra Leone. It is even suggested that some of the unpopularity of the late President of the Republic was due to the fact that his father hailed from Sierra Leone. It would be necessary and it will tend well in the advancement of their interests, that a radical change of outlook be speedily adopted. Nothing but a broad outlook, a most generous tolerance of and co-operation from wherever it emanates, would tend to the rehabilitation of that smeared prestige which had commanded the sympathy and respect of the world at large.

The people of Liberia must recognize the urgent necessity of pooling together all available resources for the development and stability of their country, the cultivation of a healthy public spirit and attitude of mind which would place the interest of the community above any personal advantage, must be the atmosphere in which aspiration should develop into noble exploits, so that there will always be the conviction that all actions are impelled by motives which are clean, pure, honest, and just. We therefore suggest to our kith and kin, on whose shoulders the tremendous task devolves to make good the drawbacks of their administrative misdemeanour, to adopt such outstanding attitude that will convince the most conservative minded of their ability to reform, that they are justifying that confidence that has urged our taking up the gauntlet on their behalf.

We agree with the Hon. Mr. ORMSBY GORE, that there has been no case for a Mandate and that the European Powers should keep out of it. America has ever been a sort of foster godfather to the Black Republic. Whatever the relationship that has existed, there has never been the suggestion by America to deprive Liberia of its independence. We hope the presence of the Firestone Company will never at any time become an embarrasment to the struggling Republic. There should be a flow of practical helpfulness such as would be within the capacity of the Republic to arrange for, without in the least prejudicing its independence. Nor should it be a condition of its right to enjoy its antomony, any suggestion that it should keep pace with other Governments in their progress of development. Liberia is financially handicapped. She should avail herself of every opportunity to recoup herself with a view to carrying out urgent reforms such as have been indicated by the International Commission. Every African should be jealous of the position of this Negro Republic and should by every legitimate means help to further its interest. This has been the motive of our self-imposed task of passing under review the thoughts subscribed by the contributors to this "astounding symposium."

We trust the Editor of *Elders West African Review* will appreciate the motive which has inspired the attitude we have taken in thus registering our protest against any suggestion of placing Liberia under a Mandate.

After a careful perusal of his review of the situation, we are left perplexed that such a proposal should have come from him. He has laboured to show that IF--Liberia must be placed under a Mandate, England should be most entitled to have that "honour" conferred on her, not Germany, not France, nor even America, but has left out of consideration the question he has promulgated.—Must Liberia be placed under a Mandate? so that all the failures in the action of the people and—let us concede this—weak arguments of REEPO KARLEE, he has endeavoured to put forward in his final contribution, have not impressed us; he has evaded the Major issue and used logic *in frustra*. The position REEPO KARLEE has taken remains unassailable—for which we congratulate him.

So that we answer,—that in spite of the disclosures of misrule, cruelties, exploitation which have been brought home to the door of *some* of the Ruling factors of the Republic, in spite of the slow progress Liberia has made in its industrial and economic development, in spite of its deficient account in the promotion of sanitation.—Liberia has done nothing for which she should be deprived of hered independence and placed under a Mandate For not only would such a course prove a hasty and rash attitude on the part of the League of Nations, but it would make all the European Nations sitting in judgment to bring about such a decision, a high tribunal whose competence to judge would be their own guilt of the same crimes at one time or another in their own history, and whose motive and policy in setting one native of Liberia against another would be far from that which was shaped on the table of the struggles of the two cats for the proverbial cheese at the tribunal of the famous monkey.—Astounding Symposium!!

The Government and its Native Employees.

The Comet
6-26-31

As the outcome of the recent Government Committee of Inquiry into the salaries of the Native employees of the administration some little improvements have been effected. This is a time of great depression and any improvement, no matter how small and inadequate it may be, confers some measure of benefit to be appreciated by those on whom it is bestowed. Our administration deserves therefore some thanks for its sense of sympathy and goodwill towards the welfare of its Native employee.

The improvements worth mentioning here are the monthly allowances of five shillings to those permanent employees who are entitled to Govt' quarters and to the police on duty at the border gates or at depot. The latter will therefore benefit to the sum of fifteen shillings a month as compared to the ten shillings they were allowed before. The question of housing needs some strong commentation by itself, and one would have expected the administration to have adopted a deeper and more searching conclusion in its attempt to effect some cure. This question alone has two distinctive sections of employees to be dealt with; firstly, those who are stationered in camps other than their homes and are consequently forced to hier quarters if the government ones are not available and secondly, those who are stationed in their home camps and are thus able to live in houses of their own. Both of these sections have claim to free quarters of course, but if the administration had found it was unable to bear fully the whole burden of hiring alj these people quarters it would have been more reasonable if it had decided to relieve only those cases that are urgent and are of material loss on a fuller basis than to have come forward with a step to equalize conditions that are quite different. The second section, with whom there is no actual rent trouble, should have been left out until such time as things would have again become normal. The first section who are at present the real victims of the present anomaly are paying from one to two pounds a month in accordance with the number of their families to be accommodated and it is quite clear that the five shillings granted them helps very little indeed Apart from that the Government has still another way of meeting this rent problem namely, that of transferring employees more to centres of their convention where they cannot only have the use of their own houses but they can also improve their economic position by at least supervising at their spare time the proper working of their lands. Both these ways are worthy of some attentive consideration in these bad times. The Natives are

hit hard at present because even those who have any grain or live stock cannot realize any price worth the name with them, these are commodities with which the employees can be expected to be and are usualy wiping out the rent charges and most of their multiple necessities of life.

As the end of the depression does not seem any nearer and provided the administration does not show any immediate inclination to follow the suggestions given above the employees should seek help among themselves. A courageous move, like a mutual agreement of those who live in their own houses to forego voluntarily their share of the allowance to the emancipation of their unfortunate compatriots from the cruel axe of payment of rent, would not only serve as a good reflection to their credit but would enhance the position of the Native employee in the service and would go a long way to strengthen his long sustained and justifiable fight against an evil that ought to have long been removed. The Native employees have got a Union organization through which they can arrange and at least attempt to put right anomalies such as this and it is only in their interests that they should do something while they go on pressing the administration to proceed quickly with the construction of quarters or to bear the full payment of hired quarters.

SYMPATHISER.

Soil Erosion in Basuto-land.

Moreover it is evident that if grass is not given time to grow, it cannot carry stock long without sustaining serious damage by trampling. It is so closely cropped that the roots bear the direct impact of the hoof. It is easy to picture how the unprotected roots are crushed and finely turned to dust. Thus it is that chronic overgrazing leads to the total destruction of veld.

Overgrazing is not alone responsible for trampling. Its action is enormously aggravated by the continual movement of stock; the daily migrations from kraal to pasture and back and the long wanderings in search of water are equally disastrous to the veld.

Except where surface configuration and the nature of the soil predispose to rapid donga formation the immediate effect of overgrazing and consequently of trampling, is the formation of top-crust. This result is nowhere better exemplified than in oft-frequented outspans, around country railway-stations or in the market-places of small towns. In Basutoland the typical example is the periphery of cattle kraal. The picture of these unsightly places is striking enough and not likely to be forgotten.

Scarcely a generation ago patches of bare veld of identical origin and aspect began to appear everywhere on the western plain of Basutoland and over the slopes of its great terraces. To-day these patches have multiplied and coalesced to such an extent as to reduce pasture to a fraction of its original area. Further the Maluti which were hitherto intact, have within very recent years shown signs of rapid denudation.

It was not until we had grown accustomed to the altered aspect of the plain, that bare patches made their appearance around the cattle-posts of the Maluti, but even within so short a period, the scourge has invaded the entire alpine region.

THE PARADOXAL FACTOR OF EROSION... DROUGHT.

Such then is the role of man and beast as agents of erosion: man destroys forest and bush, burns grass and breaks up the top-soil: cattle prepare the way by overgrazing and by trampling the impoverished pasture to death.

But the action of these two factors would never be so rapid and extensive if immediate recuperation were rendered possible by an abundant and regular rainfall.

The erosive action of drought is of course indirect; it is twofold.

1. By desiccation it reduces the carrying-capacity of the veld and diminishes the number of drinking places.
2. The violent gales and storms which invariably accompany or succeed it lend tremendous force to the erosive action of wind and water.

It is easy to understand how drought influences the carrying-capacity of veld. The grass is burnt by the scorching rays of the sun and further desiccated by the wind. Growth ceases for lack of moisture.

Within a very short time the famished cattle have shorn the veld of all vegetation and, in their endless search for grass and water, converted the pasture into a naked and dusty waste. Then it is that the flocks pay a heavy toll to the drought, but, despite their reduced numbers, the veld remains exhausted and, through lack of moisture, incapable of renewal.

Then too, the soil becomes so hard that few lands are ploughed and those that are sown fail to raise. Hence the field lie fallow and expose to the elements their unprotected surface.

Finally, however ong its duration the drought breaks. Never is the destructive power of flood so great; adding to its original momentum the speed of its unchecked carreer, it becomes irresistable. Rushing over the nude soil it carries all before it and disappears into yawning chasms' heavy-laden with soil and plant-food.

The following figures give the cattle per square mile, exclusive of sheep, in three of the dampest counttries of Europe:

Denmark	176
Netherland	164
Belgium	150

African Native Graduates

CHICAGO, Dec. 28.—Kamazu Banda, 24, heir apparent to the chieftainship of a tribe of 25,000 African natives in Nyasaland, was among the 257 students at the University of Chicago who received diplomas last week from President Robert M. Hutchins. Banda plans to study medicine.

Economic Depression is Felt By Whites In Congo

BRUSSELS, Belgium.—(C N S)—Economic distress resulting in serious native problems in the Belgian Congo were reported here in the National Bank information sheet recently. The fall in the prices of commodities produced here has had the effect of driving the natives back to their tribal compounds where trouble is experienced by Belgium colonial officials it is said. At the same time it was reported that the Union Mineire is discharging large quantities of native labor at its Katanga copper mines, because of the low price of copper. The result is the same, since the natives without means of livelihood in the European quarter of the colony go back to their tribe. Drastic methods for reducing the cost of freight on commodities have been taken by the Belgian government.

The dislodgement of thousands of natives from normal employment may threaten serious results to the white population of the Congo. These workers, trained to a higher standard of living than their native brothers in tribe centers, without work will present a difficult problem for Belgian officials, whose whips heretofore, have been enough to exact heavy taxes from native tribes.

Race Problem-1931

Africa.

Curfew, Passes Harass Women

Negro Weekly 9-12-31

Of Native South Africa; Irishman Leads Attack on Blacks' Rights

New York, N.Y.

"Abantu Batho", a weekly, published by the South African Negroes at Johannesburg, assails the recently passed "pass and curfew" laws against native women, in an editorial "Curfew and Women" in its issue of July 9. The editorial follows:

Some municipalities have again revived this old time custom practiced in middle ages, by imperial powers to oppress defenseless weak races which they conquered by gun, sword, spear and machine guns. They made a variation of laws to make the vanquished feel their unfortunate position. These times history tells us, ended in rebellious revolutions and much suffering of the weak subject races. One cannot comprehend with what object the rulers of South Africa have called up the passes and curfew bell.

It appears that these conditions so hard and difficult in nature, occurred in Europe, where the rulers of South Africa hailed from, after bloody revolutions took place which shook the whole of Europe; that some thousands of them are descendants of men and women, who as refugees, sailed from Europe to South Africa and America. It was for liberty and religion that they fled from the land of their ancestors, their consciences were paramount, they gave up their countries and worldly possessions for righteousness and humanity's sake. The descendants of the noble-minded are subjecting the native races in Africa and America by disgraceful tyranny oppression, suppression and serfdom. The native races have no voice in the public institutions of this country and are placed in the category of animals. The question arises as to whether these descendants of liberty lovers blame their ancestors who suffered and suffered for liberty and humanity. Are they sorry their forefathers came to South Africa? The selfishness of the white man's parliament in the relations between Europeans, Africans and Asiatics is enough to draw tears and make the righteous weep. The Parliament allotted 280 million acres of land for Europeans only, who numbered one and a half million, and for 6 million natives only 20 million acres of land. This is gross injustice, barefaced tyranny and rank dishonesty.

To place native women under pass regulation and curfew bell throws a challenge to the womanhood of Africa with entire disregard of the African manhood. A society has just been recently formed against Negrophilism at Pretoria. It is led by a man who has an Irishman's name viz Abercrombie. This group does not consider the pinpricks, sword-thursts and injustices inflicted on the blacks enough. One does not know where these things are drifting to. Of late years the young Africans began to join up revolutionary movements. This spurred the government to pass a legislative law in order to stem the oncoming tide. Allow us to ask the question: "Shall the Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act serve the purposes for which it was created?"

Agriculture

The Comet

8-12-31

The following are a few facts I would like brought to the notice of the Basuto.

1. GRASS BURNING. There is never any need to burn sweet veldt, the stock at present graze it down quite close enough throughout the Territory.

Moseru, Basutoland

2. Bush is often burnt, this practice is alright if the greatest care is used, and only patches are burnt where the ground is not too badly denuded, but after burning, the grass must not be over grazed, or one of two things will happen, the ground will be badly washed away, making the hill side absolutely useless, or the bush will come up worse than ever.

3. Where the hill side has been badly spoilt by denudation and bush has taken possession it is doing a useful work in conserving what little is left and under no circumstances should it be burnt.

4 Veldt should not be burnt two years in succession, the grass should be given chance to recover.

5. It is sometimes necessary to burn off the coarse grass on a sour veldt country to obtain early grass for ewes and lambs when it has not been grazed down close enough by the stock, this applies to the high cattle post country of Basutoland.

6. Care should be taken to burn at the right time which is in the Spring after a rain has fallen, the grass then starts at once and makes a covering for the soil.

When up in the mountains at Qiqa I was informed that miles of grass had been burnt last year early in the winter and this was a general practice, it was the action of ignorant men. By doing so the ground was first of all deprived of humus by all the old rotting grass being burnt.

2. It was laid open to the drying out by wind.

3. Any top loose soil is denuded by being blown away by the high winds in spring.

4. The top two or three inches of the surface of the soil become hard and when the rain comes much of rain does not sink in but runs over the surface hastening denudation.

7. Burning of the veldt should only be undertaken by experienced men, not by a lot of herd boys who often set light to the country side for amusement and do untold damage.

8. The whole question is a most serious one to the Territory and unless more care is taken this evil added to the greatest of all evils overstocking will quickly hasten the final ruination of the mountain grazing which has already reached most serious dimensions in this Territory.

2. WINTER PLOUGHING. The secret for obtaining better crops is to use better methods of cultivation. Much advice has been given the nation in the past on this subject but only comparatively few people have altered their old methods, with a considerable amount of success. A farmer if he wishes to prosper cannot be idle in his fields the whole winter, all successful farmers plough as much of their ground in the winter as possible. Why?

1. Because the frost then kills the cutworm and mealie stalk borer.

2. The frost sweetens and makes the ground work well in the Spring.

(3). By winter ploughing the work is lessened and made easier for the spring, at this time most of the oxen are poor in condition, but are quite able to cross plough already ploughed land and make a nice seed bed for mealies and Kaffir corn at sowing time which is so essential if good crops are to be reaped.

(4). It often happens that the spring is dry and ploughing postponed until the ground is wet enough to plough, in consequence the crops are planted before they have time to ripen. This was the case last season, especialy in the lowlands where much less land was planted than usual and many of the resulting crops were ruined by frost. There is no need for this to happen if the people would plough their ground in the winter. If a little rain falls on already ploughed land it can be sown whereas unploughed ground requires soaking rain before it can be ploughed.

(5). Exceptional rains and snow have fallen throughout Basutoland during the last month. This should give the Basuto an excellent chance to begin to plough and prepare for their Spring crops if they would only listen.

My advice is plough as much as possible NOW. Do not kill your oxen plough three hours a day.

WHEAT. In several places I have noticed the wheat is very forward. Wheat should not be allowed to pipe too early or the result will be no crop. Graze the field down carefully with sheep or young stock. On no account should full grown cattle or horses be allowed to graze on young wheat.

WINTER FEED FOR CATTLE. During cold rains or snow cattle should be fed with blue grass or some kind of hay. Much advice has been given on this subject in the past. I have heard that cattle were in the kraals in the Qacha's Nek district for a week without food during the last heavy snow. Any thinking man would make preparations and grow some forage hay or cut grass and keep it for times like this.

Blue grass which is cut is mostly sold and oxen are allowed to die of poverty in the spring or become so thin that they are useless until December. Feed your working oxen during cold rains or snows and from the middle of August if necessary until the grass comes. No man can hope to be a good farmer and obtain good crop if his oxen at the plough ing season are so thin that they cannot pull his plough. What happens? He buys an 8 inch cut light plough and imagines he is ploughing his land properly. The results are to be seen all over Basutoland in the failure of the resulting crops

L. F. WACHER

Agricultural Officer

POUND NOTICE.

The undermentioned stock, in the hands of the Poundmaster Maseru of which some has been found in possesion of thieves will be sold by public auction in front of the Assistant Commissioner's Office on Saturday the 29th August 1931 at 11 a.m. unless previously claimed.

1. One yellow cow, white brush, right ear stump, left ear slit both sides, good condition.
2. One bay gelding, about 7 years old, long tail, and mane, about 14 hands. Poor condition, no brands or ear-marks.
3. One bay gelding, about 14.2 hands high, fair condition, hogged mane, tail docked, aged, old sores on back, no brands or ear-marks, white marks on near front leg caused by halter reins.
4. Two Angora billy-goats, one marked stump right ear, left ear winklehaak, and the other half-moon in front of right ear, and yoke-skey left ear.
5. One Angora kapater, full mouth, right ear swallow-tail.
6. One brown merino ewe, left ear swallow-tail and yoke-skey same ear.
7. One merino ewe with lamb, right ear shallow-tail, and yokeskey left ear.

H. ASHTON.

Assistant Commissioner.

Maseru.

KENYA CENSUS.

Since the census of 1926 the European population of Kenya has risen by nearly 5,000, according to the preliminary report on the non-native census taken on March 6 last.

The actual figures are 17,285 for 1931, as against 12,529 for 1926.

There is also a remarkable increase in the number of non-Europeans.

The report, issued by the Statistician to the Conference of East African Governors, says:—

The totals as revealed by the preliminary enumeration are as follows:—

	Male.		Female.		Total.
1926					
Europen.....	7,199	...	5,330	...	12,529
Non-European...	26,290	...	14,841	...	41,140
1931					
European	9,893	...	7,392	...	17,285
Non-European...	36,662	...	20,241	...	56,903

The percentage increases at the 1931 enumeration on the corresponding figures for 1926 are:—

	Male.	Female.	Total.
European.....	+ 37% ...	+ 39% ...	+ 38%
Non-European.	+ 39% ...	+ 36% ...	+ 38%

SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR AND THE PACT.

Fears of Another Split.

JOHANNESBURG, July 24.

It has been decided to hold an emergency meeting of the Executive of the United Labour Party on Monday, when the letters of Colonel Creswell and Mr. Sampson challenging the right of the new body to make demands on them will be considered, and a reasoned reply will probably be drafted.

The arguments advanced by Colonel Creswell caused certain members of the United Labour Party a great deal of concern. Colonel Creswell, it is stated, makes it clear in his letter that he stands outside the newly constituted party, and Mr. Sampson endorses that view. Therefore, it is held, the United Party cannot make itself ridiculous by expelling two Cabinet Ministers who refuse to consider themselves members of that party. All it can do is formally to notify the Prime Minister that the Labour Party will break the pact with the Nationalists as from August 1, and that neither Colonel Creswell nor Mr. Sampson is a member of the Labour Party.

—"The Times."

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

SIMLA, July 27.

The proposed Round Table Conference of representatives of the Government of India and the Government of the Union of South Africa in connection with the revision of the Cape Town Agreement will open in Cape Town between January 10 and 15 next.

***The Cape Town Agreement was signed in 1927 after negotiations designed to remove the grievances and disabilities of Indians in the Union of South Africa. The Agreement recognised the right of the Union Government to use all just and legitimate means for maintaining Western standards of life within the Union boundaries, and on its side the Union Government recognised that Indians domiciled in South Africa and wishing to conform to Western standards of living should be enabled to do so. Indians desiring to leave South Africa were to be assisted by the Union to return to India or to emigrate elsewhere. Those who desired to return to South Africa were given permission to do so provided that they exercised the right within three years and refunded the cost of the assistance they had received.—"The Times."

SOUTH AFRICA IS $60,000,000 PLUM FOR U. S

Large Colored Population Nets Huge Profit To The Manufacturers Of This Country Seen As Cause Favoring Negro

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 23 — Trade statistics show that the vast colored population of the Union of South Africa offers a fertile market, especially for American exports. It is pointed out as another example where the white man is reaping the profits of darker people, and advanced as a reason that more Negroes should be hired in the large American industries.

Runs Into Billions Of Dollars

"Normally the Union of South Africa buys about $60,000,000 worth of American goods," says a bulletin of the National Geographic Society.

"The shelves of many South African pantries reveal canned meat, fish, peaches, asparagus, baked baking power, household ammonia and bottles of sauces, relishes and ketchup bearing familiar American trade-marks. Nearly 6,000,000 lbs of American corn syrup and 26,000,000 pounds of American sugar were imported in 1929.

"The kitchen floors of some South African homes are covered with American-made linoleum and tables with American oilcloth. American electric light bulbs throw their beams upon American pianos, phonographs and clocks in South African living rooms, while books and maps printed in New York, Boston and Chicago shops may be found in home libraries.

"Stand on a busy corner of one of the Union's large cities and American leather shoes, silk and cotton stockings, dresses made from cotton goods imported from America, automobiles, trucks, motorcycles, rubber heels and furs pass on parade. Nearly nine-tenths of all the automobiles in the Union were made in the United States and Canada. In a recent year a million and a half pairs of silk stockings and more than a million pairs of cotton stockings were sent to the British domain by American manufacturers.

Colored Should Share

"In a South African office building, which may be under a roof of imported American material, one may hear the tapping of an American-made typewriter and the clashing of gears of an American tabulating machine. Perhaps a portion of the office printed matter came from an imported American printing press. The ground floor of the building may accommodate a jewelry store where imported American jewelry may be on display, and a hardware store selling numerous articles that were 'made in the U. S. A.' One hundred and fifty-one thousand gallons of American turpentine were imported in one year. South African drug stores sell American dental creams, soap, cosmetics and cameras.

"Some South African farmers use American incubators and brooders. They plow, cultivate, plant, spray, rakes, shell corn, grind and crush and press feed with American machinery, while American tractors are taking the place of many rural panoramas.

"In the list of American-made imports may be found toys for South African children, ammunition for South African hunters, athletic goods for South African sportsmen, kerosene for lighting purposes, large quanities of lubricating oil and grease for automobiles and machinery, sausage casings for her 'hot dog' consumers and films for her 'movie' fans."

Race Problem—1931

Africa.

AFRICA MY HOMELAND.

I am come from Africa back to Afric' will go.
'Tis sure as the night follows day,
I may roam the world over, hundred years or more,
But surely I never will stay.
You may think me unsteady, or may think me a fool,
But, by Jove, I know what I do.
You may wield me, or send me, or break just to rule,
But never can crush me I know.

With the English I'm English, with the French I am French,
In Berlin the best German there,
Up the Alps, in Sahara, in the Cold Polar clime,
You will find me the best Everywhere;
For the Spaniard may beat me, and the Belgian may sell.
But mark, I am always with them.
And the more you oppress me, and the oftener you kill,
More numerous my children become.

I am come from Africa just to study your ways,
Then to Africa back will go.
Thro' your own flimsy focus, me you judge as you please
And think me all lazy and slow.
But I study you closely, and just say as I go:—
I have eyes, ears, and hands like you;
On the 'great wheel of Fortune' which revolves but so slow,
There's a 'Spoke' there for me like you.

One fine day I'll remember as the great 'wheel goes round,
And I find my Spoke's' at the top—
You may call this a riddle, you may laugh at the sound,
But the 'wheel' you never can stop—
I'll remember what I got from the English, the French,
The German or brave Portuguese,
Those quaint smiles of some lassie, or some kind Poler wench,—
I'll remember quite all and these—

That Re-action and Action—put them howsoe'er you like,
In Afric' the law's just the same—
For equal and opposite forever must strike,
E'en where each may have different name,
So be kind to me always and you never will rue
Whate'er to me now you may do.
But stay! If you're oppressive, I'll never forget you
when to Africa back I go.

For from Afric I'm come, back to Africa go
Tho' hundreds of years roll away.
O'er the world I may wander and meet many a foe,
They ne'er can my Destiny stay.
I'm content with my colour for in Fortunes great wheel,
While you scramble and laugh and jeer,
I am nearing the top with the turn of the wheel
And you never can stay me for sure.

N. E. Benson Garrick

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA,

West African News
10-24-31

EDUCATION WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO A WEST AFRICAN UNIVERSITY.

Resolutions of the Third Session, Bathurst, 1925--1926.

1. That the Congress, while expressing appreciation of the concern of the African Education Advisory Board and other like bodies in England in African Education, considers that the time has come for associating Africans of Educational experience with such bodies so as to command the complete confidence of Africans.

England

2. That the Congress lays it down that that system of Education is best for the African, as for any other nationality, which aims at the highest efficiency while preserving the national traits of the African not repugnant to good conscience.

3. That the Congress desires specifically to record its appreciation of the educational activities of the Government of British West Africa with particular reference to the work of the Gold Coast Government in promoting the establishment of the Prince of Wales School and College, Achimota, and recommends that Fourah Bay College, Achimota and King's College, Lagos may form the nucles of the British West African University advocated by Congress.

4 That the Congress further desires to

record its appreciation of the large sums of £500,000 earmarked for educational work in the Gold Coast and £35,000 in Sierra Leone and recommends that proportionately, the other Governments of British West Africa may devote large portions of their revenue for educational purposes.

5. That the Congress is of the opinion that the policy of definitely laying down a programme for the gradual filling up of European appointments by Africans, as they fall vacant, is a sound one and an encouragement to education, and respectfully asks that a similar pronouncement to that of the Gold Coast Government, where within a period of fifteen years some 231 European appointments will be filled up by Africans, may be made by the other Governments of British West Africa.

6. That the Congress, having had the opportunity of considering the education Ordinance of the Gold Coast Colony, desires an assurance that in its operation qualified teachers of experience, precluded by age or otherwise, from coming within the prescribed rules, may nevertheless have the opportunity of engaging in the educatic work of the Country. Further, it desires assurance that the prohibition of the use certain books in Schools will not apply to the use of such books as in the discretion and within the experience of teachers will best aid in the efficient training of their pupils.

7. That in the opinion of the Congress the position of teachers and the emoluments for their services should be raised and made pensionable, throughout British West Africa.

8. That in the Colony of the Gambia industrial and agricultural training, combined with sound elementary education, should be undertaken throughout the Protectorate so as to fit the youths to cope, in due course with modern conditions, and that a Government Secondary School be opened in the Colony with a Boarding Department.

9. That in the opinion of the Congress the time has come for the Colony of the Gambia to adopt an active educational propaganda, and to have an Educational Department with a Director of Education and a regularly appointed Inspector of Schools.

10. That Congress, whiles appreciating the efforts of Government and Missionary bodies considers that the time has come for the people to shoulder their educational burdens, and recommends the founding of a fund among other things in aid of the project and other purposes.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE FOURTH SESSION, LAGOS, 1930.

1. That the Congress re-affirms the resolutions passed at its second (a) and third Sessions under this head and directs action to be taken where not already taken and commends that commissions be appointed by the Governments of British West Africa with a view to compulsory education being enforced in the central towns of British West Africa.

2. That Congress while appreciating the fact of the appointment of a Commission by the Nigerian Government hereanent, desires to record its regret at the terms of the Commission which make it impraticable.

3. That Congress while appreciating the educational efforts of Government and of the Missionary bodies is clearly of the opinion that besides such efforts the time has come for the African to take some share in his own educational burdens by the establishment of a chain of National Schools throughout British West Africa.

4. That such National Schools should have as one of their main objects the establishment of Institutions on the Tuskagee principle, and that the experience of the best teachers wherever found be taken advantage of.

5. That the Congresss strongly deprecates any attempt on the part of educational bodies operating in British West Africa to lower the standard of African education or to prescribe peculiar types of education for the African.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA,

COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISE WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE OF THE PEOPLE.

RESOLUTION OF THE THIRD SESSION. BATHURST, 1925-1926.

That the Congress at its Third Session, having taken into consideration the necessity of a more practical move with regard to the Resolutions passed thereanent at its first and second Sessions, desires to lay down the following broad principles and the deductions which spring from them:—

1. That Agriculture being the basis of the commercial and economic prosperity and independence of the people of British West Africa every effort should be made to promote it.
2. That to ensure steady agricultural development security in land tenure is absolutely necessary.
3. That to this end any policy which tends to weaken the sense of security in land tenure, practised by any of the Governments of British West Africa, is absolutely to be deplored and directs that representations be made at the right quarters against such policy.
4. That experience having shown that production by peasant proprietors working on their own land is more advantageous than the plantation system, Congress deprecates any attempt to introduce the latter system into British West Africa, and directs that representations be made to each of the Governments of British West Africa, and to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies accordingly.
5. That in order that the producer may be encouraged and may ensure satisfactory returns for his out-put, it is desirable that he should be able by very legitmate means to command fair prices.
6. That to this end co-operative marketing of produce is one of the bests means of countering combinations which control the market, and that this method of business should be encouraged throughout British West Africa.
7. That the promotion of Agricultural Banks is also a step in the right direction and should be encouraged throughout British West Africa.
8. That side by side with co-operative marketing of produce should be the establishment of co-operative stores throughout British West Africa so that, as far as possible, wealth may circulate and keep in the Country.
9. That Congress while appreciating the educative work on these lines carried out by each of the Sections pursuant to the resolutions passed at its first and second Sessions, is yet of the opinion that more intensive propaganda work should be undertaken by the several Sections with a view to promote the commercial and economic independence of the people.
10. That Congress views with disfavour all repressive measures tending to oust the African from the trade of the several British West African communities, and specifically condemns the creation of a Black List by the Chambers of Commerce of the Gambia by means of which some Africans are prevented from obtaining employment and recommends its abolition as contrary to the best interests of the people of the Colony of the Gambia and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Government and the Chamber of Commerce.
11. That the Congress, while recognising that business success must depend upon efficiency and organisation, is yet of the opinion that there may be unhealthy business methods undesirably in community and that, whenever such is the case, it become the duty of the Legislature to interfere. The Congress therefore directs that where in a given Colony the circumstances warrant a representation to the local Legislature, such representation should be made and the result reported to Congress.
12. That lastly the Congress affirms that the lands of British West Africa are the lands of the people, pledges itself by constitutional means to defend the rights of the people to such lands, and condemns any policy which would in any way endanger the rights of the people therein, and directs that copies of these resolutions be forwarded to each of the Governments of British West Africa and to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

RESOLUTION OF THE FOURTH SESSION LAGOS. 1930.

That the Congress having been favoured with some most practical views upon the subject of the Economic Independence of the peoples of British West Africa by Mr. Peter J. C Thomas, Sierra Leone Delegate, to wit, enclosure "A" directs the early publication of same for general information and suitable action.

Race Problem - 1931
Africa

THE COLOUR BAR.

Weekly News

In the extract from our worthy contemporary the *African World* for January 24th which we reproduced in our last issue under the above caption, we learn that a Council, "to promote understanding between white and coloured peoples in Great Britain" was formed at a meeting at Friends' House, Euston Road on the 15th of January last. The reason for this was, that in Great Britain the Colour Bar discrimination appeared to be on the increase and students from India and Africa especially, are being embittered thereby, because they are being subjected to many indignities. They are being shut out from Hotels, and in many other ways, they are made to suffer many inconveniences. This is one of the reasons why Indians are determined to be masters in their own country. The same feeling is growing in Africa at the present time, because poor as some of those who represent the English people are, the moment they come out here and begin to earn beyond what they can get in their home-land, they make themselves Lords of Creation and begin to assert superiority over those whose existence give them a decent livelihood. In certain local Firms, this colour bar has taken the shape of unequal treatment as between the European and the African. In these days of economic pressure due to the world-wide slump in trade, the Africans are made to suffer from reduced payment in some cases and retrenchment in others. while the Englishmen or Europeans employed in the same firms and who are better paid, with nearly everything found in addition, suffer little or no reduction of pay. Again we see the Colour Bar brought to play in Liberia. which is now brought to the limelight, where it is sought to introduce European dominance and practically destroy the independence of the only civilised Negro Republic in Africa.

2-7-31

Years ago Mr. Joseph Chamberlain when Secretary of State for the Colonies expressly declared that the Colonies i.e. the British West African Colonies were the Empire's Undeveloped Estates, and he and his successors until the Great War carried out the policy involved in that declaration. No African shall take precedence of a white man however superior in attainments or qualifications or eminent in character the former might be over latter. Since the war a new term "Trustees" has been substituted but practically in name only. For we do not as yet see that the interests of the *Cestin que trust* are made the first concern of or have their rights and privileges accorded to them by the Trustees.

Mar 27 '31

While we think that Race prejudice will ever exist—for every race has and will have its prejudices, we appreciate and are thankful for the efforts being made by the Council of Friends, for we believe that prejudice need not be acute nor go on increasingly, till it ends in injustice, bitterness and hatred and becomes a foe to peace. The Quakers are pursuing the old path as in Slavery days when they stood up manfully and made every sacrifice for the poor slave and fought the battle of Anti-Slavery until it resulted in disenthralment and emancipation.

Freetown, Sierra Leone

In America as we know this prejudice and Race-pride assume various shapes and forms. Race-prejudice is not so strong amongst the peoples of Continental Europe except amongst the Germans as manifested in their late Colonies. At the present time the French appear to be the most advanced amongst the white races in their considerate treatment of the Africans. They have not only admitted Africans into their social and political life but they have recently staggered the European nations by appointing a black Senegalese, M. Diagne as French Colonial Under-Secretary of State for all their Colonies. As stated in a German newspaper the Germans consider it *an affront to Europe*, as race treachery, a betrayal of European civilisation.

We have not come across an expression of the English opinion of the recent appointment of M. Diagne but we believe it is unfavourable, and not to their taste or liking, as we noticed in the, forthcoming Colonial Exhibition in France, England, on the plea of lack of funds is not participating. They have allowed themselves to be too much infected by the American race prejudice. But yesterday—Victorian days—every Englishman stood for justice and right no matter what betide. It was then we had that noble declaration from that distinguished Liberal Statesman, the Earl of Clarendon, then Secretary of State for the Colonies to the following effect:—

> "If any Colonist suffers from injustice, whatever be his race, nationality, colour or creed, he has a right of redress at the hands of the Colonial Minister."

But alas! to-day the majority stands for Race pride and Race prestige. For mark the almost hysterical outcry, the manifestation of disloyal oppositoin to the fair, just and humane declaration of the present Labour Government through the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Passfield, regarding the paramountcy of the Native *in his own Country*. And the world is becoming the poorer for the adverse change.

The Portuguese again, in spite of their large share in the European iniquitous slave trade, have made themselves one with the coloured people by inter-marriage etc., and you cannot now look at any member of the Portuguese nation without recognizing that African blood is in his veins. The Englishman marry Africans secretively in the native way, pay the customary fees, but in spite of their great use of contraceptives, mulattoes are to be seen in the countries where they bear sway all the world over, giving undoubted evidence of their hypocrisy. Way then this manifestation of the Colour Bar, when their missionaries are to be found in every clime and country preaching the Gospel that God has made of one all the nations of the earth? And yet in spite of it all and concurrently with it, this Colour Bar is rampant and is becoming increasingly so.

Our humble advice to Indian and African Students in England is to be patient and not worry themselves about the White people's wrong if not false discrimination of colour. Let us pray for them that despitefully use and persecute us. We give the same advice to all coloured people all the world over. Rome had done similar things—where is Rome to-day? Africans shall be delivered from these indignities without firing a single shot. God is working out His purposes in these things. When the Africans had their day in North Africa and Egypt especially, they gave facilities to Europeans and Asiatics to go over to Egypt as immigrant and serve as mercenaries and so learn the rudiments of the arts and sciences and the culture which have made them what they are to-day. The very Saviour of the world Himself went over there to find a shelter and protections in time of stress. In process of time however they lost their premier position and had to take their exit from that stage.

The wheels of time are moving and Africans may again have their "day." We shall then be in position to teach the world the new righteousness of Jesus Christ, which Great Britain, America and Germany are brushing aside in their persistent efforts to suppress or repress Africans mentally, if no longer physically, to limit their aspirations; restrict their development with a view the better to assert dominance over them and keep them in subjection. General Smuts compared the patience of the coloured people to that of the Ass. When Mr. Maton took him to task for it, he endeavoured to explain. We need not be ashamed or resent the comparison. It was an Ass, not a horse nor any other quadruped to whom God gave the power of speech to rebuke the ambition and falseness of the prophet Balaam. And it was an ass which the best man that ever lived—the Saviour and Redeemer, of the world chose to convey him on his only triumphal ride to Jerusalem to meet His fate, the fate that effected the redemption and upliftment of the world. "Patience is an ointment that cures all sores" physical, social or political and "Before honour is humility." Let us therefore be patient, be humble but be honest, manly brave and true. In the words of the poet Longfellow:—

> Let us be patient
> These severe afflictions not from the ground arise
> But are celestial benedictions in disguise,

Calling forth the best that is in us, developing in ever increasing intenser form and in richer fuller measure the spirit of race consciousness and the upbuilding of intellectual moral and spiritual force—in short, a character, that will enable us to be truly proud of our colour and our race and make us do our best to exemplify it in a manner whereof no member, nor non-member thereof need be ashamed, nor allow any member of the white race to treat with contempt or disdain, but rather be constrained to give respect and honour. In this matter of the Colour Bar, this "Inferiority-complex" we will do well to realize our personal, individual responsibility and that:—

> Each one has a battle to fight
> . . . . a victory to win—
> And to that end—must not—dare not
> Be like a dumb-driven animal
> But a hero in the strife.

We again tender our grateful thanks to our Quaker Friends, ever the Coloured man's friend in need and deed, for this fresh service in the cause of humanity and world peace.

CHRISTIANS HAVE POWER IN SOUTH AFRICA – HAYNES

Journal and Guide

Race Conditions There Similar To Those In America

4-18-31

NEW YORK, N. Y.Speaking here in a lecture at Teachers' College, Columbia University, April 8, Dr. George E. Haynes, secretary of the Commission on Race Relations, Federal Council of Churches said:

"America and South Africa are the two countries where millions of white inhabitants are in close contact with millions of inhabitants of African descent. There are some evident contrast and similarities in the situation of the two countries. Race relations are acute in both.

Non-Resistant

"The territory of South Africa is about one-sixth that of the United States but more than one-fifth of its territory is largely desert. That country comprises a series of plains of different levels broken here and there by mountain ranges, rivers and ravines similar to our country in the Southwest.

"In America there are about ten whites to every Negro. In Africa there are about four natives to every white person. The white population in South Africa is also sharply divided between those of English descent and those of Dutch descent. Most of the latter speak Afrikaans, a dialect developed from the old Duth language. The Dutch element has it own language newspapers and there is a strong sentiment among many of them against being part of the British Empire.

"The majority of these people of Dutch descent are farmers of a type similar to our planters in the South. They depend very largely upon Negro natives for their labor. Cattle raising, sheep raising, and maize cultivation are among the principal agricultural pursuits. Gold and diamond mining are the chief industries. More than half of the diamonds and gold of the world come from South Africa and native labor is the backbone of these mining industries.

High Mentality

"The native people of South Africa are of a generally dark chocolate complexion but many of the Zulus are even lighter in color. The mental capacity of these people will compare favorably with any race anywhere. Some of them who have taken honors in higher education in English schools and universities have shown their capacity. Some of the native languages, Zulu and Basuto for example, are regarded by expert linguists as highly intellectual and rarely mastered by foreigners.

"They are moral people. The stories of the savage African in no wise de-

scribes them. Their honesty is proverbial when in their own territory and away from outside deterioration influences. One government commission of white men stated that "they have a standard of morality and decency while different from our own yet preserves them from anything in the nature of wholesale immorality.'

Steal Natives Land

"The white settlers and their descendants during the past two hundred years have taken nearly eighty-five per cent of the land from the native who is a great lover of land and cattle. The rich land which the native occupied and the rich resources of that land were sought by white people. The native resisted their encroachment and for many decades of the nineteenth century there were wars upon wars between the natives and the incoming white settlers about land and cattle. Today the descendants of the warring races are suffering from the fears and prejudices out of those past periods of clash.

"Their problems of race relations are very serious. The native is proud and restless under the restriction he suffers. The white people are equally proud and determine to dominate. Natives are restricted by color bar customs and laws from skilled occupations. They are segregated in the cities and must carry passes wherever they go. In three provinces of the Union, they have no vote.

Constructive Influences

There are, however, three forces in the country making for better race relations. These are the missionaries and their mission schools which they have established among the people in all ports of the Union. The Anglican Church and the American Congregational Board, the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Methodists and several other denominations have very good grammar schools and teacher-training colleges partly supported by government grants in aid. It is estimated that nearly a million natives are now under Christian organization and influence.

"Second, there is the widespread influence among the white and native students of the Students Christian Association. One of the most significant events of last year was the Bantu Students Christian Conference held at Fort Hare which brought together more than three hundred of the white and native student leaders of the religious world. The moving spirit of this work is Max Yergan, a Negro leader from the United States sent to South Africa by our Young Men's Christian Association of North America.

"A third influence centers in a number of joint interracial committees now active in about a score of towns and cities. They are patterned after our interracial committees in America. They have been developing for about ten years and are now actively promoted by a Race Relations Institute with headquarters at Witwatersrand University, a leading white institution at Johannesburg, the metropolis of the gold mining area. Rheinault Jones, formerly a professor at the university, is directing this work. He spent about six months in the United States last year studying our methods and problems."

Concluding Dr. Haynes said, "The problems of race contact between whites and blacks in South Africa and in the United States are both crying aloud for solution. The future progress of the white world is bound up in the outcome."

THE EAST AFRICA AIR MAIL SERVICE.

African World

NAIROBI, March 30.

Further difficulties are being encountered in connection with the air mail service between East Africa and Europe. Following upon last week's postponement of the service, the following official statement was issued to-day by the Postmaster General. The latest information from Kisumu (Kenya Colony) is to the effect that owing to the breakdown of the relief flying boat last week's air mail to Europe has not yet been despatched from Kisumu, and there is considerable doubt as to whether this week's flight will leave according to schedule.

The Imperial Airways, however, hope to obtain a land machine from Juba, and to forward the mails by that means. There is no news yet of the mail from England, which was due to arrive at Kisumu yesterday. At present two flying boats are lying at Kisumu disabled. 4-4-31

It is understood that as a result of the second disaster the East African service will be temporarily suspended as the Imperial Airways have only two flying boats on this route.—Reuter.

London,

NAIROBI, March 31.

Arrangements have been made for the dispatch from Kisumu to-morrow of an air mail to Europe. It will carry two weeks' mails.—The "Times."

Efforts are being made to-day to deal with the accumulation of air mail at Kisumu (Kenya Colony), following the breakdown of the two air mail aeroplanes employed on the East African Service.

An Imperial Airways flying-boat left Kisumu for Mwanza (Tanganyika) this morning. It is expected to return to Kisumu to-day and to leave again with north-bound mail to-morrow.

There is still, however, no news of the inward mail from England, which was due to arrive at Kisumu from Cairo on Sunday.—Reuter.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

The Gambia.

African World

The late Mr. Henry Fenwick Reeve's work, "The Gambia,"* published in 1912, is still the standard authority on the history of the Colony, and does not seem likely to be superseded. A worthy successor has recently appeared which, though intended primarily for use in schools in the Colony, will be found interesting and useful to the general reader. The author, Mr. W. T. Hamlyn, the Colony's Superintendent of Education, has been struck by the incongruity of teaching the history of Great Britain to West African children, while imparting to them no instruction in the traditions and history of their own country. It is part of the new orientation of the conception of the proper aim of education in West Africa. The early idea of the direct and immediate inculcation of "Europeanisation" has been found to be both mistaken and mischievous; the aim to-day is to preserve the Africanism of the African as the soil in which the seeds of culture will bring forth the richest and strongest plants of character and civilisation. A means to this end is the instilling into the mind of pupils in schools knowledge of their people's past, and the inculcation of pride in their heritage from their ancestors. They will then be better able to enjoy the riches of British history, and to appreciate the achievements of the nation under the protection of whose flag they live. As the Governor of the Colony, Mr. H. R. Palmer, remarks in his introduction, the history of the Gambia goes back to the time of "the great colonising nations of the ancient world," who handed the torch of civilisation to the great kingdoms of which the present British Protectorate formed a part—"the Empire of the Ghana of Kumbi, near Walata; the Jolof kingdom of Senegambia; the Melle or Manding Empire with its capitals at Jeriba and Niani in French Guinea, and the Tucolor kingdom of Futa Toro which sprang from certain emigrant tribes of Tazant and Adrar in Mauretania who intermarried with the former inhabitants of Senegambia." The influence of these States had spread far and wide through West Africa the cultures of Northern and North-Eastern Africa long before these were overlaid by the intrusion of the culture of Western Europe, whose superior scientific and mechanical equipment has almost obliterated the memory of its predecessors. Elements born of these earlier States are to be found in all the populations of the valley of the River Gambia, of which the first, and still the best, systematic study in the report on the Blue-Book of the Colony for 1885, by the late Sir Gilbert Carter, who was then its Acting Administrator. He stated that the Mandingos, who were the most numerous of the seven branches of the population, invaded the north bank of the river about A.D. 632 under a great warrior, Adama Sonko, and conquered it up to the sea at Barra, the king and prime minister of which bore the surname of Sonko in 1886.

The Oldest British West African Colony.

The River Gambia was reached by the Portuguese pioneers in 1446, but it was not visited by Englishmen till 1589, when the holders of Queen Elizabeth's charter for the monopoly for ten years "for a trade to the rivers of Senega and Gambia and Guinea" sent out the first of three expeditions in three successive years. In Hakluyt's account of the voyage of 1591 it is stated that "the Frenchmen never used to go into the Gambia." The first English occupation began with the building of a fort which was rebuilt in 1664 and named Fort James, after the Duke of York (James II.). Mr. Hamlyn says: "We may therefore regard Fort James as a British settlement in Africa, subsidised by the Crown from the year 1665." It was repeatedly captured and returned by the French during the first half of the eighteenth century. In 1765 the British Government assumed direct control of the coast from Barbary to Cape Rouge (Roxo), and thus the Gambia became the first "Crown Colony" in West Africa. In 1808 Fort James was abandoned, and at the peace of 1814 the British merchants removed from Goree to St. Mary's Island, which was shortly afterwards ceded by the King of Combo, and the settlement named Bathurst. In 1843 the Gambia was constituted a separate colony; in 1866 it was again put under the Government of Sierra Leone, but in 1888 it was again made a separate colony, and still remains so. The Colony was extended by a Protectorate over the upper river. Owing to constant quarrels between the different elements of the population the Government was frequently called upon to intervene, and to send punitive expeditions to restore peace and order. The last of these was carried out in 1901 in conjunction with the French, and resulted in the capture of Mandina and the death of Fodi Kabba, the last of the Mahomedan raiders who had been harrying the hinterland of the French and British settlements for the previous twenty years. In the following year the Protectorate was divided into five provinces (reduced to four in 1930), each under a Travelling Commissioner who supervises the Native Administrations.

The French in the Gambia.

In the era of French colonisation they cast longing eyes on the Gambia and its splendid river. In 1689 their great pioneer, André de Brué, established a station at Albreda, on the mainland opposite Fort James; as the territory attached to this fort was only 160 yards square, it was more a source of annoyance to the British than of profit to the French, who clung to it till 1857, when it was exchanged for British rights in Portendick, which the diversion of the gum trade to the Senegal had rendered valueless. While the British confined themselves to the banks of the river the French followed their usual encircling policy, and by 1881 had completely enclosed the British territory. In 1887 the British claim was formally limited to the navigable waters of the river, and in 1889 a boundary agreement was signed confining the British to a strip of territory ten kilometres wide on each bank; the survey and marking of the boundary were carried out between 1891 and 1899. France, however, was still hankering after the river and its groundnut trade which was mainly in the hands of French traders. In 1894, and again in 1904, they proposed exchanges of their fishing rights in Newfoundland for the Gambia, and obtained the cession of some territory on the upper river. During the present century the Gambia has been happy in having no history, save its share of the economic vicissitudes which all the British West African Colonies have had to endure. The book will be a useful introduction both for students in the Gambia, and readers elsewhere, to the history of the Colony.

W. F. H.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

KARACHI, March 30.

Alarm at proposed legislation regarding the position of Indian settlers in South Africa and East Africa was expressed in a resolution passed by the Subjects Committee of the All-India Congress which is meeting here.

African World

The resolution declares that the contemplated legislation is a contravention of promises, and in some respects constitutes an attack even on legal rights. It appeals to the Governments concerned to mete out to Indian settlers the same measure of justice as they would claim for their nationals in a free India. 4-4-31

Opposing a number of amendments to the resolution, Raja Gopal Acharyar, a member of the working committee, said that the resolution had been approved by Mr. Gandhi. This statement was greeted with cries of "Why drag in Gandhi's name every time? Why take shelter under his name?"

London,

Raja Gopal Acharyar asked the audience not to make hasty comments before he had had his say. He explained that Mr. Gandhi was not present for the reason that he had approved the draft and that this was his silence day.

The speaker suggested that the amendments might be informally discussed with members of the working committee instead of taking up the Subjects Committee's time. After further discussion the resolution as summarised above was adopted.

The resolution will be placed before the open session of the Congress to-day and to-morrow, and is likely to be passed unaltered.—Reuter.

Race Problem—1931

Africa

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

NATIVE WITNESSES AT INQUIRY.

African World

NAIROBI, April 20.

Satisfaction is expressed in Kenya with the plans made in London to show the native witnesses who are to give evidence before the Joint Selection Committee on East Africa something of British life and progress, as it is believed that natives who have visited England in the last few years have been allowed to acquire wrong impressions.

The Kikuyu witness will be the Government Headman Koinange, president of the Central Native Tribunal in the Kiambu District and president of the Kikuyu Association—not to be confused with the political organisation of similar name created by the younger element of the tribe. Koinange's son is being educated in the United States. The Kavirondo witness is Ezekiel Apindi, a mission school teacher and member of the Kavirondo Taxpayers' Association; he is in touch with both the old and the young movements. The third witness is Hames Matua, representing the Akamba tribe; he served in the East African campaign as orderly to Brigadier-General Edwards, and is a member of the local Native Council and Land Board. All are mission educated.

The witnesses are accompanied by Mr. G. V. Maxwell, Chief Native Commissioner since 1921, who is not returning to Kenya and is retiring from the service. Within recent years a change has been made in the status of the Native Affairs Department, as a result of which it became practically a sub-department of the Secretariat.—The "Times."

EAST AFRICAN CHIEFS IN ENGLAND

Guardian Weekly

Evidence to the Joint Committee.

5-1-31

Representatives of the natives of British East Africa, who have come to England especially for this purpose, appeared on Tuesday before the Joint Committee which is inquiring into the problem of closer union between Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika. The Committee is sitting in the House of Lords. The African delegates listened very intently to the interpretation of the welcome which the chairman, Lord Stanley of Alderley, gave them, and in reply Chief Koinange, from Kenya, expressed his thanks at the opportunity which the British Government and the Committee had given them to come to England.

Chief Koinange said: "We wish to live at peace with the English, but in recent times we have had conflict and trouble."

Manchester Guardian

For closer union he suggested that natives be admitted to the legislative councils of their respective territories, so that they should also represent the native races in the councils of the High Commissioner. If that proved to be impracticable he did not see how closer union would benefit them. He suggested that at present laws were made without the natives being consulted, and often the natives broke those laws, not knowing of their existence until they had been punished.

Chief Koinange, speaking of agriculture, asked that steps might be taken to enable the natives themselves to export coffee. He appealed for more education, both elementary and higher grade, and then naïvely added: "No child feels shy in asking benefits from his father."

Chief Koinange observed, in regard to salaries and wages, that he did not feel that 12s. a month was sufficient pay for a fully grown man. "I want the Committee, who is my father, to realise that its children the natives are oppressed in this way," he added.

Chief Apindi, another mission-school educated native, then gave evidence speaking in English.

A different course was taken by James Matua, a sub-headman and native councillor. Addressing the Committee in English, he asked that his speech be given in his own tongue and then translated, as he did not feel that his knowledge of English was sufficiently fluent.

The White Voter's Burden

Guardian Weekly

The British elector is still, fortunately, perhaps, the custodian of the interests of many millions of native and backward people. The problems arising out of our relationship with them are not complicated, as is the Indian problem, by an underlying fear of forcible resistance to our rule, or by the sudden growth of a fevered nationalism among the ruled, or by half-acknowledged claims that the time has come or is coming to withdraw our protecting arm and leave them to fend for themselves in a world that will in any event no longer leave them alone. Even so, the problems raised are difficult and urgent. With a part of British Africa the British elector has, for good or evil, little or no concern. The Government of the Union of South Africa must settle for itself the question of the terms on which the black and coloured peoples shall live with the whites in the future, though even in that Dominion there are native reserves administered by the Crown, whose presence prevents the white settler, Dutch or British, from exploiting the native throughout a whole territory. In the Crown Colonies, Nigeria, Uganda, Kenya, and the rest of them, British responsibility is still complete. Tanganyika, formerly German East Africa, has tended since the war to be lumped in with them, and there is at present in session an inquiry into the question whether an economic union should be devised between Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda. The British elector, remembering his responsibility for the native, and remembering, too, that Tanganyika came to be included in this problem not as a possession but as a mandated territory, is compelled to inquire whether, in terms of the mandate and with full regard to native interests, such a union can be allowed. The arrival in this country of native representatives of the three territories affected by the proposal for closer union, to give evidence before the Joint Select Committee on East African affairs, focuses attention on the matter. The publication by the Colonial Office of the official communications that have passed on the question supplies much material for a judgment.

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The proposal for drawing the three territories closer has been resisted from its inception both by Uganda and by Tanganyika. They are well aware of the political ambitions of the small community of white settlers in Kenya, of the adverse conditions of native labour that exist there, and of the heavy financial commitments which that colony has incurred. Uganda quite definitely fears that closer union may spell in the end federal union. Its press speaks of the proposal as "a horse born of the Kenya stables," points to the loans with which Kenya has been supplied, and suggests that it would be an attractive solution to that colony's problems to have "some "more property to throw into the "mortgage pool." This attitude is voiced with more caution both in dispatches from the Governor of Uganda and from H.H. the Kabaka, or native ruler of the Baganda people. Neither would object to common action, which has indeed already been partially taken, as regards communications—railways, posts, telegraphs, and the like—and matters of public health.

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The objections of Tanganyika to any closer union with its neighbours are rather different. They are, for one thing, the concern not only of the British Ministry and the British elector but of the League of Nations. The mandate which gives the guidance of Tanganyika to this country is a model for all Governments that have native peoples under their control. It lays down conditions of labour and land tenure for the indigenous population that are based not upon exploitation but upon guardianship. It enjoins upon this country, under article 22 of the Covenant, the duty to accept the tutelage of the native peoples "until "such time as they are able to stand "by themselves." "Is this proposition generally accepted or not?" asks the Governor of Tanganyika Territory in a dispatch of last July. If it is, he urges, then it is the duty of the mandatory, however long it may take, "so "to train the people that they may "have when the time comes a full "place in the political structure of the "territory." If, and only if, that primary condition of a "B" mandate is observed, permission is given under the Covenant to further the aims that advocates of closer union have in view, for by article 10 of the mandate for Tanganyika the mandatory is empowered to "constitute the territory into a Customs, fiscal, and "administrative union or federation "with the adjacent territories under "his sovereignty or control." And that is the crux of the matter. It will be possible to effect the aims that the enthusiasts for closer union urge when, and only when, the territories that might naturally march politically with Tanganyika fulfil in their government, as scrupulously as does the mandated territory, the conditions as to guardianship of the native peoples that the Covenant lays down. There can be no question of whittling away native rights in Uganda or Tanganyika to meet the convenience of the Kenya settlers. The British Parliament would resist the first, the Mandates Commission of the League the second, and it is the duty of the British elector, on whom responsibility ultimately rests, to see that neither is attempted.

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HALF-MEN.

Sir Harry Johnston, in one of his early writings mentions a goblin of some sort who is believed to haunt the Cameroon mountain and is described as having only one leg, one arm and one eye—half a human body, in short. Beings of this kind occur with curious persistency all over Africa—at least, one hears of them in so many different places that it is safe to assume that they are everywhere present. In Nyasaland we have Chiruwi, who may be met with in the forest, carrying an axe. The missing half of his body is made of wax. If he meets a man he challenges him to wrestle; if the man can throw him, Chiruwi says, "Don't kill me, let me go and I will show you all the trees that are good for medicine." And so the man is set up for life as a herbalist. What happens if the man does not overcome Chiruwi we are not told—but it seems to be assumed that "if the man has spirit" he need never fail. So the Baila of the Zambesi basin have their Sechobochobo, whose *signalement* is much the same; but he appears to be more amiable, as he brings good luck to those who see him. There is another being called Luwe, in the same region, "a one-legged goblin that rides about the forest mounted on an eland. He prevents people from killing game, but is himself a great hunter. People say the antelopes are his cattle." (Smith and Dale). This last, in passing, reminds one of the Bushman divinity, 'Kaang, to whose call the elands run. And did not some Southern tribesman tell Livingstone that the elands were "God's cattle"? This shadowy deity, if such he can be called, may, sometimes, it seems, be kind, for "some people say it is possible to get medicine from him for hunting."

In a folk-tale of the Nkonde (North end of Lake Nyasa), an old woman with one arm and one leg helps some children, fleeing from cannibals, to cross a river; in Nyasaland (I have a fragmentary story written down in Chinyanja) it is "a big bird" of similar conformation, who shows himself such a friend in need. The lake-god Mugasha, reverenced by the Baziba (Lake Victoria), has only one leg. Chemosit, of the Nandi, is a one-legged cannibal ogre, of most peculiar anatomy.

The Nyasaland Chiruwi in some ways recalls the "Kitunusi" of the Pokomo (Tana Valley, Kenya), who wrestles with those who meet him in the forest. But he has two legs, though he does not use them, for he always moves about in a sitting position, like the "cul de jatte" in "Notre Dame de Paris." If the wrestler can succeed in tearing off a bit of the Kitunusi's waist-cloth, his fortune is made: he puts it away in his covered basket, and, somehow or other, wealth accrues to him from that day. But woe betide those whom he overcomes, for they lose the use of their limbs.

In West Africa, Aroni of the Yoruba and Osekpariku of the Kwottos (see Captain Wilson-Haffenden's book) belong to the same family. The Hausa have tales of a "Barin Mutum" who among other adventures catches the thievish spider by means of a "tar-baby." One might multiply these examples indefinitely. They seem to have this in common, that the one-sided or one-legged beings are either divinities of some sort or at any rate demons or spirits and are believed to exist at the present day. But the Kanyoka (in the southern part of the Congo basin) have a curious myth, to which I have, so far, found only one reference. Maweza (the Creator), being displeased with the wickedness of the human beings he had first formed, began making a new set, with only one side of a body—presumably, so that they might have less power for evil. He made one of this kind, but his son dissuaded him from the project; the human race was not destroyed, no more half-men were made, and the one specimen seems to have disappeared.

Not long ago, there reached me from Brazil a fascinating little book, entitled "Mitos Amerindios" ("American-Indian Myth"), by Osvaldo Orico. Facing p. 152 is a fearsome picture of the "Saci," a tricksy sprite given to misleading travellers in the bush, though as one gathers, with no real harm in him. He is here represented as coal-black, with one leg, but two arms; and his head is furnished with two horns, one upright and one curled downwards, like a ram's. A little red cap is his only wear, but he holds a pipe in one hand and a huge cudgel in the other. Some descriptions of him are less repellent than this picture, for accounts vary, and some give him a worse character than others. For instance, it is said that he goes about breaking hearts: any girl who falls in love with him is sure to die; so much so, that if one is noticed to be thin, pale and depressed, people say "This is the Saci's work." But the interesting point about him is that he seems to be, partly at least, an importation from Africa, and that in his kindlier aspect. In the preface contributed to this book, Don Fernando Ortiz, President of the Cuban Folklore Society, says:

"In . . . the Saci, or Spirit of the Roads, the author marks the influence of the Negro element, so important in the formation of the Brazilian, as well as in that of the Cuban people. This influence, says Orico, softens and sweetens the action of the *numen viarum* of the Tupi Indians, of their hostile, cruel and stubborn goblins (*duendes*). With this remark the Brazilian folklorist once more emphasises the fact that it is the influence of the African soul which has introduced an element of sweetness and amenity into the Creole psychology. The goblin Saci loses, through African contact the perfidious, cruel and aggressive character of the Indian sprite and turns into a swarthy, elusive and sympathetic little being, full of comical tricks. . . . a little Negro, with his red cap and his pipe, a friend to wayfarers."

In Cuba, too, there is a one-legged goblin, imported from Africa; but the idea of the half-man seems really to be world-wide, for the Mayas of Yucatan have their Jurakan and the Australian aborogines their Daranmulun, and in Campbell's "Tales of the West Highlands" you may even find the Snake Spirit of Glen Etive portrayed—a being I will not attempt to describe.

A. WERNER

DEPRECATING THE COLOUR BAR.

WORK OF THE NEW JOINT COUNCIL.

[SPECIALLY REPORTED FOR "WEST AFRICA."]

On April 24, at Friends' House, Euston Road, was held the inaugural meeting of the new Joint Council to Promote Understanding Between White and Coloured People in Great Britain. Sir Francis Younghusband, President of the Joint Council, in the chair, said that the prejudice was not unnatural. When a boy at Clifton College, he was conscious of having many prejudices, but as one grew up and learned to know one's fellow-men, these prejudices should drop away. The races of mankind were basically the same. He extolled the work of the Friends in promoting this unification of peoples.

Sir Norman Angell, M.P., remarked on the fact that there was no colour prejudice in the modern French Colonies. The Coloured population talked of themselves not as "we Negroes," but as "we French." He thought there were elements of hope in the present situation. It was possible to suggest to the British a better way of treating the Colour problem than at present. He deprecated assumption of superiority on the part of the White man. This was contrary to the code of the gentleman. He thought great writers had not done their duty. Instead of decrying Colour prejudice they passed on the wrong suggestion and added to the flames. In bringing in a counter-suggestion we should not ask too much. Admission of fundamental equality did not necessarily imply inter-marriage of the White and Coloured races. When making contacts between different races the test should be civilisation over-riding all differences, the capacity so to make as not to intrude on other people's rights. That condition might exclude as many White as Coloured. We should not ask for the union of the civilised and uncivilised.

Dr. Harold Moody said the Colour Bar was a disease, which arrived by suggestion in the minds of the younger generation. White was ever represented as the symbol of goodness. Great deeds of White men, but not those of Coloured, were extolled. People were taught that philosophy originated in Greece, whereas Indian philosophy was much older. The Colour Bar disease was not incurable. The newspapers could do much. In the United States the word "Negro" was written with a capital letter, as enjoined by law. He would like to see that in Britain. Hospitals might be more liberal in policy towards Coloured students. At present no Black man could be a house surgeon. Coloured people were not paragons, no better than the best, no worse than the worst, of the White races. They asked that character, culture, civilisation, should be the final test, not Colour. (Applause.)

Mr. Charles Roden Buxton, M.P., said that the desire to promote cordiality between diverse races by abolishing the Colour Bar was prompted by the human desire just to be friends. The White races stand to gain something in such a friendship; they were not merely giving. On the political side the question of racial friendship involved the biggest problem in the world. It was important alike in the politics of Empire and in the international sphere. The British Empire was overwhelmingly Coloured, with 65 million White and 460 millions Coloured. The rising tide of nationalism was seen among the Coloured races. No one could ignore it. There was an element of hope in the fact that this new problem had to be recognised. There might not be armed risings, but a movement of non-co-operation might take place in other countries besides India. Non-exploitation and co-operation formed the remedy, and of this we hoped to persuade those in authority. In the international sphere one must realise that all the great wars of the last half-century had arisen from Colonial rivalry. Many disagreements might be avoided if people in remote countries were looked at as not merely producers of raw material. We must look on the weaker peoples as having rights of their own. The growth of the international point of view between the advanced and the weaker nations was to be greatly welcomed. The League of Nations with its Mandates and condemnation of forced labour was setting up a new conception of international responsibility.

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HALF-MEN.

Sir Harry Johnston, in one of his early writings mentions a goblin of some sort who is believed to haunt the Cameroon mountain and is described as having only one leg, one arm and one eye—half a human body, in short. Beings of this kind occur with curious persistency all over Africa—at least, one hears of them in so many different places that it is safe to assume that they are everywhere present. In Nyasaland we have Chiruwi, who may be met with in the forest, carrying an axe. The missing half of his body is made of wax. If he meets a man he challenges him to wrestle; if the man can throw him, Chiruwi says, "Don't kill me, let me go and I will show you all the trees that are good for medicine." And so the man is set up for life as a herbalist. What happens if the man does not overcome Chiruwi we are not told—but it seems to be assumed that "if the man has spirit" he need never fail. So the Baila of the Zambesi basin have their Sechobochobo, whose *signalement* is much the same; but he appears to be more amiable, as he brings good luck to those who see him. There is another being called Luwe, in the same region, "a one-legged goblin that rides about the forest mounted on an eland. He prevents people from killing game, but is himself a great hunter. People say the antelopes are his cattle." (Smith and Dale). This last, in passing, reminds one of the Bushman divinity, 'Kaang, to whose call the elands run. And did not some Southern tribesman tell Livingstone that the elands were "God's cattle"? This shadowy deity, if such he can be called, may, sometimes, it seems, be kind, for "some people say it is possible to get medicine from him for hunting."

In a folk-tale of the Nkonde (North end of Lake Nyasa), an old woman with one arm and one leg helps some children, fleeing from cannibals to cross a river; in Nyasaland (I have a fragmentary story written down in Chinyanja) it is "a big bird" of similar conformation, who shows himself such a friend in need. The lake-god Mugasha, reverenced by the Baziba (Lake Victoria), has only one leg. Chemosit, of the Nandi, is a one-legged cannibal ogre, of most peculiar anatomy

The Nyasaland Chiruwi in some ways recalls the "Kitunusi" of the Pokomo (Tana Valley, Kenya), who wrestles with those who meet him in the forest. But he has two legs, though he does not use them, for he always moves about in a sitting position, like the "cul de jatte" in "Notre Dame de Paris." If the wrestler can succeed in tearing off a bit of the Kitunusi's waist-cloth, his fortune is made; he puts it away in his covered basket, and, somehow or other, wealth accrues to him from that day. But woe betide those whom he overcomes, for they lose the use of their limbs.

In West Africa, Aroni of the Yoruba and Osekpariku of the Kwottos (see Captain Wilson-Haffenden's book) belong to the same family. The Hausa have tales of a "Barin Mutum" who, among other adventures, catches the thievish spider by means of a "tar-baby." One might multiply these examples indefinitely. They seem to have this in common, that the one-sided or one-legged beings are either divinities of some sort or at any rate demons or spirits and are believed to exist at the present day. But the Kanyoka (in the southern part of the Congo basin) have a curious myth, to which I have, so far, found only one reference. Maweza (the Creator), being displeased with the wickedness of the human beings he had first formed, began making a new set, with only one side of a body, presumably, so that they might have less power for evil. He made one of this kind, but his son dissuaded him from the project; the human race was not destroyed, no more half-men were made, and the one specimen seems to have disappeared.

Not long ago, there reached me from Brazil a fascinating little book, entitled "Mitos Amerindios" ("American-Indian Myth"), by Osvaldo Orico. Facing p. 152 is a fearsome picture of the "Saci," a tricksy sprite given to misleading travellers in the bush, though as one gathers, with no real harm in him. He is here represented as coal-black, with one leg, but two arms; and his head is furnished with two horns, one upright and one curled downwards, like a ram's. A little red cap is his only wear, but he holds a pipe in one hand and a huge cudgel in the other. Some descriptions of him are less repellent than this picture, for accounts vary, and some give him a worse character than others. For instance, it is said that he goes about breaking hearts: any girl who falls in love with him is sure to die; so much so, that if one is noticed to be thin, pale and depressed, people say "This is the Saci's work." But the interesting point about him is that he seems to be, partly at least, an importation from Africa, and that in his kindlier aspect. In the preface contributed to this book, Don Fernando Ortiz, President of the Cuban Folklore Society, says:

"In . . . the Saci, or Spirit of the Roads, the author marks the influence of the Negro element, so important in the formation of the Brazilian, as well as in that of the Cuban people. This influence, says Orico, softens and sweetens the action of the *numen viarum* of the Tupi Indians, of their hostile, cruel and stubborn goblins (*duendes*). With this remark the Brazilian folklorist once more emphasises the fact that it is the influence of the African soul which has introduced an element of sweetness and amenity into the Creole psychology. The goblin Saci loses, through African contact the perfidious, cruel and aggressive character of the Indian sprite and turns into a swarthy, elusive and sympathetic little being, full of comical tricks. . . . a little Negro, with his red cap and his pipe, a friend to wayfarers."

In Cuba, too, there is a one-legged goblin, imported from Africa; but the idea of the half-man seems really to be world-wide, for the Mayas of Yucatan have their Jurakan and the Australian aborogines their Daranmulun, and in Campbell's "Tales of the West Highlands" you may even find the Snake Spirit of Glen Etive portrayed—a being I will not attempt to describe.

A WRITER.

DEPRECATING THE COLOUR BAR.

WORK OF THE NEW JOINT COUNCIL.

[SPECIALLY REPORTED FOR "WEST AFRICA."]

On April 24, at Friends' House, Euston Road, was held the inaugural meeting of the new Joint Council to Promote Understanding Between White and Coloured People in Great Britain. Sir Francis Younghusband, President of the Joint Council, in the chair, said that the prejudice was not unnatural. When a boy at Clifton College, he was conscious of having many prejudices, but as one grew up and learned to know one's fellow-men, these prejudices should drop away. The races of mankind were basically the same. He extolled the work of the Friends in promoting this unification of peoples.

Sir Norman Angell, M.P., remarked on the fact that there was no colour prejudice in the modern French Colonies. The Coloured population talked of themselves not as "we Negroes," but as "we French." He thought there were elements of hope in the present situation. It was possible to suggest to the British a better way of treating the Colour problem than at present. He deprecated assumption of superiority on the part of the White man. This was contrary to the code of the gentleman. He thought great writers had not done their duty. Instead of decrying Colour prejudice they passed on the wrong suggestion and added to the flames. In bringing in a counter-suggestion we should not ask too much. Admission of fundamental equality did not necessarily imply inter-marriage of the White and Coloured races. When making contacts between different races the test should be civilisation over-riding all differences, the capacity so to make as not to intrude on other people's rights. That condition might exclude as many White as Coloured. We should not ask for the union of the civilised and uncivilised.

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Mr. Evelyn Wrench, editor of the "Spectator," said that mileage did not matter. It was inherent; Etonians used to regard a third-rate power. He thought the B.B.C. an Imperial problem. Colonel Lawrence of Arabia said that prejudice was unholy beings. Colour prejudice was or third-rate spiritual equipment which made of a country a second-Harrow boys as unholy beings. Colour prejudice was ment might do something to influence public opinion. The B.B.C. the crucial question was—were the "Brown Dominions" to see a conference of all nations, including Great Britain, to have their fair share in raising up the British Commonwealth? He referred to the improved state of feeling in Britain about the Indian question, yet one Maoris were treated in an enlightened fashion with could hear people saying, "If Britain loses India, then no prejudice.

Race Problem - 1931

Africa

LIBERIAN AFFAIRS.

By A Liberian.

Ever since the publication of the Report of the International Commission of Inquiry, set up by the Liberian Government to inquire into the question of Slave Trade and forced labour or analogous conditions that were said to be existing in that country, there have appeared in various English newspapers criticisms, utter presentations and what is more, insulting remarks against the said Government. Weekly News

It is when I read some of these unnecessary and uncalled for comments made against Liberia by would-be benefactors for the indigenous people of Dark Africa and their very zealous newspaper editors that I ask myself and others interested in Liberia's welfare, the question, 'Is Liberia, the worst existing Government in the world to-day?' The answer comes back in the negative. Hemmed as she is between two great Powers she has held her own place in the civilised world and proved herself capable. This fact is known with a certainty that needs no corroboration, otherwise she would never have been accepted as a foundation member of the League of Nations. If Liberia has failed to keep pace with other nations in the steady march of progress, it is only along financial lines and that cannot be put down to lack of good administration. The Government pays annually over forty thousand dollars to American Fiscal Officers whose duty is to devise plans to improve the financial condition of the country. As far as the financial system of Liberia is concerned they have plenary powers and there are instances in the records of Liberian Legislature where these Officers have their positions. defined

There can be no doubt that the International Commission of Inquiry conducted an *ex-parte* investigation and went so far as to exceed its jurisdiction. The Report is certainly not in accordance with the terms of reference drawn up by the Liberian Government. Although the validity of such a report could have been questioned, the Republic willingly accepted without reservation the recommendations and suggestions of the Commission. Nothing can prove this better than the Acts of Legislature, (i.) Empowering the President to engage Foreign Administrators for service in the Liberian Hinterland (ii). Granting unrestricted trade facilities to Aliens in the Interior of Liberia and (iii.) Authorizing the Attorney-General to institute immediate legal proceedings against persons whose names are found in the Report as guilty of any offences under the Terms of Reference. Why then, may I ask under the circumstances must Liberia be mandated?

The *Elders West African Review*, a newly emancipated moral influence, seems to be catering for all the bad opinions that can be expressed on Liberia but has only succeeded in publishing comments from persons who have not the remotest idea of Liberia, its Government and people. All those who contributed to the "Astounding Symposium" except one, either have never visited Liberia or went through that country with their eyes closed. It is a fact that one writer who, visited Liberia sometime ago, after having been accorded all possible facilities and assistance by the Liberian Government for Big Game Hunting, proceeded to one or two obscure places in the interior and returned home satisfied with his experiences in Liberia. When his book came out, and from all the information it contained of Liberia, I can only say that he might have succeeded much better, had he attempted to write about the inhabitants of the planet Mars, their habits and Government. **Thus Liberia has become the hunting ground for every kind of speculators and at the end she is daubed a hopeless failure.'**

One writer, however, a Liberian to all intents and purposes, in whom we feel the hands of Esau but hear the voice of Jacob, states emphatically that Liberia for the past one hundred years has been controlled solely by so-called Americo-Liberians, that it has failed to defend its constitution and therefore must be purged and placed in the hands of undefiled administrators.

If he is a Liberian at all, I wonder that he exhibits such ignorance of the affairs of his own country. The Republic of Liberia is only 84 years old and since the Government was established, aborigines have held high official positions, including that of the Vice-Presidency of the Republic. At the last presidential campaign, one of these sons of the soil, but for malfeasance in office, would have been a possible candidate for the presidency. To claim then that Americo-Liberians have solely controlled Liberia for the past 100 years is highly exaggerated if not wholly untruthful.

I wonder why he did not suggest instead that the great United States of America be called to account for making such a bungling failure in defending its own fourteenth and fifteenth Constitutional amendments, which give negroes of that Country equal rights with the whites, or for failing to ban lynching and peonage. I wonder what he would say of some of the "undefiled Administrators" and the unjust outrage against two aborigines in connection with the Idara disturbances in Sierra Leone, Whenever in the History of Liberia have natives, after having been acquitted by the Supreme Court, been again arrested in another circuit where there was no eminent counsel, tried for an analogous offence by the same Justice who acquitted them and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. There is no doubt that Liberia like every other nation has difficulties, especially at present when the entire world is on the verge of a fateful disaster. A nation, unsophisticated for the most part, as Liberia is, ought to be shown a great deal of consideration, and not merciless criticisms at the hands of mandate propagandists. Nations with varied experiences covering over a century of African administration can testify, if they care, to the fact that the aboriginal element in Africa is still sensitive and suspicious. The recent disturbances in Sierra Leone connected with one Idara, prove beyond doubt that the native is subdued but not satisfied. If a Commission of Inquiry, such as was connected in Liberia were to be instituted in Sierra Leone or any other West African Colony, the world would be shocked with the dissatisfaction, outrages and cruelties that will be revealed.

It would seem therefore to any rational being that the white man's policy towards the Negro is purely and simply 'Do what I tell you and not as I do.' To the Negro he prates on equality between the freeman and the slave and is himself a slave owner. With himself he applies and practices the doctrine of Aristotle who says in his Ethics "He who suffers injury and does not retaliate is cowardly and slavish." He turns around, injures and insults his Negro cousin and then preaches Christ and forgiveness to him.

In fairness and justice, everyone will admit that Liberia is doing its best to put on the necessary reforms. It is written over the entrance of the Pensylvania University College "In the dust of defeat as well as in the laurels of victory, there is glory to be found if one has done his best."

We hope when the League of Nations, which was established in the name of justice, decides, it will not be unmindful of this fact. That it will take into consideration Liberia's merits as well and whatever the decision is, we are hopeful it will not materially affect the autonomy of the only Negro Independent State in Africa.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

To His Excellency Arnold Wienholt Hodson, Esq, C.M.G., Governor and Commander-in-Chief and Vice Admiral of the Colony and Protectorate of Sierra Leone.

May it please Your Excellency,—We the undersigned on behalf of ourselves and other Settlers deem it a great honour and privilege to extend to Your Excellency a cordial welcome on this your first visit to the Southern Province.

We have noted with interest and satisfaction, your beneficent policy as expressed in your first utterance, on your assumption of High Office as Governor and Commander-in-Chief, etc. of Ancient and Loyal Sierra Leone.

Permit us to mention, that in so far as the present code of Education in the Protectorate is concerned, we would stress the desirability of our children having equal facilities in the Rural Schools, as those in the Colony Schools.

We pray that you may be guided and strengthened, especially during this Epoch of world-wide trade depression, to carry out your schemes.

It has given us a great degree of pleasure to observe, that His Majesty the King has honoured us with a Message through you. This has filled us with pride and gratefulness. We humbly ask that Your Excellency tender our profound appreciation and thanks to His Majesty, assuring Him of our Loyal devotion, to His Throne and Person.

We hope that during your administration, we will continue as heretofore to enjoy the blessings of peace and security and that your day will be crowned with prosperity and goodwill.

We would be remiss in our duty not to wish for you and your dear partner the best of health, and a right hearty welcome in anticipation on her joining you here.

And when the time arrives for you to bid adeiu to this dependency for greater usefulness in His Majesty's Service, Your Excellency on retrospection, will be filled with pride and satisfaction in what you have been able to accomplish, towards the progress and stability of the people committed to your charge. We remain, Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servants,

H. G. Handu, V. Ekun Roberts, S. W. Rogers, G. C. Taylor, W. E. Clarke, Nicot Sadd, Sulima V. Jaliaja, Naomi Solomon, J. D. Macauley, D. W. Macauley.

Kailahun,

26th August, 1931.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1931

The Basutoland Council.

The Council 9-16-31

The Basutoland Council is due to hold its annual session next month. As usual the people are in the dark as to what matters will be discussed when the august body meets. Of course the Basuto are not surprised that it is so. Year after year they have always complained that the Council does not represent them, it only represents the chiefs who are taking great care to guard their interests and have little or almost nothing to do for the people. During the reign of the founder of this nation the Basuto had a voice in the affairs of the territory for he used to say that the country belonged to the people and h could do nothing without their consent. Those were the times when a chief could not be a chief unless the people had confidence in him, and the chief knew that he could not face his enemies without the support of his people. To day conditions have changed. There are no more outside enemies to be feared. The chiefs enjoy the British Governments protection and not care whether the people have confidence in them or not. The chief's words is law ond he has to be obeyed. A chief or a sub-chief in his own word is almost independent and if he ill-treats his people very little is done to check him.

The big question we are asking is whether protection is for the Basuto chiefs only and not for the Basuto people? The Government is convinced that Native administration should be improved and systematised. The chiefs through the Council are opposed to any reforms and things are allowed to continue to drift.

The second big question we are asking is whether Basutoland is governed for the good of the Basuto? If she is governed for the good of the Basuto it is essential that the Government should ascertain the wishes and views of the Basuto on matters that affect them instead of relying on chiefs as they are aware that they do not properly represent the people. It is time the constitution of the Council should be amended to meet the wishes of the people. There may be some difficulties in achieving this, but we believe that they are not insurmountable. Basutoland, like the rest of the world, is faced with financial difficulties, and the outlook is gloomy. What plans are the Council contemplating to carry the people over these hard times? A suggestion has been hazarded in the Basutoland News" of the 15th Inst. that Basutoland Government should undertake mining in the territory in order to provide work for the Basuto. So far as we know the same suggestion was made by the Basutoland Progressive Association though we do not know how it was accepted by the chiefs of course we know that the chiefs are conservative and naturally are opposed to mining. However it would be for the interests of the Basuto and chiefs for the Government to undertake prospecting in the territory to find ont how much truth there is in the belief that the territory is rich in mineral-wealth If minerals do exist they should be worked out for the benefit of the Basuto. If none is found then we shall be in the light of the fact that the territory has no mineral wealth and then we can do our best to develop what little resources there are to be worked for the good of the territory and its people. It is better to know how much heritage there is for one whether bsg or small than to harbour a nation that you have an immense heritage when in the in the end it would be discovered to be merely a bogus wealth.

TWO AFRICAN BOYS FIND HARLEM ODD

Can't Understand How Persons of Their Own Color Can Own Automobiles.

N.Y. Times, July 6/31

AMUSED BY THE ELEVATED

Motor Cars Turning This Way and That at Corners Brings Comment, "These People Must Be Crazy."

N.Y. Times

The two Uganda boys who were brought from Central Africa to Central Park last week by Mr. and Mrs. Martin Johnson to take care of the animals which they also brought with them were taken yesterday to look at Western civilization as represented by New York and at its effect on people of their own color as seen in Harlem.

July 6/31

The two Africans have insisted on staying in the zoo, where they sleep on the floor of a vacant pen in the elephant house, with the Johnsons' three gorillas and two chimpanzees as companions and with an elephant in the next pen as their nearest neighbor. The two large gorillas are caged, but the forty-pound baby gorilla and the two chimpanzees about the same size are permitted the freedom of the pen by the two black boys. Neither has ever slept in a bed.

The sightseeing day of the Ugandas started yesterday afternoon, when Mr. Johnson brought them by automobile from the zoo to the Johnsons' apartment at the St. Moritz Hotel to be interviewed by Henry Lee Moon of The Amsterdam News.

Required an Interpreter.

Mr. Moon's ancestors came from Africa so long ago that he had to ask Mr. Johnson to act as interpreter. He wanted to know what reactions the aboriginal Africans had to Western civilization.

Mr. Johnson explained that it would probably take days of listening to their casual conversation when they were not noticing the attention, before some illuminating comment would come from them. Mr. Moon suggested that they be taken for a ride through Harlem so that they might observe people of their own color leading a civilized life.

On the way to Harlem the first reaction which Mr. Johnson salvaged from the conversation in Swahili of the volubly chatting Uganda boys was a comment on the skyline; that these American people build nests in the air, like birds.

Fifth Avenue became understandable to them when it was called a "government road." Mr. Johnson said that the only good roads in Uganda are government roads. Fifth Avenue, he told the two boys, was an exceptionally fine government road.

Accustomed to Motor Cars.

They were accustomed to automobiles. Even through the Congo, there are roads on which automobiles are used by white people; and at the Nairobi home which the Johnsons established in Africa twelve years ago, there are twelve automobiles. The automobile traffic on Fifth Avenue and its intersections, however, brought from them the judgment that these people must all be crazy; some want to go this way, some want to go that way, some cross from this hand, some cross to that hand; evidently they do not know where they are going.

Although they knew about automobiles, street cars were a novelty. An elevated train turning high in the air around the Eighth Avenue curve at 110th Street, stirred their amusement. They thought it ridiculous to have a train up in the air, and moving without a locomotive. It had no head, they said.

In Harlem they found much that seemed strange to them, most of all, these colored people who dressed and talked like whites and drove in automobiles. They always had seen whites in automobiles. They inquired about it. They were told these people owned their own automobiles. How could a black man get so much money they asked incredulously? They earn $4 a month in Uganda.

At the office of The Amsterdam News, on Seventh Avenue at 135th Street, they were posed and photographed repeatedly, while a large crowd gathered, and wondered who they were and why each was wearing a red fez, topping a striped sport shirt, blue sport jacket, gray flannel trousers and tan shoes.

Two Negro girls stopped and smiled at them, and said, "We read about you in THE TIMES this morning." The older Uganda boy grinned and used the two words of English which he had already acquired at the zoo, "Hello, yes!"

On the way back to the zoo they said the people of Harlem were good people.

Race Problem - 1931

Africa

FOURAH BAY COLLEGE, SIERRA LEONE. West African

From Sierra Leone comes a book with the title: 'The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College." It is compiled by Mr. T. J. Thompson, B.A., B.C.L., editor of the "West African Mail," the well-known Sierra Leone weekly, and is published at the office of that paper. 1-10-31

It is a quarto volume of some 200 pages. It has more than 70 photographs, some being pictures of the college and the secondary schools of Freetown, some groups of students and staff on various ceremonial occasions, some portraits of past Principals and Tutors, and of former students who in after-college days have attained to positions of eminence in Church and State.

The book is an African production through and through, and as such it must be judged. It owes its inception to African initiative. African brains planned its structure, compiled and, to a large extent, penned its contents. African skill produced and reproduced the photographs. African hands printed and bound the volume, and African capital provided the machinery and financed the whole London Eng

When this is remembered, we have no hesition in describing the volume as an extremely creditable production. We whole-heartedly welcome it, and trust that the sale will be such as to encourage the compiler to fresh ventures of faith and courage. Courage, particularly, is needed, for the book must run the gauntlet of European criticism, a point on which African public opinion is sensitive. Those who criticise unkindly have probably only the faintest conception of the difficulties overcome, and inadequately realise how much the compiler is dependent on their commendation for the wherewithal to obtain up-to-date equipment for the better production of his next venture. "Rome was not built in a day," nor was the perfection of present-day book-production in Great Britain attained without great cost and prolonged effort. British publishers learnt their art in the School of Experience. West African publishers must attend the same school, and so we say to the compiler a hearty *Okushe! Okushe!* You do well, go on, and prosper!"

And now for the contents. Our first comment is that the book is bigger than its title. The title suggests a single occasion, the book traces the college's history from the outset. This it does by reproducing the beginnings of a formal history written by a former Principal, and then adding a series of pen-pictures of successive Principals written in each instance by a student of the period.

This method has two obvious defects. From 1858, the date at which the formal history stops, the picture is of individuals, rather than of the institution, and those individuals are Europeans, a fact which does not accord with Mr. Thompson's praiseworthy purpose. To overcome these defects, Mr. Thompson seizes upon a few outstanding events in the college's story,—the affiliation to Durham University in 1876, the financial crisis of 1906-13, the introduction of Wesleyan co-operation in 1917-18—and he vivifies them by unearthing and printing *in extenso* a series of contemporary documents which he weaves into one coherent narrative by material of which he himself supplies the warp and woof. The result is a story of uneven historical value, with apparently little discrimination between the permanently important and the trivial and ephemeral.

But that is a superficial view. Mr. Thompson has made the most of the material which was to him available. If he could have crossed the ocean, he might have amplified his material manifold, but the additional matter would only have served to emphasise the European side of the college's story, which was precisely what Mr. Thompson did not wish to do. He sought rather to trace the oft-forgotten, always depreciated, African share in the working out of the college's destiny; and for this he deserves only our grateful thanks.

What, for instance, could be more illuminating than the light which Mr. Thompson throws on the circumstances which led up to the affiliation in 1876? Most of us, even those of us whose privilege it has been to work at the college, have thought of the affiliation as the spontaneous act of the C.M.S., manifesting its supreme concern for the African's educational salvation. We now see that it was the sequel to an agitation which was purely African in origin, an agitation which, but for this master-stroke, might have resulted in the Colony (then more exclusively Christian than now) having foisted upon it under the ægis of the Government an institution theoretically secular, practically Mohameddan. We need not abate one jot of our appreciation of the part played by the C.M.S. in the matter, but we must needs supplement it by a more adequate appreciation of the part played by the leaders of public thought in Sierra Leone.

And it is in ways such as this that we think this book of Mr. Thompson's will find its niche. But if it serves as the quarry whence future craftsmen may draw materials for a more balanced story of the college's life and work, it will have justified its production, and will prove of abiding value.

Limits of space preclude any account of the occasion which furnishes the title of this book. Still more of the hundred years of work which made that occasion possible. All that is "another story" and must wait for another opportunity.

J. D.

A GREAT AFRICAN RULER.

"Khama the Conqueror." By A. E. Southon. (Atlantis Press, 7, Carlisle Avenue, E.C.3. 2s. 6d. net.)

In writing the story of one who has become perhaps the best-known of great African rulers, the Rev. A. E. Southon describes his work as an historical novel, but it would be more accurate to regard it as a connected series of true sketches of an adventurous career, the career of one who in turn showed himself the possessor of every virtue that civilisation could demand. Khama had the physical courage and endurance of the hunter and the warrior, and the moral courage of the pioneer reformer, and Mr. Southon in his admiration of the central character in his book does not neglect to show that Sekhome, Khama's witch-doctor father, was possessed of many of the same virtues, although his non-Christian outlook led to a very different application of them, and so ultimately to his complete downfall. The problems with which Khama was faced were those that beset the West African ruler of the present day, and included those, like the modification of objectionable customs and the restriction of liquor consumption, that led to internal difficulties, those that, like liquor restriction again, led to difficulties with European traders, and external menaces such as the military prowess of the Matabele and the more subtle dangers from concession-seeking companies. How Khama successfully fought against each in turn and lived to celebrate, a year before his death at the age of over 90, his jubilee, makes as interesting reading as that of any career throughout Africa, and if Mr. Southon would stop using the word "stool" in connection with the appurtenances of Bamangwato royalty, his book would contain no handle for even the most meticulous critic.

THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO.

(Black Culture versus White Culture)

Sierra Leone Weekly News

III.—(FINAL),

By O. T. George.

Vol. XLVII

Nov. 12

ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES.—Let us now turn to the subject of Anthropology, with particular reference to Craniology, on which, the Caucasian is so wrongfully fond of basing his opinion of race superiority and inferiority.

Our object is to demonstrate that the relative cubic capacities of the brains of average racial units, though ample proof of greater or lesser intellectual labour, cannot be accepted by us as the crucial test of race superiority or inferiority. To accept this would be pulling a premium on the animal powers of man, over, and above his moral or spiritual powers.

The demonstration is self-evident from a transcript of part of an unpublished work of the writer which reads as under: Freetown

The Caucasian is not morally the superior of the Mongol the Negro or the Australoid; the Asiatic or the Polynesian. He is simply the child of circumstance and opportunities, which he has made the best advantage of; and this is particularly true of the Anglo-Saxon, the most advanced of the Caucasian group. 1-10-31

The subject of racial superiority usually raises the issue of Anthropological research, with particular reference to Craniology. But it should principally include Comparative Ethics, which is more important to the inquiry. Some Anthropologists and Morphologists assess the average cranial capacity of the Australoid—the lowest existing specie of the human genius—at 1,300 cubic centimetres; that of the Negro at 1,450 cubic centimetres; that of the Negroid and advanced Negroes at 1,580 cubic centimetres; and that of the Caucasian Asiatic Mongol and Polynesian, at 1,600 cubic centimetres. Prince Bismarck's brain gives a record of 1,900 cubic centimetres!

The merit of Ethics or moral conduct on the other hand, is quite beyond the scope of Craniology. The new biological contention that climatic conditions may determine and change conduct from good to evil and vice versa, is purely craniological. It is out of the scope of moral or spiritual influence; for the power of the spirit is unchangeable under whatever physical conditions. Logical conclusions on ethical qualities from craniological propositions are therefore absurdities.

A good man may not necessarily be an intellectually strong man. The late Prince Bismarck of Germany may have been the intellectual superior of the late Rev. J. C. May of Sierra Leone (the writer's School Principal); but it is very probable, that the latter gentleman, was the moral superior of the former.

Christ taught that the criterion of greatness is service. Now, the Negro race has the greatest record of service, in its inter-racial relations, and in this moral respect, is the superior or greater, of any other race. Ethics depends upon spiritual influence for its Potency; and the source of that influence is outside of the physical entity; from Divine inspiration of which the heart, is the sole focus of penetration. This is the whole crux of religion. Thus while the Caucasian possesses a greater brain volume through *persistent intellectual activities* the Negro certainly possesses a larger heart through *persistent and altruistic moral conduct*

It had been the intention of the writer to fully demonstrate how the Negro and Australoid in their intermixture are the forbears of the Caucasian; and that subsequent intermixture of the three, in a simple or complex manner, called into being the Asiatic, Mongol and Polynesian. Space would however not permit this. The writer has dealt fully on the subject, in his unpublished work in hand.

Some American biologists and anthropologists are keen on insisting upon a polyphyletic theory of human evolution, as opposed to the generally accepted endemic theory. This new theory insists on the direct decent of the proto-caucasian from some anthropoids, this avoiding the obvious decent of the caucasian from the intermixture of the Negro and Australoid. The new theory is spasmodic, and very much in keeping with American hostility to the Aframerican. The high cranial capacity of the Caucasian however defeats its authenticity. There is not a race in the world, which has not hereditarily in its veins, some degree of infiltration of Negro blood, with the only exception of the Australoid—the *Homo Primigenus* human specie.

The continous phenomenon of *albinos* is corroborative evidence of the decent of the "white" race from the black. Recently an eminent Japanese doctor and biologist, whose name has been unfortunately omitted from the writer's notes and who has been experimenting in America among Amerindians claims that through his special process he could transform the physical appearance of blacks to whites. Such an artificial transformation is yet to be seen.

The continuous phenomenon of *Albinos* through the procreation of Negro parents, we say, is corroborative evidence of the endemic theory of human evolution from a *distinctive type* of *Anthropoids* to the *Australoid*, and from the Australoid to the *Negro specie*. The Australoid being the *Homo Primigenus* type, and the Negro its *differentiated specie*, through procreation and adaptation in new environments.

The converse phenomenon of Albinos is unknown in the world of Science. The recently reported birth, through the English papers of white Negro, and Indian children by a white mother, should not (granting its correctness) be accepted as a phenomenon. *It is not continuous. It is therefore a freak of nature.*

Cameroons
September 30, 1930.

WHITE LABOUR FORCE INCREASE.

A large increase in the number of people employed in industry in South Africa has taken place during the last fourteen years.

Figures quoted from the last Industrial Census by the Labour Gazette (published by the Department of Labour) show that during 1928-29, 7,150 factories employing 184,875 persons, of whom 168,393 were Europeans, paid £20,258,000 in salaries and wages and used raw material valued at £51,648,000. The value of the output was £97,443,000. South African raw materials accounted for £27,788,000. Since 1916 the European labour force has increased by 50,000.

COLOURED APPRENTICES

The Cape Town Technical College has, like most institutions in South Africa, a colour bar. As a result of the agitation of the Cape Town Coloured People, provision for Non-Europeans was made a few years ago at the so-called Harrington Street Extension of the Technical College. Coloured writers in the press are now complaining that the number of enrolments at this "Jim Crow" training centre are rapidly falling off. The cause appears to be the lack of openings in skilled trades for Coloured youths. Employers are giving white youths preference from political and economic motives.

The Coloured workers, through whose demands the institution was originally set up, must adopt a more militant attitude towards this problem. The majority of the trade unions in the Cape Town area have a large Coloured membership (60 to 80 per cent. in some cases). They must use their trade union strength to insist on full representation for Coloured workers on the apprenticeship committees. They should insist on a definite quota of Non-European apprentices. They should also demand the abolition of the educational barrier (Standard VI.) unless there is free primary education for Non-Europeans as for Europeans.

Coloured workers, refuse to sit down under the colour bar! Demand equal rights of entry into skilled occupations!

Umsebenzi, Cape Town

NATIVE PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA.

"A Proletariat or a Nation."

DURBAN, January 21.

Mr. Heaton Nicholls, leader of the Natal branch of the South African Party, and a member of the Select Committee of the House of Assembly which for more than two years has been engaged in the consideration of General Hertzog's native Bills, in the course of a speech yesterday said that, without betraying secrets of the Committee, he could say that a large measure of agreement had been reached, that complete agreement was possible, and when that agreement took place, as he hoped it would, it would carry the approval of all political parties as well as the approval of the most intelligent and representative leaders of the native people.

That agreement, Mr. Nicholls added, was only possible if it provided for the dominance of Europeans for a period as far distant as it was possible to see, and at the same time offered the native people a paramountcy of native interests in native areas. Whether they liked it or not, the native of South Africa was being moulded into a conscious whole, and whether this should end in the development of a black proletariat at the base of a European dictatorship, or whether the native was to be directed into a conscious Bantu national channel, was for them now to say.

If they did not follow the latter course the complete detribalisation of the natives and their assimilation with Europeans would follow, and this would involve lower wages all round and a lower standard of living. It meant a dwindling white population, and eventually a population completely mixed and bastardised. They had to choose whether they should create a Bantu proletariat or a Bantu nation.—The Times."

AFRICA'S SHARE IN COTTON PRODUCTION

The average weekly import of raw cotton with Great Britain in the five weeks ended 2nd January, was higher than the previous five weeks. Total arrivals amounted to 384,448 bales. The total import for the first twenty-two weeks of the current season totalled 1,108,275 bales, a quantity lower than that in a like period of 1929-30 season. "Spot" sales, in the same period of twenty-two weeks, have covered 567,930 bales, the total amount sold on "spot" being about 20 per cent. lower than that covered in sales in the corresponding period of last year. According to the Weekly Cotton Circular of the Liverpool Cotton Association, the sales have included, up to 2nd January, 1931, 225,000 bales American, 74,410 Brazilian, 19,240 Argentine, etc.; 18,560 Perurian, 20,550 Egyptian, 27,280 Sudan (of which 20,200 bales were Sakellaridis), 2.030 West Indian, 18,470 East African, 6,030 South African, 14,490 West African, and 40,350 East Indian, etc.

It will be seen from the foregoing figures that Africa, including Egypt, is playing an important part in the production of cotton, notwithstanding that, as compared with the other countries from which larger supplies are forthcoming, she is the youngest competitor.

KEEPING THE BLACK MAN DOWN.

To the Editor of the Weekly News

Sir,—Please favour me by publishing in your valuable journal an article, under the above caption from the *Johannesburg Star* pointing out in a realistic form "the evil results of an evil policy."

The Europeans as a race, are doing all they can in South East and West Africa to keep the black man down. The ancient philosophers discovered by intuition, an axiomatic fact that those whom the gods would destroy they first infatuate or make mad. The writer of that remarkable article found out that the white man from his uncivilized and unchristian attitude towards the black man in South Africa has grown up or developed there "a huge unemployed army of poor whites who are pushing from pillar to post, and suffering the most extreme evils of poverty, landlessness, and economic insecurity." If our white brothers only knew and believe that there is a God above who judgeth righteously and who has laid down the unchangeable law of nature that "whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap," their attitude to the black man would be different; but since they started that stupid idea that the absence of colour in their skin is a mark of superiority, they have been incurring God's displeasure, forgetting as Rev. Fraser of Achimota, in his learned contribution in the *Elders Review*, said quoting from Cicero, that they were once slaves whom the Latins regarded as stupid and ugly and unfit for anything.

Now that they are on the stage of life where every nation has its exits and its entrances, the evil results of their evil policy are beginning to open them up for ridicule. South Africa. Our advice to all Afric[illegible] whether living North or South, East or West, is that we should continue to be patient under this white man's cross and burden, seeing that there is such a thing as *retributive justice*. Our common Father is above beholding these things and He knows how to reward the evil for their doings. And who can tell, seeing the rapid developments that are taking place in Africa, and the training and experience of the black man in America and the wealth that Africa possesses which is as yet untouched whether this centre of Africa will not become—the centre of christian civilization by the black man who will then teach the inhabitants of the world the true righteousness of GOD. M.

APPOINTMENT OF AN AFRICAN AS POLICE MAGISTRATE FOR LAGOS.

We rejoice whole heartedly with the people of Lagos at the appointment of Mr. Olumuyiwa Jibowu, M.A., (Oxon). B.C.L., Barrister-at-Law at the offer of the position and his acceptance of the Police Magistracy of that Colony.

Mr. Jibowu whose career is a brilliant one, and filters with such Honours is a great pride to the race and a great honour to West Africa.

We confidently hope that he will discharge the onerous duties so imposed on him first to the glory of God, also to the betterment of his race and country, and the Great Empire, which has called him to such a service.

We congratulate him, the people at Lagos West Africa generally while commending him to the Great Keeper of Righteousness Justice and Peace.

We wish for him a long lease of life in the position he has secured.

Race Problem – 1931

Africa

THE QUESTION MARK OF AFRICA.

By Lord Lothian,

'We are dealing with a new Africa,' says Lord Lothian, summing up the recent symposium on the Dark Continent: he finds the new Africa's most urgent problem in the question, Where is political power to reside?

It is my task here to try to extract an answere from eleven earlier addresses to the great question mark of Africa. It is not an easy task, for so many of the factors are uncertain or unknown. But certain leading ideas stand out clearly. Weekly News

The first is that we are dealing with a new Africa. The picture of Africa which most people carry in their minds is still the picture which was drawn in the age, which began little more than half a century ago and has scarcely yet come to an end, when Central Africa was explored for the first time. It is a picture of primitive and naked savages, of slave trading gradually suppressed by European governments, of benevolent missionaries teaching the simple verities to respectful flocks, of traders exchanging beads and blankets and rifles for ivory and skins and gold, of scandals about 'red rubber' in the Congo and other atrocities, of tropical diseases.

I do not know that this picture was ever particularly true. It was certainly not complete. But even in so far as it was once a true picture of Central Africa, it is a picture which is rapidly disappearing. Africa is being transformed at incredible speed by exactly the same forces as are transforming the rest of the modern world. Victorian England has almost disappeared. So also has Victorian Africa, the Dark and unknown Africa of the story book, picture papers and legend.

Africa's Transformation.—What are the forces which have brought about these changes in Africa? In the forefront I should put the fact that all Africa has now been brought under settled government of a modern type. Chaotic Africa—the Africa of countless tribes and minor kingships, with ever shifting tribal boundaries, constant wars, and nothing like what we call a common civilisation of its own, that is, a system of government, an economic structure, a literature, a long recorded history, covering a major part of the continent—has gone. Six European Powers, Great Britain, France, Portugal, Italy, Belgium and Spain, and one African Power—the Union of South Africa—now control all Africa except Abyssinia and Liberia, between them. Their rule has not always been an unmixed blessing. On the contrary, in some respects it has been at times a curse. None the less, the *Pax Europæ* reigns practically undisturbed over Africa as a whole. That has been a factor of prodigious importance. For not only has it meant the ending of the old chaos, but that the tremendous forces of modern civilization have been brought to bear upon Africa, under European supervision and direction. Africa, so to speak, has not controlled its own transformation by modern civilisation, the structure of government within which native Africa is awakening to life has been built and managed for it by six European Powers. 1-24-31

The second main force which is changing Africa is economics. Fifty years ago there was scarcely a single road in Central Africa. There was nothing save the meandering native tracks and a few slave routes, and nothing but a few fragile canoes on its rivers and lakes To-day every year sees hundreds of miles of new railways and motor roads, to say nothing of steamer routes and aerodromes. Consider what this means. It means that traders come from all the other continents to exchange everything that civilisation can sell for what the African can buy. It means the investment of capital in mines, in plantations, in factories, which add immensely to the consuming power of the African through the wages paid, because almost for the first time in history he is getting money wages. It means the gradual adoption of new methods of cultivation, the introduction of new food products and the opening of new sources of employment for the Africans themselves. It means not only a rapid expansion of the old standards of living, but a tremendous dislocation of tribal and social life.

But economic forces have not affected the natives of Africa alone. They have drawn into Africa the European and the Asiatic not merely as temporary residents, as missionaries commercial travellers or government servants, but as permanent settlers. The settlement area for non-Africans has hitherto been mainly Algeria in the far north, and the immense highland area which stretches through South and East Africa for more than 3,000 miles from Cape Town in the South to Kenya and Abyssinia in the North.east. This highland area varies greatly in altitude, but averages between 3,000 and 4,000 feet. Almost everywhere along it both the white man and the Asiatic have begun to take root and to flourish and multiply. In the Union of South Africa there are 1,500,000 Europeans as against 6,000,000 Africans. In the zone between the Limpopo and Kenya there are already nearly 70,000 whites, and their numbers are increasing every year. On both areas there are some hundreds of thousands of Indians. Freetown Sierra Leone

European and Asiatic Invasion.—There are many people who believe that the white race cannot settle in the tropics, even at a considerable altitude, and maintain its vitality. I dissent from this view. I am certain that science will discover, as it has already largely discorvered, how to temper the rigours of the tropics to the European mind and body. I would go farther. I am convinced that it is only a question of time for both Europe and Asia to overflow into Africa. Africa, the largest of all the continents except Asia, is extraodinarily thinly populated. It has fewer than 150 000,000 inhabitants as against the 475,000,000 people in Europe, a continent only one-third of its size, and the 1,013,000,000 people in Asia. Nothing, in my opinion, can prevent the ever-increasing settlement of Europeans and Asiatics in Africa. It may come slowly or it may come fast. But it will come. North and South America, Australia and New Zealand have been filled by the overflow of Europe—transported not by political but by economic forces. Exactly the same process will happen in Africa also, as its resources are opened up. Migration is among those tidal processes of human history, which may be moulded or directed for a few years, but which is fundamentally beyond conscious human control. But in what proportion the various racial ingredients will mingle in Africa no one can safely prophecy.

This brings me to the last of the elements which are transforming Africa to-day—politics. In the last century the politics of Africa were mainly diplomatic—how was the the continent to be divided among the Great Powers? To-day its politics are quite different, They concern the problems raised by the economic development I have already described and the racial and colour issued which follow the settlement in the same country of white, black and brown races, all in a state of rapid development.

Let me set forth some examples. The majority of the Anglo-Saxon and Dutch residents in East and Southern Africa have a strong conviction that the maintenance of civilised standards of living in Africa requires that political control should remain in the hands of the white race, and that there should be no inter-marriage between the two colours. This conviction has led naturally to an attempt to keep the African native as an unskilled manual labourer and to reserve skilled work for Europeans only. Yet the African as he becomes educated bitterly resents a policy which must seek to keep him in permanent inferiority to and dependent on the white race. This resentment is intensified when, as in the Union, the white man has taken most of the land for his own use so that the native cannot go on living on his own reserves and has to become an industrial proletariat in the towns. That is one problem, Yet its difficulties are bound to be aggravated in the future by two other facts. In those parts of Central Africa which are controlled by the Latin races an almost exactly opposite policy is being pursued. There has been little European settlement, there is much less prejudice against miscegenation, and the African is being encouraged to train and equip himself to do all the economic work, skilled as well as unskilled, of which he is capable. Again, in West Africa, which is under British control, where there is a very large African population and almost no white settlement, the beginnings of a Parliamentary system are being introduced. And the local outcome of this must be that the African inhabitants will in due time become responsible for their own governments. How are these three conflicting systems to be reconciled in an Africa which is rapidly being unified by the railway, the motor, the aeroplane, and the Press?

Levelling-Up.—Let us turn again to the political problems of the Southern and Eastern Islands which are under British and Dutch Settlement and control. There has been a lot of controversy about them in the papers recently, as you all know. The assumption of the European when he first settled in Africa was that the African was by nature a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water for the superior civilised man. And for a time the facts seemed to warrant this conclusion. The native regarded the white man as a miracle worker and was quite content to come out and work for wages for him. But what are the facts to-day? The gulf between black and white is lessening. On the one hand, there are more than 100,000 poor whites in South Africa, people, that is, who have no land of their own, who cannot live on the very low wages paid to the native labourer, yet who are not worth a skilled wage. The old superiority of the white race is disappearing. On the other hand, the African is rapidly rising in the scale. There are to-day tens of thousands not only of capable mechanics and agriculturists but thousands of competent lawyers, doctors, business men and religious leaders as well. Just consider the tremendous readjustment of social and political relations in Africa which is looming ahead in these respects.

A Rising Tide of Independence.—There is yet another aspect of the problem. Great Britain has always been rightly proud of its reputation for befriending the underdog in the world. Though at one time it was a principal profiteer from the slave trade, it was later the principal agent in securing the abolition both of the slave trade and of slavery. To-day its administrative work in the more backward areas of Africa is as good, if not better, than ever before in history. But even the doctrine of trusteeship is changing. The African, following the Asiatic, is gradually ceasing to be content with being protected and supervised and led by the benevolent Briton—whether he be government officer or missionary. He is beginning—though still only in small degree—to claim the right to stand on his own legs and to carry the responsibility for making his own life on his own lines. 'Africa for the Africans' is a slogan of which more and more will be heard

in the decades to come. Independence, not charity, is the demand of brown and black in the modern world.

Weekly News

So we come to the core of the problem which is rising not in Africa alone but all over the world: where is political power to reside? So far as Africa is concerned, is it to be vested indefinitely in a paramount European Power? Or is it to be vested in a small white electorate who number only a fraction of the population and must therefore be an oligarchy? Or is it to be vested in every man or woman who can be said to be civilised, which must mean that sooner or latter white and brown will be swamped by black? That is the question that causes such acute anxiety throughout all South and East Africa to-day: the apparent alternatives between, on the one side, a despotism of the whites leading to an eventual revolution, and, on the other side, the gradual growth of a black proletarian dictatorship. 1-24-31

THE CRUX OF THE MATTER.—I am not going to attempt an answer, I would only say that I do not think that these are the only alternatives. As a contribution towards yet another solution I would ask this question: is majority rule based on the ballot box, the final or an adequate method of giving effect to the democratic idea? I think that experience shows that when you have profound differences of race, colour religion or language inside a single state, majority rule inflames and aggravates these differences: it divides and does not unite. Is it possible to find some better way of giving effect to the eternal principle that governments must be based on the consent of the governed? I am not sure that the future unity and peace of not only Africa but of Europe and the world does not depend upon our being able to do this very thing.

Freetown Sierra Leone

These last remarks may sound rather remote from Africa and its problems. But I do not think that they really are. The central fact about Africa is that it is no longer a remote and almost unknown continent having little to do with the life of the rest of the world. At last we are beginning to look at foreigners as interesting specimens of what is really a single human family. And it is upon this foundation of the unity of the human family and of the interest and value of all its varied races and peoples that the future peace of the world must rest. Include Africa and its peoples in your view of mankind. The native Africans are a singularly lovable race, and the problems of Africa are among the most interesting of our modern age. You will never regret the sympathy and interest you bestow. For Africa casts a haunting spell of affection over all who turn her way.—*The Listener*, December 24.

ZULU LIFE AND MUSIC ON THE GRAMOPHONE.

The issue of the first ten records, comprising twenty selections from the repertoire of the Zulu Choir which recently visited London, has been very prompt. They comprise excellent specimens of traditional and modern Zulu music, together with some amusing dialogues. It will be remembered that the singers came to London from Natal under the leadership of Mr. Reuben Caluza, (who has now gone on to Hampton Institute, Virginia to continue his musical studies), and they recorded nearly 150 selections of the music of their people.

Weekly News

The records, which are issued by the British Zonophone, Co., having been recorded for them by the Gramophone Co., of Hayes, Middlesex, are obtainable in England at 2/6d. each and in South Africa at 3/6d. each.

These records should not only have a ready sale in the South African market for which they are specially intended, but should attract attention in other lands as excellent examples of primitive folk music, and of modern composition, mostly by Mr. Caluza, based on old themes. All students of music will find them worth studying. They have powerful rhythm and melody; some indicate the affinities of primitive music with modern jazz.

1-17-31

Record 4282 is an excellent example of the music of the Zulu of the primitive Kraal; "Bidhla, Pum' Enlatin," (Bidhla, come on of the Bush,) a series of repetitive phrases gives in a fine manner the rhythmic background of a special dance. The reverse "Wa Baleka Unobaleka" (Nobaleka, you are running away) is a genuine song of the Kraal, likely to have a special appeal to the less sophisticated. Less simple, but extremely effective is "Litshe Li Ka Ntunjambili" (Stone of Ntunjambili) 4281 is a fine double quartette chorus regarding a famous Natal mountain. On its crest, a stone wedged across a chasm, on its topmost ridge, making a "needle's eye" has given rise to many legends. "Open and Let me Enter" is the refrain with its answer, "It is not opened by people but by swallows."

Freetown, Sierra Leone

Modern Zulu music is illustrated by a song of Mr. Caluza's own composition: "Influenza" 4277, a sort of dirge recalling the ravages among the people of the influenza epidemic of 1918. Another modern song consists of humorous jibes at a Little Old Man pulling a Rickshaw in the streets of Durban or Pietermaritzburg. It is called "Ixegwana" 4280. On the reverse side of this is "Vula Indhlela, Muta Ka Dube." (Open the way, O child of Dube) a worthy tribute in song to the work of the Zulu educator, Rev. John Dube, founder and Principal of the Ohlange Institute, Natal, where some of the singers received their education.

Those unversed in Zulu might well be put to the task of guessing what is the incident recorded in the dialogue of "Indoda E Kip' Izinyo" 4279. They may be puzzled at first, but so excellently and spiritedly is the incident reproduced that probably many will suddenly realise with delight—as they are not the victims that it deals with a visit to the dentist! Human nature is obviously very much alike under such circumstances. The other side of 4279 is mainly a good laughing record, occupied with the paroxysms of mirth that overtakes two women to whom is told the joke about Macala, (Indab' Ehlekisayo Ka Macala).

The other records are: 4278 "Yekan' Umona" (Oh'the Jealousy), alluding to jealousy of one another among leaders of the native congress, and "Imkovu" (Omantindane) (The Ghosts). 4283 "Izinkomo Zami za Mabeka" (The cattle I expect to receive), referring to cattle due as marriage dowry for a girl; the reverse is "Ngi Sebenzel U-my love" (I am working for my love). 4284 consists of "Tamatiso," a fine dancing song, and "Umarbai" (Utebeshana u fana Ne Mfene) (Tebeshana is like a monkey)—a comic song for dancing and "Tshayeka Lapa Sitandwa Sami," a love song. 4286 consists of "Ingodulo," a betrothal song and "Ubungaa" (Oxford Bags) the latter is a comic song, dealing obviously with western influence, and is directed against youths who swagger up and down the street in long wide trousers, eaten up with conceit and affectation

KEEPING THE BLACK MAN DOWN.

Weekly News

EVIL RESULT, OF AN EVIL POLICY.

1-17-31

The following is part of a remarkable article by Mr. Ross Bredar, a Transvaal teacher, that recently appeared in the Johannesburg *Star*:—

Fear of the native has given us endless [illegible] Our schools and universities have tried and still try to give the white child such an intellectual and moral education as will enable him quite [illegible] to the rising tide of Kaffirism. To keep the white man on top and the "nigger" in his place" has become, to the Afrikander, a sacred principle, a holy precept, a command from the Most High.

Freetown, Sierra Leone

It is interesting to find that, in the Provinces—namely, the Transvaal and Natal, where the main episode in the story of black and white took place, and where, consequently, Kaffir prejudice is the greatest, we find the most elaborate university and secondary educational systems in the southern hemisphere. To keep the white man on top it has been necessary, to extend primary, secondary and university education to all and sundry; the expensive high school system of the Transvaal fully bears this out, and, on the whole, we find that expenditure on white education is the highest in the world. This applies, as I have pointed out, more particularly to the Transvaal and Natal, and less to the Free State and the Cape.

Politically, the application of the principle that white civilization and white traditions are dependent on keeping the native in his place crystallized itself into the colour bar in industry and politics. In addition, religious support was found for the principle, and the whole system developed into an expensive education which would keep the white man in while shutting the kaffir out.

As may be expected, the whole policy is ending deplorably for the white man. He has developed his brain at the expense of his hand, while his intellect has waxed only as his soul has waned. You cannot divide the life of a country without dividing its work as well; gradually, certain work has come to be regarded as white, and other work as black. In our schools the same. Generally, handwork in the form of trades, arts and crafts, were regarded, and indeed, are still regarded, as menial, while the professions and intellectual occupations are hopelessly overcrowded. And while it is true that every doctor or advocate cannot get work, it is equally true that every carpenter or blacksmith can.

Hence we have the extraordinary spectacle of high-minded matriculants and white-collared graduates kicking their heels among Johannesburg's unemployed, while Cape Pondos and Rhodesian natives are earning, comparatively a decent living wage in mine and factory.

But this is not all. Since the forgotten times of slavery it has been our white ideal to keep the directive work of the country in the hands of the European, leaving the executive work to the kaffir and coolie. It is perhaps in country districts, where the hardest labour—i.e., farming—takes place that we can see the clearest and fullest proof of how the white man is cutting his own throat. Education in the country, as in the towns, is meant to give the white child the lead; but unlike in the towns its effects on white mentality and temperament are far more tragic. For the effect of our so-called white education is to give the young man a distaste for manual work—let the kaffir do that. Such men soon find themselves incapable of living in the country, for country life demands hard work and sacrifice, which our white youth is quite unable to render because he has never been educated to render it.

It seems quite superfluous to point out what happens. The countryside is emptying of its white population; farm life is becoming a kaffir preserve. Already South Africa is saddled with a huge unemployed army of poor whites, pushing from pillar to post, and suffering the most extreme evils of poverty, landlessness, and economic insecurity.

And there is no remedy for it but a complete reorientation in our social and consequently our educational outlook. We must get away from this fetish of white superiority and white rule. It is leading us nowhere but to the rubbish heap and dustbin. Our secondary, primary and university systems must stay, but the spirit which animates them must cease. It will cease when we come to realize that true civilization can only be built up when the native is allowed social freedom and not "kept in his place."

Our education will remain ineffective, costly, expensive, and ultimately dangerous to European culture so long as it is driven by the outworn ideal that the white man must stay on top with the native underneath. That ideal is penny wise and a million pounds foolish.—*The Church Times*, December, 19, 1930.

Race Problem - 1931
Africa.

WEST AFRICAN ART AND HISTORY AT LIVERPOOL MUSEUM

A FINE WORK OF RE-ARRANGEMENT BY MR. J. WITHERS GILL, O.B.E.

A Liverpool correspondent writes: At the annual meeting in Liverpool on Jan. 31 of the Federation of Lancashire and Cheshire Museums opportunity was taken to inspect the African Gallery at Liverpool Museum on the completion of its re-arrangement by Mr. J. Withers Gill, O.B.E., formerly Resident of Kano. Mr. Withers Gill took a large and keenly-interested party of museum representatives over the Gallery and was highly complimented on the results of his work and the vivid picture of the characteristics of African tribes he had afforded by his arrangement. Some thousands of objects from Africa relating to the religions, manners, customs and crafts of Africans from the Sahara to South Africa have passed through his hands and the final exhibits are thoroughly representative of characteristics in a manner not only attractive to the ordinary visitor but informing to the anthropologist and psychologist. An illustrated handbook is to be issued as a guide to the Gallery, for which it is anticipated a large demand will be made. Mr. Withers Gill's task has been onerous and has taken six months to complete, so numerous and comprehensive were the objects which had been assiduously collected and presented to the museum over many years. The collection from West Africa is extraordinarily complete, and a recent addition has been two talking drums from Ashanti, which aroused great interest. The main objective of Mr. Withers Gill's re-arrangement of the West African section was that it was fitting that the great port which received those products of the hands of Africans, which demonstrate the part they are playing in the economic existence of Great Britain, should include amongst its public institutions a place for a study of their minds. It was generally agreed that this objective had been attained. The Lord Mayor of Liverpool presided at the luncheon at which the Federation delegates were entertained. At the request of West Africa Mr. Withers Gill has described his work and the exhibits in the article which follows, and photographs are reproduced on another page.

MEMORIES AND REFLECTIONS.

When the present writer was asked to re-arrange and catalogue the museum's extensive collection of exhibits from West Africa he scarcely realised the magnitude of the task. From Liverpool's close connection with West Africa it was to be expected that exhibits would be fairly comprehensive. Not only is this the case, but—with slight exceptions—it is positively glutted with exhibits of the arts, crafts, industries and cults of Western Africa, Pagan and Mahommedan. Through the indefatigable energy of an Elder Dempster officer—Commander Ridyard—the collection grew until there is now scarcely a tribal custom, rite, craft or industry which is not illustrated by some tool or symbol. Other hands have contributed, but the collection rightly bears the name of the Ridyard Collection. Many interesting hours will be spent over this collection, but a record of first impressions may be welcome. West Africa

Here is a selection of drums of various shapes, sizes and tones. One insensibly hears echoes of the melancholy pulsation of the night-watcher's tom-tom; the angry mutter of the war drum; the sullen rumble of the witch doctor's drum; and the staccato beats of the operator broadcasting news. Episodes in the Africa of 40 years ago come to life and long-forgotten thrills stir anew. Here is a comprehensive collection of masks from every part of the wide region where the popular creed is Animistic. 2-7-31

Quitting Pagan Africa one turns to the specimens of the craftsmanship of the Mohammedan North. How these amulets, these superb examples of dyeing and weaving, these field implements, this pottery and metal work recall all one's contacts with the facile Hausa—the Negroid, and the inscrutable Fulani—the Semite, of the Western Sudan! Peoples who are only to be understood by divesting oneself of prejudices, ideas and standards and—to parody ~~Mark Sykes~~—by taking one's philosophy from the Book of Job, one's politics from the Book of Judges, and one's ethics from the "Arabian Nights." But the puzzle is how to make these diverse peoples in some small degree intelligible to the curious public of Liverpool through the inanimate objects which demonstrate their domestic, industrial and spiritual life.

PRACTICALITIES.

Gradually an intelligent plan of selection emerged. Those of the West African exhibits which bear any relation to religious cults—such as masks, head ornaments and fetish images—are grouped together. And the reason is that, broadly speaking, where the popular creed is Animistic there is similarity in custom, ritual and ceremony. The place of origin of each exhibit being indicated, the spectator may realise over how wide a geographical area similar usages and customs prevail, and how many different tribes practise rites and ceremonies which have a family likeness. Changes come swiftly in West Africa, and, though many primitive usages may linger, the influence of the witch-doctor and the power of the juju are on the wane under European administration and law. Very soon, if indeed it is not already the case, the fine collection in Liverpool of the "stage properties" of juju and witchcraft will have only historical interest. Before it was too late, educationists in Africa are now paying some attention to the psychology of the African. Liverpool Museum through the observant eye would help them in that study.

And this leads us to a general broad distinction between Pagan West Africa and Mohammedan, to show how the higher crafts and industries originate in the latter and influence the more primitive folk. An attempt is made to show a representative case of West African carvings: how these attempts at face and figure portraiture are neither caricatures nor portraits but pieces of vivid impressionism.

The same line is followed in dealing with Pagan musical instruments, stringed or wind. The drum, of course, must stand alone, and be shown in some striking way by different specimens to illustrate its unique place in African social organisation. Effective display is made of the specimens of the bronze art of Benin, of which Liverpool has been endowed with excellent examples. The wood-carving art and metal work of the Ashanti race are also brought into prominence sufficient to provoke the comment they deserve. The consummate skill with which the most primitive of tribes adapt to their uses the natural materials at their doors is another point emphasised.

The greatest wealth of material illustrative of art and industry comes from the Niger and Mandingo regions. A special feature amongst minor exhibits is made of the uses and decorations of the gourd. It is another instance of the adaptation of a natural product to a domestic use.

The ubiquitous Hausa is responsible for excellent examples of his all-embracing crafts in metal, leather, wood, clay and cotton, and of all the miscellanies that may be picked up in a crowded Nigerian market like Kano. Amongst the Hausa weapons is one of deeper interest still—the two-headed axe *barandami*. The axe gets its name from the emblem of the sky-god of ancient Crete—Zeus Labarandeos.

And this is how the work of classification has been initiated, so that history, locality, custom, industry, religion may be combined in ocular demonstration. If only one could so demonstrate the fine ethics of the lore of West African folk: how out of the mouths of the elephant, the crocodile, the lion and the fox wit and wisdom emerge so that they become the "case law" of the tribe! What a revelation of Pagan character it would be to those who see the African as a man of many cults but no culture!

EVOLUTION.

Anthropological interest will be aroused by the examples from the tribes of Portuguese Congo who acknowledge the benefits conferred by their fetish by hammering nails and bits of iron in the symbolic figure. Did the pious German who performed the same rite to Hindenburg's statue realise how he was copying the devotional cult of the African? In the category of carving we have fine examples of the ivory carver's art from Loango and Benin. From Benin also there is a carved ivory figure, much weathered, of an idol evidently of some sanctity, but we do not know its history. Its workmanship recalls Hindu impressionism.

Relics of events in the recent history of Nigeria lie embedded amongst domestic utensils and weapons of war. There is a signal drum from the battlefield of Yola in 1902. A devotional book, its tiny leaves of closely-inscribed Arabic in a leather case, was picked up after the fight at Satiru in 1906. There are relics of the Aro expedition of 1904. The bamboo water bottles used by the Mendis on one of the Ashanti campaigns revive recollections of another clash between European and African.

Of the peaceful arts of Hausaland we make an elaborate exhibit out of the mass of material. Beautiful specimens of Hausa gowns presented by a well-known Nigerian are shown in such a manner that Hausa skill in weaving, dyeing, and embroidering is made the most of. Mandingo work has much in common with Hausa and finds its place. There are a few distinctive specimens of Bida brass work. We show much handiwork of the toilers of Moslem West Africa, but the pastoral folk furnish nothing from which we can strike a note of interpretation. Nomads neither make history nor practise crafts. We have in memory a Fulani gentleman who allowed his finger nails to grow to an inordinate length so that he might be a living specimen of one who neither toiled nor span!

Of the work of the Hausa blacksmith, who wore in the past a peculiar halo of superstitious awe and received a portion of the royal tributes, we collected all available specimens. We cannot tell how many of the Pagan implements and tools are really products of the Hausa blacksmith, though probably all are; for it was a playful habit of Pagans to capture a Hausa smith and keep him prisoner to make their tools for them. They fed him well but he had no liberty. He resembled the white mice of the British schoolboy.

So we have tried to show how differently the gods of the African ruled their world and yet how, like our own, their forms of worship consist of drama, mystery and awe; to diffuse something of the aroma of the fierce and wonderful spirit of Africa; to hint at the linguistic jungle through which a philologist gropes with stupefaction; to show how Nature stands first with the primitive African and Man second; how like ourselves is the African in his devotion to talismans and mascots. And the student of African social and industrial life may ask himself if it is possible that European guidance will turn the people into the spiritually confused, landless helots which the talented author of "Africa a hundred years hence" prophesies they will become under the present obsession for economic development. Our task, however, has been not speculative but constructive. We wanted to make all the fine examples in Liverpool Museum of the social, domestic and spiritual life of these interesting peoples to mean something more to British humanity than the stuffed crocodile of the conjuror. Is the result successful? Time will show.

THE WOMEN OF AFRICA

By William H. Branson

In speaking of women's place in African native life, it is difficult to give details that are applicable to all tribes, as there are such wide variations; but, generally speaking, it can be said that in most tribes the woman is the farmer. It falls to her lot to see that the family is supplied with grain, milk, and curd; whereas what meat is eaten is usually supplied by the husband, either from his flocks and herds, or by the chase. This means that the women are seldom idle, whereas the men often have little to occupy their time, except when they must go and work for the white man in order to earn cash with which to pay the family hut tax, or when they must attend native court, or are on the chase.

To prepare gardens for planting, many of the tribes go into the bush, hack down a number of trees about four or five feet from the ground, drag the wood together, and burn it. If there are large ant heaps near, the wood is generally burned on these, since the ants greatly enrich the soil. When this process is completed, the ashes are dug into the ground by crooked sticks that have been sharpened, or small, handmade iron hoes, and the grain is planted. In some tribes the men help in the work of preparing the soil, but seldom do they assist further in growing the crop, except in those parts where the influence of civilization has led to the use of plows and oxen.

Thus the women sow, tend the fields while the crops are growing, and then reap and store the grain. Sometimes it is stored in outside granaries built of reeds and earth in the fields, sometimes in huge baskets made of split bamboo poles and placed on some sort of foundation near the huts, while some tribes, distrustful of their neighbors, make great clay urns inside their huts and there deposit the grain for safe keeping.

As the grain is required for food, it is pounded into fine neal in a wooden mortar made from a tree trunk, or ground between stones, as was evidently done in olden times in Bible lands. Many times the writer has stood watching "two women grinding at the mill" and has been impressed with the Saviour's forcible illustration of how it will be at His second coming.

The chief article of diet in most African tribes is a thick porridge. This is prepared by the women from meal made in the above manner, either from maize, kaffir corn, or other cereals. Sometimes dried cassava root is substituted. If possible, some relish is prepared to be eaten with the porridge, consisting of meat, beans, boiled peanuts, sweet potatoes, or greens. If food is scarce because of drought, the women may be seen daily scouring the woods for wild herbs and roots, which are cooked and eaten.

Usually the African has a large family, but the presence of a small baby in the home does not serve as any deterrent to the mother, for she gaily straps it to her back with a goat skin or buckskin and proceeds with her duties with seemingly little discomfort, either in the home or the field. The baby also seems to enjoy this sort of treatment, for it will often fall asleep while it is being bobbed up and down by the movements of the mother as she hoes the garden or pounds the grain.

Due to the marriage value of girls, they are kept much closer at home than boys. In many tribes it is almost impossible to induce the parents to permit them to attend school at the mission stations, since they fear that in this way they will lose their hold upon them. Also fear is entertained that they will be taught to discontinue brewing beer for the family, which is one of the many duties of the growing girls.

In some tribes the women are reduced to what amounts to slavery, while in others they enjoy practical equality with the men, and sometimes become political advisers and even rulers.

Aside from the growing and cooking of the food, the women must also gather the firewood, carry the water, prepare the raw skins for clothing, or weave cloth from the bark of trees, and make countless ornaments from beads and other material, as well as earthen pots for use in carrying water, cooking, etc.

Strange to say, when the advance of the trading station brings European-made cloth within the reach of the African, this is usually made into garments by the men. Thus many an African wife is presented with a calico or even silk dress by her husband, which he has made by himself in the latest (?) European style, with all sorts of ornament a frills and tucks. Needless to say, such a woman excites the envy of all her neighbors.

—The Watchman.

HLAKU TSE KHOLO HA TI

HLOKOMELA B.

Chamberlain's Colic and Diarrhoea Remedy ha e hloke hlaku tse kholo hore e hapē batho. Polelo ea hore e rekisoa ke Chemist tsohle lekane, ka ha lapa le leng le le leng le tseba molemo oa eona le seo se bolelang. E fumanoa hohle mabenkeleng.

A paper written by Mr. Guille, School Inspector, dealing with the ideals which native teachers should place before their eyes was read to the assembly by Rev. Bro. Edward Professor at Roma College, and editor of the "Roma Boys Monthly."

Mr Albert Mofubetsoana, School Inspector, gave some lectures upon "Teaching the Vernacular by Phonetic Method in Grade I" His clear and helpful tal as well as his kindly jokes were much appreciated

Mr. Reid, Chief Inspector of Schools, paid a visit to Roma, and speaking on the subject of "Mistakes in Arithmetic" gave suggestions for teaching shorter methods of division, compound multiplication and reduction.

Another visitor was Mr. Wacher, the Agricultural Officer, who gave a very helpful talk packed with practical information about the care of school surroundings, how to get crops in the present drought crisis, deeper ploughing, and the value of attending the demonstration work being done. Mr. Wacher invited questions and answered them

Mr. Verney, the Chief Veterinary Surgeon, also paid a visit, and spoke on the important subject of wool and mohair, urging that nothing but better breeding of wool and mohair bearing animals could restore prosperity to sheep and goat farmers of Basutoland. He also called attention to the fact that dipping tanks would soon be within reach of every sheep farmer in Basutoland, and that if they co-operated faithfully with the Government the scab ought to be completely eradicated from their flocks.

Race Problem - 1931

Africa.

THE NIGERIAN WAR MEMORIAL; AND A FEW MEMORIES.

Every Nigerian who has served on an African front will welcome the fine figures of a soldier and an enlisted carrier (described as a water-carrier in the text under the photograph on p. 79, WEST AFRICA, January 31) that are to stand in Lagos as a perpetual reminder of the services of the people during the Great War, but many will feel that a third figure should support the soldier on the other side, namely, that of an ordinary carrier, un-enlisted, and therefore un-uniformed, to whom fell not only the task of carrying all the supplies that made the work of the others possible, but often that of filling vacancies in the enlisted ranks. West Africa

The work of the Nigerian troops during the War has yet to receive adequate description, for beyond the somewhat generalised references in Lucas's "Empire at War," General Gorges's recent book, and Downes's account of their achievements in East Africa, few records have been published. One reason for this, no doubt, was the constant change of officers, but there is much that is worth remembering of the Cameroon campaign, whether one assisted in the exploits on the Yaunde Road, in the more leisurely advance from Ikom after the tragic defence of Nsanakang, or in the long marches and successful fighting undertaken by the forces from the North. 2-7-31

From the confusion of fighting in forest or in long grass one receives but few impressions, and retains fewer, and such was the spirit of the time that those that get remembered were those having elements of humour. There was, for instance, the entry into Mamfe, and the sight of a British N.C.O. directing machine-gun fire from beneath a large Red Cross that had marked a German hospital, what time a superior officer, heedful only of the answering fire of the enemy, cursed Germans for firing upon the Red Cross! A little to the front. our own artillery carriers—typified in Mr. Stevenson's figure—demonstrated, in sp of casualties from machine-gun fire, that their smal ness in action was equal to that at the assembly of a 75 mm. gun on the parade ground.

Then there were patrols, the return at times marked by the bringing in of plantains or food from old farms, or, as a reminder of war, by the transport on a palm-rib door of a soldier wounded in the ambushes so commonly set up at one end or other of a deserted village. For one company there was a red-letter day when its patrols stumbled upon a huge white sow, imported from Europe by missionaries. So strong was the mission influence that by the time the pork was cooked there was not a Moslem in the whole of a half-Hausa half-Yoruba company; all had turned to the religion that permits of the eating of pork. It was, perhaps, mere justice that men of that same company should later fall into an ambush arranged, our intelligence officer said later, by a lay-worker of the society that had owned the pig. London, England

Some time afterwards, the company fell to an ex-gunner officer with a passion for mechanical devices, and the neighbourhood of our camps was nightly made dangerous to us by the setting of spring guns, trip wires, and the digging of pits. His keenness vanished only when, visiting the picquets one night, he found that they had surrounded themselves in rear, as well as in front, with African tie-tie and log traps arranged to fall on cartridges and to give him the shock of his life. The sentry's smart challenge after the first explosion he evidently considered redundant, for the corporal of the guard, reporting the matter next morning, said with unmistakeable admiration in his voice, "We captain he savvy curse pass all captains."

It was well that the men had a sense of humour sometimes, for the weariness of long marches, and, when obliged by the enemy to deploy, of forcing a way through farms, forest, or elephant grass, might easily have caused better-fed troops (these were often reduced to groundnuts or guinea-corn, according to local supplies) to become dissatisfied. As it was, they had a shout of laughter even for an occasion in the capture of Bamenda when, at the foot of a slope ending in an unscalable cliff, and subjected to fire and rocks from the enemy above and the misdirected "covering fire" of their own comrades, a message arrived to "climb as far as possible and rush the rest."

Of such fights as Banyo Mountain it is hardly necessary here to speak, for it is already known as the most arduous task yet accomplished by African troops, but it may safely be said that it was only a large-scale example of that combination of military skill and natural environment that made every operation, from the smallest patrol encounter upwards, a task of danger and difficulty to everyone, soldier, enlisted carrier, and "bush carrier."

In the campaign in East Africa, Nigerian troops and carriers distinguished themselves wherever they went. In the operations in the Rufiji Valley, where the rains caught them and the "great hunger" descended upon them, both soldiers and carriers preserved their cheerfulness and courage, and when later, after long and arduous campaigning, the battalions were re-united in the heavy fighting round Nnangao and Mkwera, and later made disappointing efforts to catch Von Lettow's forces in the Portuguese territory beyond the Rovuma, they still kept their spirit. It must have been a shock to the German soldier who surprised a roving carrier and, on presenting his rifle at him, had its muzzle seized and the butt pushed into his face by his supposed prisoner, but it showed the spirit of the men who, although regarded as non-combatants, and generally wearing nothing but a jersey, cloth, and matchet, were yet in the habit of "toting" ammunition right up into the firing line.

. . . . Which brings one back to the feeling that the Nigerian War Memorial should certainly include the figure of a "bush carrier" to make it fully symbolic of all the services represented.

E. R. J.

EDUCATION

The Comet

We publish hereunder a brief report of the proceedings of a recent meeting of the Board of Advice on Education.

The reading public will no doubt be indebted to the Education Department for the publication of same. 1-14-31

Sir, Thaba Bosiu

I append hereunder a resume of the Minutes of the meeting of the Board of Advice on Education, held in Maseru on the 25th November last.

I. Pensions for Teachers. All members were in agreement with the Principle of granting pensions and a Sub-Committee was set up to consider the possibility of inaugurating such a scheme. The Sub-Committee for this matter, as for the matters mentioned under, was to consist of the Director of Education, the Senior Inspector of Schools, and the three Secretaries for Schools

2. Registration of New Schools. Ramakoro, whose registration was postponed at the 1929 meeting, was now accepted as a Registered School (R. C.) See also under section 12 under.

3. Financial Proposals. The Chairman stated that he hoped to receive sanction for the erection of a Government Intermediete School at Hlotse, and for a special grant to each of the following mission intermediate schools:— Qalo (P. M. S. S. Monica's (R. C.), and Teyateyaneng (C. E.).

4. Books. A handbook of Hygiene and Nature Study were laid before the Board who agreed that these might be suitable for use in schools if the costs of translation and etc., were reasonable.

5. Reprint of Regulations. The Sub-Committee was to consider this matter and submit any necessary alterations.

6. Government examination Std. III. The Sub-Committee was to consider the possibility of children in Std. III sitting for Government Examination and enquire in what way and to what extent the Missionary societies would be able to assist the Department in the correction of papers etc; which were estimated to number 24,000.

7. Allowances to teachers Camps. It was agreed that for financial reasons the Board was unable to see its way to introducing such a measure.

8. Dispensary 'cards'. The Chairman stated that he would endeavour to arrange for teachers who came to dispensary from a considerable distance to be received with the least possible delay.

9. Holidays on Show Days. It was agreed that a parish minister might allow the children from certain of the nearer schools to attend an Agricultural Show. The parish minister would be responsible and in any case the children were to be conducted by a teacher.

10 Restriction of chalk ink etc. It was agreed that the supply of such materials should be left, as before, in the hands of the School Secretary concerned.

11. Failure in certain cases of teachers to enter all children in Standards III, IV and V for the examination of those classes. In this connection the Board passed a Resolution as follows:

"The Board looks with extreme disfavour on the practice brought to its notice whereby teachers select certain pupils from their classes to sit for examinations" The question whether a ruling should be inserted in the amended edition of the 'Regulations' was to be decided by the Sub-Committee.

12 Bokong Mission. The principle whereby an Ex-member of one mission should, as a rule, receive no welcome from another mission was agreed to, and the Department was instructed to inform Rev. C Monathi that his schools could not be recognised.

13. New Schools. See section 2 above.

It was agreed at the meeting that before the name of a new school could be presented for registration a definite site must have been chosen Ninety schools were accepted as registered on behalf of R. C. Mission, 25 P. E. M. S., and two Church of England. Paragraph 30, (page 16) of the Regulation is now to read as follows:— "The Department will prepare a list of such registered schools as are in its opinion eligible for grants if Government funds are available." In addition, the following definition of a registered school was agreed to:— "The registration of a school does not imply that the Government accepts any responsibility in its behalf; it is merely a notification of its existence. The question of its subsequent entry on to the grant-earning list and consequently its receipt of a Government grant must in each case be decided by the funds that it is anticipated will be available, and registration must on no account be assumed to imply subsequent entry on the grant-earning list."

14. Additional representatives at

the Board. The allowance of additional representatives was proposed by various members for various reasons. It was agreed that this matter should be brought before the next meeting when sufficient time should have elapsed to allow a clear view to be taken of the matter. In the meantime members could consider whether any additional representatives that might be proposed should preferably be Europeans or Basuto, or either.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
Sgd F. H. Dutton.
Director of Education.

VACATION COURSE

FOR CATHOLIC TEACHERS HELD AT ROMA MISSION BASUTOLAND DEC. 15—22—1930

(continued)

On Saturday Mr. F. H. Dutton the Director of Education, performed the ceremony of opening the fine new Practising School, where Pupil Teachers and others will be trained in their profession. All entered the building where Mr. Dutton delivered an interesting lecture upon "The use and Convenience of Money as a Means of Exchange" Mr. Dutton was warmly thanked by the teachers for his lecture and also for his interest in their progress and welfare.

It was regretted that Rev. Bro. Anthony, through illness, was prevented from lecturing upon Singing, in consequence the singing lessons were conducted by members of the teachers own body.

The early afternoon each day was given up to demonstrations in various crafts. The greater number chose to follow the work shown them by the Government's Native Demonstrator in Agriculture. Others attended demontrations in modelling and pottery-making given by Rev. Bro. Benedict, while a group of 24 followed demonstrations in Knitting and Sewing kindly conducted by the Rev Sisters of the Holy Family. Some teachers returned home wearing trousers, caps etc. that they themselves had made.

On Saturday evening a procession with lighted candles wended its way to the grotto of the College where Rev. Fr. Pennerath. O. M. I. consecrated the Schools and Teachers to the Blessed Virgin and preached a sermon in Sesuto. A firework display followed to the astonishment and delight of many who had never seen such a thing before.

On Sunday evening the Course ended where prizes were distributed by Mgr. Martin Administrator Apostolic. Among other awards were 12 beautiful silver crosses of honour presented to the 12 teachers whose schools had obtained best results during the past year. These crosses will be retained by the teachers for a period of one year, and will be redistributed, if necessary, at the annual prizegiving.

The teachers expressed their hearty appreciation and thanks to the Fathers, Brothers, and others who had lectured to them or otherwise worked so hard to make the Course such a success

On Monday they dispersed towards their homes in the valleys and mountains where their pupils will benefit from the knowledge and ideas that their teachers acquired during the Vacation Course.

F. C. O. P.

Johann sburg

PATENT MEDICINES IN AFRICA.

In an earlier age of civilization, some observers of popular sentiment either said or wrote that the men who made the laws were not so powerful in shaping the sentiment of the people as those who wrote their songs. Thus it was that revolutions and uprisings were invariably accompanied with stirring melodies, that conveyed the ideas of resistance to tyranny and aspirations toward a state of more perfect freedom. Examples of this sort of song writing are found in "The Marseillaise," "The Star Spangled Banner," and other ebullitions of patriotism. Even political conventions have been known to sing "Onward, Christian Soldiers," or "Hail, Hail, The Gang's All Here," under stress of enthusiasm.

But in this prosaic age the progress of a people in a modern civilization may be more accurately gauged by the nature of the advertising printed in the periodicals most largely circulated. For instance, brief scrutiny of the newspapers and magazines in the United States would indicate that the readers were mostly interested in the various kinds of cigarettes and motor cars and radios manufactured in this country, with of course a variety of other modern aids to comfort and beauty. The patent medicines which once held the place of honor have largely given way to dental creams and safety razors.

The inroads of Western civilization in Africa may be measured by the nature of the advertising of American and European products that appear in the native newspapers. An example of this penetration of Western ideas into another continent is furnished in a recent copy of the Gold Coast Times, a prosperous appearing weekly published in one of the British colonies on the West Coast. Although printed in English, the Times is a stalwart exponent of the cause of the native African, and in the issue noted took exception to the attitude of the British officials toward native movements to preserve their rights.

But what attracted especial attention in this paper was the large number of patent medicine advertisements, of specifics of both American and British origin. Out of less than thirty advertisements displayed in large type, ten set forth the virtues of certain remedies for the physical ills that beset humanity. Six of these were of British origin, one promising new strength and vitality, another ensuring sound natural sleep, a water stopping baby's pains, a tonic building up lasting strength, a scientific health food making the weak strong and the strong stronger, and a remedy for coughs, colds and chills. The American specifics included a cure for headache and a family liniment, both names familiar to American readers, as well as a bitters to subdue fever. One German remedy was represented, calling for sub-agents. One British concern used a picture of an African mother and child to demonstrate the curative powers of an ointment for dry, chapped and parched skin.

An export and import merchant, with the name of Mensah, printed a long list of drugs in stock, including many proprietary remedies besides those mentioned in the advertisements already referred to. Singularly enough, there was only one advertisement setting forth the merits of native medicines, under the heading of "African Roots, Barks and Leaves." This advertiser, by the name of Kwesi-Aaba, described himself as Medical Herbalist, Founding and Managing Director of Sunwunku industries, Curative African Herb Specialist, also professional photographer and agriculturist. His address was given as New Town, Essikadu, Secondi. He offered to send pamphlets free of charge and reinforced his announcement by the couplet:

"Medicine is mine: what herbs and plants grow
In fields and forests, their powers I know."

In fact his was the most colorful and attractive of the advertising presented. But it will be seen that he was in a sad minority. Western remedies and American and British specifics have invaded Africa, with a hint that the German is soon to follow with a further deluge of patent medicines. This may be accounted as the march of civilization, but it would appear that the days of native herbs and remedies is over so far as the natives on the West Coast are concerned, although there is probably a different state of things in the interior. Whether the flood of Western patent medicines will be any more effective in curing native ills than the medical herbalist's compounds is hard to tell. The advertising would indicate the adoption by the West Coast Africans of English and American nostrums.

Race Problem - 1931.
Africa

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Chronicled 2-21-31

Faith in Magic.

The importance to administrators, entrusted with the task of civilising Africa, of knowledge of the psychology of the peoples whom they are trying to lead along the path of progress is being more fully appreciated as experience extends knowledge of the real nature of the task which the European colonial powers, who sincerely regard the protection and guidance of the backward peoples as "a sacred trust of civilisation," have taken upon themselves. Anthropologists and ethnologists have been busy, and have collected a huge mass of information about customs, laws, and religion, as expressed in tradition and ritual. Such information is interesting and useful, but it is only a dead husk; the living spirit is the complex of ideas, social, legal, and religious, which gave rise to the ritual and practice of custom and law and religion. A right understanding of the attitude of the primitive African (whom I call "primitive" for want of a better term to describe an African whose mentality and outlook are little, or not at all, affected by contact with European ideas), who is still guided by the indigenous tradition of his forefathers concerning justice, and right, and righteousness, is essential to the teachers if their pupils are willingly to imbibe and respond to their lessons. As Mr. E. Evans-Pritchard points out in his article on "Sorcery and Native Opinion" in the latest issue of "Africa,"* the handling of such matters as sorcery by European administrators and missionaries leads the African to "despair of the administrator and missionary ever understanding, or attempting to understand, his point of view as expressed in laws and public opinion. . . . He eventually reaches the conclusion, through long experience, that to white men all magic is shameful and criminal, and that they will either laugh at it or penalise it." The modern idea of the ordered, inevitable march of cause and effect has so obliterated from the minds of educated Europeans the old belief in supernatural intervention in human affairs, on which the theory and practice of sorcery and magic are founded, that inexperienced administrators are apt to look upon African sorcery as either ridiculous imposture or a cloak for nefarious schemes. Faith in magic and magicians, however, is common to all the races of mankind at a certain stage of culture. The European pioneers in Africa believed in the powers and skill of the African fetishmen as thoroughly as the Africans, but believed them to be, like European witches, emissaries and instruments of The Adversary, and therefore to be destroyed. By the time that the civilisation of Africa was seriously taken in hand European mediæval ideas had been superseded by rationalism, even among the missionaries, and so fetishmen were treated as mere impostors and deluders of their countrymen. For these reasons no attempt was made to ascertain the native ideas on the subject, nor to find out why it was so generally prevalent, its use and abuse, nor the purpose it was believed to serve.

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London Journal

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Race Problem-1931.

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out intermission, the question as to the form the new legislation should take engaged the Government's closest attention. The resolution to ask this Government to legislate again was come to, before any public opinion had been voiced in England or elsewhere. Even while the appeal in the Full Court was pending. Sir Ransford Slater wrote this:—

'If the Full Court upholds this (i.e., the alleged right to effect a forceful recapture of a runaway slave) we shall have to legislate again.'"

WEST AFRICAN COLONIES CAN BECOME SELF-GOVERNING.

I gather from Mr. C. J. Cutcliffe Hyne's published opinions that "Captain Kettle" is a world-wide traveller, and has interested himself in the system which passes for government by the West African and his friends across the seas. The situation in the countries he has mentioned is not such a chaos as he has described when compared with that which was present in European States, even England, when passing through the stage which is now being experienced by Africans. West Africa

In examining the system of government in independent African States, and States administered by those of African descent, one is struck by the attempts to model institutions on orthodox European lines. These attempts cannot be condemned, inasmuch as they are the result of far-sighted theories which require ages to materialise into ultra-modern and practical European Constitutions, tempered by systems typically African. 2-14-31

The European in his security has evolved for himself either a rigid or a flexible Constitution, but neither has been able to withstand a raid on its sanctity. Written Constitutions have been torn into shreds, and the flexibility of a Constitution has rendered it easily adaptable to modern convenience. What, then, shall be said of the African States and their friends who are in their transition period? Is comparison between them and European States justifiable? Only if such comparison makes allowance for history.

Most of the States the people of which are of African descent have acquired independence within the last century. Even Abyssinia, the leading African State, which boasts of an older civilisation than any European State can produce, had to compel the withdrawal of Italian domination this century. We can hardly expect them to leap to perfection; Rome was not built in a day. They have to battle with two evils in order to model perfect Constitutions—they have to dispose of the relics of their one-time masters, and of their own traditions which hinder progress; and to harmonise their culture with European civilisation. The United States had not to face a similar situation. The original settlers were Europeans, and they were governed by their kinsmen; hence their system of government to-day. London, England

The West African Colonies look forward to the time when their rulers will peacefully declare them independent, or be forced by pressure of circumstances to make such declaration. When independence is obtained, if they fail to establish Constitutions befitting their elevation, such denunciations as "Captain Kettle's" will be in place. A reference may here be made to Soviet Russia, of which it may be said "Ko si oloni ni aganyin, gbogbo won ni won ngbega." (Yoruba: "Truly a more chaotic community it is difficult to find; there are more heads than shoulders to carry them.") Here is a European State which has retraced its steps centuries, and is on the level with the autocracy (misnomer for selfishness) of a Benin potentate of the last century! There is no suggestion that West African Colonies will ever return to the condition before the advent of Europeans; there is every sign of progress which will lead to independence. . . . The African farm hand, boatman, trapper, soldier, and merchant, find their equivalent in Europe, and even the witchdoctor is a clairvoyant with less paraphernalia than his sister in Europe.

Through unavoidable circumstances, the African has come in contact with Europeans, and since the advent of the latter, attempts have been made to develop him into a Europeanised specimen. This has not yet met with the success anticipated. But it would take more than a soothsayer to sum up the African of the future.

Thrown upon the mercy of his masters, he has been impressed with the view that the future lies in European education. Now, European education has taught him that he must temper his civilisation with that of the European, and not wholly absorb the latter.

The situation has always been thus: he must be merchant, electrician, lawyer, doctor, farmer, even a grocer, as understood by the European, because most of these occupations can only now be indulged in from the European aspect. If the African scorns manual labour, as soon as he dons European clothes, he has to thank Europeans on the Coast from whom he has learnt such snobbishness. Therefore, he requires his own kith and kin, who are better educated, to lead him. The problem with which the African is faced is not how to ape Bond Street fashions, in order to be in the select black-coated class, but how best to become, for example, a doctor, without throwing to the winds the science of the African "medicine-man" (as he is termed by the European). The African "medicine-man" is as much a healer as his brother, the doctor. A European doctor was cured of influenza in 1918 by drinking "rere" prepared from African herbs by an African doctor who qualified in Scotland.

It is said that the African has not invented big business, or a bank, or steamship lines. May I state that this is demanding too much at present? We must not kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. Before European civilisation was introduced into West Africa, the African conducted his business, his bank (in Yorubaland it is known as "esu") and even ran his canoes, which might have formed the nucleus of "Black Star Lines." Whether these could have been developed into something more substantial if the African had never come into contact with the European is beyond "Captain Kettle's" knowledge. The science which has taught the African the immunity from rot of a boat, the keel of which is smeared with charcoal, knows no limit. The European was never bothered by slavery, and a stranger has never invaded his customs and mode of existence, and cast them away before he saw daylight. He has always been independent—never mind who ruled England or France, it was always a European. There lies the difference. The European stepped into the shoes of the former African rulers; I leave the rest to sane conjecture.

Banks, steamship lines, big business *à la Européenne* were set up. European money was introduced, and the African has had to work in order to own any of the new currency. His old currency went with his ancient civilisation. Now that he is gaining ground and setting himself on his feet once more, he has to face premature comparison with the European.

"The average West African," "Captain Kettle" writes, "is no more fit to govern his own Colonies than the average English Member of Parliament of to-day is to handle any part or portion of the British Empire." Such a passage is pointless, and should be inflicted on a less intelligent public.

Nothing can justify the domination of the strong over the weak; it is done simply for convenience. The West African can never be content with vassalage, for many reasons, most of which are natural.

I refer "Captain Kettle" to European history, which is not devoid of massacre in the name of autocracy. The Great War was reminiscent of savage tribal warfare with all its incidence. When a poor man steals, he commits theft; when a rich man commits a similar offence it is kleptomania. Whether it is a European war, or a feud between African tribes, the result is always butchery. When the kinder feelings in European minds revolt against this slaughter, resort is had to arbitration and peaceful settlement. The African settled his palavers by himself, and would no doubt have continued to do so without the incursions of the European.

O. A. ALAKIJA.

Reading.

[We publish Mr. Alakija's communication because we are in full sympathy with his contention, that in considering African progress due regard must be paid to African conditions; but we ourselves should not have taken Mr. Hyne seriously as a politician.—ED. "W.A."]

AFRICAN ACADEMY !

New York.—(A. N. P.)—News dispatches received here from the city of Sekondi, Gold Coast West Africa, state that plans are being worked out for the establishment of the African Academy, the prupose of which is "to discover and develop hidden treasures of African talent." West African

The movement had its beginning some six months ago when a group of the leading citizens of West Africa gathered at Sekondi to discuss the need of such an institution. It was outlined at this meeting that the lack of knowledge on the part of the outside world of the progress and talents of Africans was deplorable and among the purposes of the proposed institution is that of acquainting the outside world with these facts. 2-5-31

"The academy hopes to encourage research in tropical diseases by African doctors, whose inclinations are towards that direction, and to encourage Africans to undertake researches in European diseases in Europe and elsewhere. We must probe into African philosophy, our ancestral worship and witchcraft need be carefully and scientifically examined. It will aid talented writers, poets, and music composers to publish their works. It will bring discovery of African inventors to light and will create a new and more profound respect for our great race of people."

Race Problem—1931

Africa

THE ACTING GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS TO THE NIGERIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

In his address for 1931 (Crown Agents,—3s. 6d.), laid before the Legislative Council of Nigeria on January 28, the Officer Administering the Government (Mr. G. Hemmant) made no statement on policy, since he had only been in the country about three months, and since, also, no pronouncement could well be made in the interval caused by the change of Governors. A summary of his remarks on the financial position of the Dependency has already been published, but the matter deserves fuller treatment.

The surplus at the end of 1929-30 was £4,444,276, instead of the estimated £4,002,988, while the revised estimate of the revenue for 1930-1 was £6,012,698, or £590,103 below the original estimate. The expenditure was expected to be £6,489,448, which is £107,675 below the original estimate, and the deficit for the year is given as £482,428, instead of £476,750. After allowing for the larger surplus at the beginning of the year, the net deficit estimated at £41,140, and the ultimate surplus for the year at £3,967,526, this being made to balance with the surplus at March 31, 1930, by an unexplained alteration of that amount to £4,008,666. In the expenditure are included contributions to sinking funds at rates intended to amortise the loans bearing the highest interest at the earliest, instead of the latest date, and by the end of March the supplementary sinking fund will thus be about £1,146,000. In addition, £196,000 was placed to railway renewals, and neither this nor the preceding item has been included in the total surplus assets given above, which, as it stands, is nearly £500,000 above the £3,500,000 regarded as fixed reserve.

For the coming year the revenue is estimated conservatively at £6,153,163, or £451,638 below the estimate for 1930-1. This, however, is somewhat more than the revised estimate for last year, and it is to be hoped that Councillors have borne the fact in mind. The estimated expenditure is £6,410,424, which includes £260,000 to the supplementary sinking fund and £150,000 for railway renewals. The deficit, it will be seen, is £259,261, which means that the budget inclusive of railway renewals, practically balances and that, as far as the revenue is concerned, the provision for sinking fund is imaginary. In other respects the expenditure is claimed to be a reduction of £186,699 on 1930-1, if allowance be made for "normal" increases in pensions, increments, and additional police and administrative staff. The estimated surplus at the end of March, 1932, is £3,708,265, which is still over £200,000 above the margin accepted as safe.

With the floating of the £4,650,000 loan in February last year all advances for loan works were repaid to revenue, and the public debt at the end of 1930-1 rose to £28,350,582, or 29s. 10d. per head. Against this there exists the surplus balances mentioned above, loan sinking funds of £3,646,000, and the railway renewals fund, £660,000.

In the survey of the trade position the address states that in the present state of general over-production the problem is one of markets, and Mr. Hemmant urges that it is only by not letting quality be sacrificed to quantity that these can be assured to Nigeria. The total trade of Nigeria, excluding specie imports and exports of £83,124 and £135,691 respectively, amounted to £27,109,665, against £30,976,110 in 1929, the imports and exports totalling £12,120,308 and £14,989,357, against £13,219,165 and £17,756,945 respectively. Taking everything into consideration, Mr. Hemmant thought Nigeria could congratulate herself on the relatively small extent to which she had been affected by the prevailing depression.

The address includes tables of principal commodities, showing that, among imports, there were increases in cigarettes, by £91,000 to £358,000; tobacco, by £56,000 to £291,000; motor-cars and lorries, by £82,000 to £305,000, a total which is still below that of 1928; petrol, by £31,000 to £268,000; bags and sacks, by £54,000 to £331,000; and salt, by £7,000 to £289,000 (£44,000 below 1927). The principal decreases were in cotton piece-goods, by £339,000 to £3,007,000, or over a million below 1928; kolas, by £117,000 to £225,000, against £606,000 in 1927,—a reduction which may, of course, mean greater home production; cement, by £60,000 to £174,000; kerosene, by £58,000 to £207,000; galvanised sheets, by £13,000 to £253,000; apparel, by £10,000 to £267,000; and gin, by £6,000 to £97,000, against £147,000 in 1927.

Had prices been higher exports would have been extremely satisfactory, for tonnage of production was generally high. Palm-oil, at 136,000 tons, was not only 4,000 tons above 1929, but a "record," although the total for kernels, at 259,000 tons and 8,000 above 1929, was exceeded in 1924, 1925 and 1927. Ground-nuts, which fell by 1,000 tons to 146,000, showed a total exceeded only in 1929, but tin ore fell by 3,000 tons to 12,000. Cotton lint is a fluctuating commodity, and exports rose by 43,000 cwt. to 160,000, a figure exceeded only in 1926. In addition, cocoa exports fell by 3,000 tons to 52,000, but save for 1929 were the highest yet. Among hides and skins the position was less satisfactory, exports of hides falling by 4,334,000 lbs. to 5,522,000, the lowest for many years. Sheepskins, at 906,000 lbs. exceeded any year but 1929, while exports of goatskins rose by 892,000 lbs. to 4,432,000 lbs.

The chief changes in tariff were those giving relief to the palm products trade, plus a restrictive increase from 3d. to 35s. per gallon on methylated spirits, which were being imported for drinking purposes. The result of the last is seen in the fact that imports fell from 14,480 gallons in the first nine months to 805 in the last three. The total Customs revenue showed a decrease by £10,958 to £3,251,530, the duties on imports increasing by £17,039 to £2,656,190, and those on exports decreasing by £27,997 to £595,340. The effect of the changes has been to make unmanufactured tobacco the chief revenue-yielding commodity, the amount collected being £490,000, while next in order came gin, £416,000; cotton piece goods, £412,000; cigarettes, £358,000; kernels, £278,000; oil, £194,000; petrol, £165,000; salt, £120,000; kerosene, £117,000; cocoa, £62,000, and ground-nuts, £61,000.

The address states that shipping continued to increase, but the figures quoted show a decrease, the vessels entered, for instance, falling from 1,074, of 2,019,000 tons, to 1,025, of 1,947,000 tons. It is added that few full cargoes were secured, except in the case of firms carrying their own goods.

The survey of provincial administration is given a more prominent place than usual, presumably on account of the special interest attaching to the subject at the moment. The report of the Aba Commission, as was to be expected with a new head to the Government, received no direct notice beyond a tribute to the painstaking work of its authors, but scattered references add new details to the story. Thus at the beginning of the year Owerri was still unsettled, and a slight disturbance occurred, while there was slight trouble at Okigwi, ascribed to too rigorous application of the produce rules at Ohuta. In the Ngor and Nguru areas of Owerri re-assessments led to a reduction of the tax incidence, and in the eastern parts of the same Province the Native Administrations built schools and roads, thus giving the taxpayer some visible proof that his money was being expended to his advantage. In the Awgu Division of Onitsha there was passive resistance against taxation in October, and extra police were drafted, but it is not stated whether the trouble was the result of dissatisfaction in regard to the tax or merely, as so often happens, a symptom of some other grievance that the people thought was being neglected. In July 3,000 women collected at Newi, in Onitsha Province, and expressed dissatisfaction regarding the price of produce, but were persuaded to disperse after explanations had been given. Others in the same Province had earlier been dissuaded from joining the South-eastern rioters, which seems to point to particularly good personal relations between the people and the administrative officers.

Definite attacks on Government officials were made on two occasions in the North, one when villagers in the Adamawa Province were beaten off by a police escort, and the other on the Plateau, when Mr. C. M. Barlow lost his life. Against these the complete absence of serious trouble in the Provinces must be set, and of Ogoja Province it is possible to read for the first time that there has been no disturbance. Minor religious, or pseudo-religious, movements were apparent in places, and in Ondo, for instance, there were disorders caused by the Order of Seraphim violently undertaking the destruction of Pagan emblems, while in the Cameroon, on the Mamfe-Bamenda boundary, a "prophetess" caused slight unrest by her preaching against the need for further planting of crops. Various references are made to the "Aladura" and his imitators,—"prophets" who are undertaking missions of healing in the Yoruba areas, but whose works have so far led to no disorder.

The most promising aspect of provincial administration is the growing interest, fanned by the Aba report, in the development of *natural* Native Administrations, founded among the true leaders of the people, and encouraging results and growing interest are reported from areas as wide apart as Benin and Ogoja, Calabar and Okigwi. In the Northern Provinces local administration has been carried further by the institution of group conferences of African rulers, while in December a great gathering of rulers at Kaduna synchronising with the annual conference of Residents pointed the first step towards an Advisory Council for the whole of the Northern Provinces.

A number of other details are given regarding the Provinces, but most of those of importance are repeated in the succeeding departmental surveys, and may be postponed until those are considered. The effects of trade depression in various parts were curious. Some unemployment occurred in the tin-mining areas, and in the Okitipupa Division hard times turned a number of Sobos into robbers, while in Warri a boycott of European traders occurred, the "last straw" being the new system of purchasing by weight, instead of by measure, which was most unpopular with the middlemen. Visitations of locusts caused a shortage of food in many parts and led to the local reduction of taxes, but on the whole the position was one of anxiety rather than of actual difficulty, arising from the fear that new generations of the insects in the new year might entirely destroy the new crops.

SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS.

REVIEWED FROM THE INNER CIRCLE.

By "SOUTH AFRICAN."

(EXCLUSIVE TO "THE AFRICAN WORLD.")

The views expressed by our correspondent do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the Editor, but the position occupied by "South African" in political circles warrants attention being given to the current tendencies of the Government's policy.

African World
3-14-31

CAPE TOWN, February 20.

To-day the Order Paper of the House of Assembly contained the following important item:—"Second reading of the Native Service Contract Bill," and those who were looking forward to an interesting debate on that subject were disappointed. The Minister of Justice, Mr. Oswald Pirow, in a few words proposed that the Bill should be sent to a Select Committee before the second reading, which, of course, means that even the principle of the proposed measure may be altered and practically cut out all discussion for the time being. General J. C. Smuts, however, pointed out that Clause 9 of the Bill should not be referred to this Select Committee, but to another one, dealing with General Hertzog's well-known four native Bills. General Smuts submitted that Clause 9, laying a tax on certain owners of land on which natives are domiciled fell under the scope of the "Big" Committee as it is called in Parliamentary circles.

Mr. Pirow disagreed to a certain extent with the Leader of the Opposition, though he stated, further, that the Select Committee of his Bill might consult the other body.

This evidently satisfied General Smuts, because the House, without further discussion, agreed. 70/479

The interest shown in Clause 9 by General Smuts, as well as by the Minister, can be well understood, because it is one of the most important sections of the proposed measure, the object of it being to get rid as much as possible of the present system in certain parts of the Union which encourages laziness in natives.

The practice has developed in the course of years that big landowners, mostly companies, especially those in the Transvaal Bush veld, have become what is called "kaffir farmers," which means that on their farms large numbers of natives are domiciled who do very little towards the development of the country and live a life of idleness. Vol CXIV

They have their women to till the land and brew their beer; they have their piccanninies to look after their cattle, and they spend most of their time drinking that beer, eating "pap," and if an animal dies (they very seldom kill an ox) feeding lavishly on meat. London, England

To end this life of inactivity is one of the main objects of Mr. Pirow's Bill.

Clause 9 states, inter alia—

"Whenever any native male (other than a chief, headman or minister of religion) who is or appears to be above the age of 18 years and under the age of 60 years, and not incapacitated by any physical or mental disease or defect from performing any manual labour, is domiciled on any land outside a location the owner of such land shall be liable to a tax of £5 (per year) (which shall be paid into the Consolidated Reserve Fund) in respect of every calendar year commencing after the commencement of this Act in which such native has not rendered any service under any service contract or worked in any profession or as a school teacher or an artisan during a period or periods of not less than three months."

From the above it would appear that the Bill demands that any fit male native must work at least three months in a year, which will mean a good deal to the producing capacity of the population, and directly or indirectly help to solve the urgent troubles, through lack of native labour, from which the gold mines are suffering. For tens of thousands of natives are squatting on Bush veld farms in the way described above.

The Bill contains many other clauses of interest, more especially to the farming community. In recent years the relation between the farmer and his native servant (either the squatter living on his farm or the monthly paid domestic or farm hand) have become more and more strained. The agreements between master and servant are, as a rule, only verbal, which gives rise to all kinds of misunderstanding. The Bill, however, lays down that all service contracts between them will have to be in writing, and no native will be allowed to work for another master before he has fulfilled his contract; in other words, before he has done at least three months work in a year. The white man engaging such a native also commits an offence.

Here follow a few further sections of the Bill that are worth perusing:—

"If the control of any land which a native is entitled to occupy or use by virtue of a labour tenant contract passes from the employer to some other person, the latter shall assume all rights and liabilities as employer under such contract, which shall continue as if no change in the parties thereto has taken place: Provided that the labour tenant may, within three months after having ascertained that the control of such land has passed to another employer as aforesaid, terminate such contract.

"If on the termination of a labour tenant contract from whatever cause the labour tenant has any crop standing on the land which he was entitled to cultivate by virtue of such contract, he shall be entitled to tend such crop till it matures and thereafter to reap and remove it.

"If any labour tenant has erected on any land which he is entitled to use or occupy by virtue of his labour tenant contract, any building or structure wholly or partly from material which he acquired free of charge from his employer, he shall not without the consent of such employer be entitled to demolish or destroy such building or structure or remove any material therefrom.

"Unless otherwise provided in any labour tenant contract, any manure in any kraal or stable on land used or occupied by the labour tenant in terms of that contract shall be the property of the employer. Provided that the labour tenant may use such manure to fertilise any land which he is entitled to cultivate under that contract."

The provisions of the Bill quoted in this article shall apply to the Transvaal and Natal only, unless, of course, the Select Committee or, later on, the House, decides otherwise.

In the Transvaal and Natal legislation of this kind has been attempted since 1884. Natal in that year passed the Squatters Rent Law, to prevent native squatters occupying without any limitation the Crown lands of that Colony. The Transvaal in 1880 (George Hudson happened to be Colonial Secretary in those days of the "first occupation") passed its first Masters and Servants Act, which is still functioning in that Province. In 1887 the first Transvaal "Squatters Law" was promulgated, and in 1895 the second one, but none of these was ever enforced.

Mr. Pirow has now undertaken the big task of tackling legislation, which is one of the utmost difficulty, because it touches the foundation of the Union's community.

ANTI-SLAVERY AND ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

African World
3-14-31

Text of Recent Memorandum.

The Joint Committee on Closer Union of the East African territories considered on Tuesday a Memorandum addressed to the chairman, Lord Stanley of Alderley, by the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society. The witnesses appearing before the committee in support of the Memorandum were Major-General W. H. Grey, C.B., C.M.G., and Mr. John H. Harris. (Major-General Grey is a member of the society's committee, and saw distinguished service during the war in Mesopotamia and Europe. Mr. John H. Harris was formerly M.P. for North Hackney, and is a well-known writer and lecturer upon Colonial and foreign affairs). 70/479

The witnesses asked the Joint Committee to accept "equality before the law" for all British subjects, and the abolition of all barriers in citizenship resting on race, creed, or colour. The authorities quoted in support of this policy included Mr. Winston Churchill, Sir James Rose-Innes, K.C., Sir Clarkson Tredgold, K.C., and the Rt. Hon. Henry Burton, K.C. Vol CXIV

It was pointed out to Lord Stanley's Committee that upon the question of citizenship the French Government had advanced much further than the British Government, in that there are some eighteen coloured French Colonial subjects Members of the Chamber of Deputies, that recently the Vice-Chairman of the Chamber was a coloured person, and that a Senegalese was at the present moment Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies; that in the British West African territories, where the policy of equal citizenship had been fostered, natives of Nigeria had risen to high positions, including doctors, bishops, judges, magistrates, editors, solicitors, barristers, and that these included today men of eminence like Sir Kitoyi Ajasa, Sir Nana Ofori Atta, Bishop Howells, and the Hon. S. A. Wasson. London, England

The Memorandum presented to the Committee incorporated the interesting suggestion for a "civilisation test" made by Lord Selborne at the Cape of Good Hope in 1909, which provided for common citizenship when a native had established before a tribunal his claim to be regarded as a civilised person. The witnesses asked that until the indigenous inhabitants of East Africa should attain to an effective common roll there should be set up first a Native Council, which should in turn appoint representatives to the Provincial Councils, these Provincial Councils in turn to appoint delegates to a Central Council, and in the final stage the Central Council should have the right to nominate a certain number of representatives to the Legislative Council.

The Memorandum asked for a reform of taxation, the abolition of forced labour, the reform of the judicial machinery, carrying with it facilities for the presentation of test cases to the Privy Council.

Race Problem - 1931
Africa

PROBLEMS OF THE AFRICAN STUDENT IN ENGLAND.

West Africa

The advantages of travel as an educative influence have long been appreciated in Europe. In more leisured times—when indeed the opportunity of higher education was practically limited to the wealthiest class—it was looked upon as an essential part of that education that the young graduate should bring his scholastic career to a climax with a year or so of experience of other countries, peoples and manners. Travel was, and is, a vital factor in forming the judgment and maturing the mind at a period when it is making valiant efforts to digest its meal of facts. It is in that light that African students have tended to regard the circumstances which up to now have compelled them, and those who seek their higher, or professional, education in Great Britain. It has been a great privilege, and an opportunity from which enormous benefit has been derived, both for the individual and for Africa. Even if, in the future, the development of centres of learning in Africa is destined to lessen the element of compulsion by providing an alternative to education abroad, it will still be found that African students, in considerable numbers, will choose to come to Great Britain.

3-14-31

The number of African students here at the present moment has been estimated at about 250. More than half of these hail from West Africa, the others coming mainly from the West Indies, and a few from East and South Africa. There is no advantage in treating these groups separately. Not only are they one through the same reason—the lack of educational centres of professional standard in their homes—but their African blood is the decisive factor in determining the treatment they receive from the educational institutions at whose doors they knock. The problem of all these young men is the same; it is permanent in its essentials, and it deserves far more serious attention than it has hitherto received, especially from parents in Africa.

The majority of the African students in Great Britain live and work in London. There is a considerable group in Edinburgh, and smaller groups in Oxford and Cambridge. The significance of this fact is realised only when it is remembered that London, although the seat of the biggest—some say the greatest—University in Europe, is not primarily a university town. It is a world-metropolis, and amid its myriad activities the University is a side-line, its students just discrete units all but lost to the general view. University discipline—compared to what obtains in places like Oxford or Cambridge, or even Heidelberg or Edinburgh—may be said not to exist. The student's private life is his own, to order according to the light that is in him. This system is well calculated, in favourable conditions, to foster independence and self-reliance, to develop *character*, always a leading aim of British educational methods. So far as the British student is concerned, it is a success, mainly because he has his family life and a familiar social environment to help him. In addition, there are numerous religious and social organisations which are designed to assist and direct the young undergraduate; to help him to find his social level, to advise him about his work, to provide him with comfortable living conditions, and with opportunities of recreation and play. In practice, with one or two exceptions, the influence of these bodies is confined to the British student. The African parent, generally speaking, either does not know, or does not choose to make use of, these organisations. London student life is a much severer test, therefore, for the African, fresh from a widely different social environment, bewildered and confused by his first close view, from a strange angle, of the variegated social life of England.

The dominant feeling of the newly-arrived student is a feeling of being alone. He has probably a friend or two who may have preceded him by perhaps a year or a month. They are now men of experience, willing enough to give him the benefit of the wisdom they have earned. From them, on arrival, he obtains that minimum amount of knowledge of conditions which is necessary to enable him to settle down; to find where to live and on what scale, considering his means, to decide on what school and on the means of approach best calculated to assure him of a welcome. Many students could, if they would, relate instances of errors committed through inexperience in both these respects, which were costly to them, in time, money and self-respect.

No commoner mistake is made by African students than the mistake of coming to England unmatriculated. All professional institutions require as an essential condition of admission that the applicant shall hold matriculation certificates or their equivalent. These certificates can be obtained by African students at home. It is unthinkable that were the fact that rarely or never is any exception made nowadays definitely realised by parents, that they would send their children to London to waste months—even years—and risk discouragement, in sitting for these preliminary examinations. I know several instances where repeated failure in a test which is admittedly no real measure of potential ability, led to fatal loss of confidence by really able students.

There is also the case of the prospective science student, let us say, who applies to the college of his choice for admission. He is invited by the Principal to present himself. His papers are in order. He is promised an early decision. In due course he learns that regretfully his application must be refused owing to lack of room. He applies to yet another institution. He waits from term to term, even from session to session, for his chance. In the end, he does what he would have done in the beginning had there been any responsible body charged with the duty of advising him—he applies to one of the less fashionable provincial colleges, and is accepted.

Recently the holder of a West Indian Island scholarship completed the first part of his medical course at a London college. He was unable to secure admission to the hospital attached to his college because for the three places reserved for non-European students there were seven candidates in his class. He made application to every single teaching hospital in London with the same result—the non-European quota was already filled. He turned to the Colonial Office for advice. The officials were powerless to help him. After months of anxiety he went to the provinces, first to Bristol, then to Manchester, where at last success awaited him.

Instances like the foregoing, which occur with great frequency, illustrate one important need which could only be adequately filled by the creation of an authoritative advisory body charged with the duty of serving the special interests of African students. Such a council, authoritatively instituted, should aim at securing recognition from the governing authorities of all the universities and colleges of Great Britain. By applying to the advisory council the African student could learn at once what vacancies were open to him. He would be saved months of anxiety and delay and considerable money losses. The colleges themselves would have nothing to lose by bringing their policy of the "Non-European—European ratio" into the open. From the resulting co-ordination of regulations they would, in fact, derive considerable help in attaining their object of a fairly even distribution of Colonial students among themselves, and the student would lose that uneasy feeling of being unwelcome and unwanted which is apt to assail him when he comes up against a policy which at present remains undeclared, and therefore little understood.

The students themselves have several times attempted to supply this need for themselves. The oldest still existing effort is represented by the Union of Students of African descent. One of the cardinal objects of this society in the beginning was to act as a bureau of information to parents and students. The extent to which this ambition has been realised has been limited by the lack of funds. This lesson has been well learnt by the West African Students' Union, which is at this moment engaged in an energetic campaign to raise funds on a considerable scale to enable it to implement its plans of a powerful central organisation for students, and a hostel scheme. There is also the proposal for an African club, which Mr. Jan Koens and Sir Percy Nunn are sponsoring. Both these bodies have made encouraging progress in awakening African and British people to their obligations. Mr. Solanki's work on behalf of W.A.S.U. has dramatically brought home to Africans their duties towards their sons abroad, while Mr. Koens has invoked the sympathy and interest of powerful influences in London in favour of giving African students a fair deal. The way is now open for co-operation, even amalgamation, of these two movements—the one a gesture of self-reliance from Africa, the other a gesture of sympathy and understanding from British folk.

V. H.

London, March 3.

EAST AFRICA

Manchester Guardian

A Forward Native Policy

3-13-31

Our London correspondent writes:—

Before long the Committee on th Closer Union of the East African Territories, now sitting in London, will be hearing from the leading tribesmen themselves what they think of the arrangements the Imperial authorities are preparing for them. This will be the first time that native witnesses have been heard in London by an inquiry of this kind, and it has only been made possible by the Government's paying their expenses.

Manchester Guardian

In the meanwhile Lord Stanley of Alderley's Committee has discussed the interesting memorandum of the Anti-Slavery Society, which sets forth

a generous policy for native co-operation in the industrial and political future of East Africa. The chief spokesman was General Grey, a distinguished soldier who is now a captain of industry. He and the other witnesses were able to produce a powerful array of authorities for the broad demand for equality before the law for all British subjects and for the abolition of all barriers to citizenship resting on race, creed, or colour.

A contrast was drawn between the rather hesitating progress made in the British countries towards this ideal and the comparative generosity of French policy. There are eighteen coloured colonial members in the Chamber of Deputies. The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies is a Senegalese. The case for wider citizenship was supported by some striking examples of the high positions in the professions reached by natives in our West African colonies, which are distinguished for an enlightened native policy. With this was contrasted the restrictive attitude of Kenya, where the natives consequently have advanced much more slowly.

One of the leading Kenya settlers, Lord Cranworth, sits on the Committee, and was moved to make a mild protest against a remark quoted in the statement in defence of the industry of the native—that is, that the common saying among natives is, "Do you think you are a white man that you can sit there doing nothing?" It came out that the authority for the saying is Sir Hubert Murray. Professor Murray's brother, the Governor of Papua and a famous authority on these matters. One witness, Mr. Harris, mentioned the Empire Marketing Board posters, which often show the white man smoking while the natives do the work.

CLOSER UNION IN EAST AFRICA.

African World
3-14-31

Sir E. Grigg on Empire Government.

The Joint Parliamentary Committee on East Africa met on Monday in the King's Robing Room at the House of Lords. Lord Stanley of Alderley presided.

Sir Edward Grigg, formerly Governor of Kenya, gave further evidence, and was questioned by Sir Robert Hamilton, M.P. (Orkney and Shetland, L.), on the desirability of increasing the official majority in the Legislature or giving to the Governor the power of certification of measures. Sir Edward Grigg said that if a very active politically-minded minority were confronted with a political arrangement which meant that they were to be governed by a Civil Service without modification, and with no hope of modification, the thing would break down, as it had broken down in India. It did not make any difference whether the minority consisted of our own countrymen or of Indians. The system would break down.

Inasmuch as they could not in his opinion move towards representative institutions of anything like the nature of those we were accustomed to in England, they must invent a compromise between absolute government by a Civil Service and representative institutions of the kind existing in England. If the Governor desired that a thing should be done, or received instructions from the Secretary of State that it should be done, he thought it better to proceed by certification rather than by the use of an official majority. He thought that the use of an official majority put Civil servants in a very undignified position. They were ordered to do something which they were known to be against. There were instances of a whole official majority voting for something which they had spoken against.

Sir Robert Hamilton: That may happen in other countries.

Sir Edward Grigg: Yes, but where a man is loyal to his party people expect that. Where he is simply obeying orders from a higher authority it is a different thing. I think Civil servants should not be exposed to that. I agree that there should be reserved powers, but as the official majority only comes into life at the order of the Governor it is simpler to certify.

Sir Edward Grigg said he thought the number of detribalised natives living outside the reserves was about 125,000. He was very anxious that those natives should have institutions parallel to those existing in the reserves. Those people should have, in certain districts, their own native councils. He thought that would completely satisfy these people if there was in the three territories a common policy to advance through native institutions.

Sir Robert Hamilton: Would not the position of such a man living outside the reserves as a civilised person lead him to look in another direction?

Sir Edward Grigg: I don't think so. Nairobi is a place where there are two big native quarters and I think it is highly desirable to establish there a native council and to let them, under the municipality, run their own show. I think they would be deeply interested in that. That native council would be able to pass resolutions on other matters that interest them just as native councils would do in the reserves.

Lord Lugard asked whether the witness had in mind that the whole or part of the direct taxation raised by the natives should be assigned as a definite permanent allocation for native services, not as a variable dole from year to year.

Sir Edward Grigg: I suggest that the whole of the taxes should be assigned to them as a right.

In reply to other questions by Lord Lugard, Sir Edward Grigg said separation of white and black administration was not impossible, but he thought it would be expensive and that it would be against native interests.

Lord Dickinson said it had been stated that the White Paper issued last year setting out the Government policy roused a feeling of hostility among the European settlers, and asked whether that was because of the use of the words—

"The interests of the African native must be paramount, and if and when those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict the former should prevail."

Sir Edward Grigg: Analysing waves of feeling is a difficult business, but I should say they thought the Paper as a whole was unfair to them and threatened their position. Then, as always happens, one phrase is picked upon. There was a general feeling that their position was threatened and that was the fundamental thing.

Lord Dickinson asked whether the witness do not think that the words he had quoted laid down a just principle generally with regard to the native population of the Empire.

Sir Edward Grigg: I think it is wrong to lay down that the interests of any community are paramount. It may be that the interests of the native community in a matter are very small, while the interests of another community are very great. Would you consider in that case that the very small interest on the one side should override the very great interest on the other side?—If you try to govern a country on that principle controversy and conflict are inevitable. The matter should be governed by the interests of the country as a whole, and there is no other test to be applied.

Lord Passfield continued the discussion on the White Paper on Government policy, and in reply to a question by Sir Edward Grigg, the Secretary of State for the Colonies said:—I fully accept the White Paper of 1927.

Sir Edward Grigg: That is a statement that will be received with great enthusiasm in East Africa, and I hope it will be telegraphed there to-night. Do you say that there is no departure intended from the policy of the previous Government?

Lord Passfield: I won't say that, but I am prepared to say there is no departure intended in the White Paper on native policy of 1930 from the White Paper on native policy of 1923 in so far as that is quoted. Where it is not quoted it is not endorsed. I am not in a position to say that the White Paper does carry out the 1927 White Paper in so far as that differs from the 1923 White Paper.

GENERAL NEWS.

Weekly News

National Congress of British West Africa (Sierra Leone Section.)

The adjourned meeting of the above section was held at the Cathedral Boys' Schoolroom on Friday the 27th ultimo at 4.30 p.m. It was decided a public meeting should be held on or about the 11th or 12th instant at the Wilberforce Memorial Hall at which an Appeal will be made for funds to send a delegate to attend the International Conference at Geneva in June next on the subject of the Welfare of African children and at which the programme will be confined to Infantile Mortality and Child Welfare, and Education in relation to work, vocational training and training for domestic life. Four speakers were appointed to address the meeting of whom Mrs. Casely Hayford was to be the principal speaker.

The Apapa.

The following passengers booked to Freetown by the Apapa which sailed from Liverpool on the 25th instant:—Mrs. Lake, Mr. C. H. Newland, Captain W. Walker.

Sea-plane Flight.

We understand from Messrs. Elder Dempster and Co. of Freetown Agency that Miss Reynolds, piloted by Mr. Pudney, left England on the 1st March on a Sea-plane flight from London to Cape Town. The itinerary may include Bathurst, Freetown, Sherbro, Monrovia, Grand Lahou, Takoradi, Lagos, Port Harcourt, etc. On arrival at Bathurst, there will be a halt for a week before the Sea-plane proceeds to Freetown.

Death of P. E. Moore Esq.,

It is with deep regret we chronicle the death of Prince E. Moore Esq., Barrister-at-Law, formerly Town clerk to the City Council, an eldest surviving son of the late Canon O. Moore. The funeral service took place the next day at Holy Trinity and the interment at Race Course Cemetery. Mr. Moore died at the age of 52 years. He returned in ill health from Nigeria about two years ago and continued in that condition till he passed away on the 28th ultimo. We deeply sympathise with the bereaved wife, children and other relatives.

Freetown Guardian

Mr. Jonathan E. Rose.

Mr. Jonathan E. Rose who has been Senior Messenger Government House for over 20 years during which time he rendered faithful and efficient service to several Governors, Acting Governors and Governor's Deputy retired on pension from the Service on the 1st instant. We heartily congratulate Mr. Rose and wish him good health and that he may live long to enjoy his well earned pension.

Central Ward Rate Payers Association.

The adjourned meeting of the above Association was held in the Wilberforce Memorial Hall—Mr. F. A. Miller J.P., was unanimously voted chairman and presided. Mr. Miller addressed the meeting showing the necessity and usefulness of an Association and appealed for its support. Dr. I. C. Pratt the convener advocated the maintenance of the Association. Mr. Bell spoke on the shortage of supply of Electric lights and on the matter of thatched houses. A Sub-Committee was appointed to frame Rules and the meeting adjourned to Monday fortnight.

TRAIL OF ANCIENTS IN RHODESIA.

African World

In the opinion of the Rev. Neville Jones, Southern Rhodesia's leading archæologist, the discoveries made from time to time in Rhodesia constitute the finest archæological treasure trove in the whole world. Mr. Jones said that the first white men to come to Rhodesia found the natives, who themselves had been preceded by a mysterious race called "the people of the sun," who were the builders of Zimbabwe and Khami at a date between 500 and 1,000 years ago.

Explaining what had been done in the Bambata Cave, Mr. Jones said that as a result of about 20 ft. of excavation in the floor of the cave evidence had been found of four distinct cultures. First, were stone chips, probably of Bushman origin; beneath these were well-made spearheads of a different type; and below were small spearheads worked on one side only with rough axe-heads, while in other parts were found cruder axe-heads, indicating a yet more ancient culture.

The sequence was the same wherever these implements were found, and, therefore, by analogy with Europe, where times were fixed by means of the different ages, a rough date could be fixed. The lecturer indicated the implements of the Mousterian culture 50,000 years ago and the Chilian culture 100,000 years ago, pointing out that the most primitive went back to Pliocene times 525,000 years ago.

Mr. Jones emphasised the importance of the "Broken Hill man," saying that the skull showed that he was actually of a different species from the human of to-day, though of the same genus.

Race Problem—1931

Africa

THE WEST AFRICAN MANDATES

The Minutes of the Nineteenth Session of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations (G. Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 38, Great Ormond Street, W.C.1,—8s.), include those of the meetings at which the 1929 reports on British Mandated Togoland and British and French Cameroon were discussed, and are thus of considerable interest to West Africa. The absence of Lord Lugard from the proceedings was a great loss, as was the lack of a resident representative of French Cameroon France being represented only by M. Franceschi, of the Ministry for the Colonies. British mandates in West Africa were represented by Mr. G. L. M. Clauson of the Colonial Office, and by Messrs. E. J. Arnett (Cameroons) and Jones (Togo).

A petition from a meeting at Duala under Chiefs who claimed to have made the original treaty with Germany in 1884 was discussed, and, although it contained nothing of real import, its fate is of practical interest since it may help others to realise the limitations in such matters, and so to save time and money. The meeting represented the Dualas, or about 1 per cent. of the population of the territory for which it claimed to speak, and the petition brought forward no specific grievances, but made recommendations that included such very general questions as a sweeping reorganisation of the whole race under the League of Nations and other great powers, on which it should have been obvious that no action was possible. Other petitions, unconnected with West Africa, had to be turned down because the petitioners, even where they appeared to have a real grievance, had not exhausted all the legal remedies open to them.

Public order throughout the three territories called for few comments, although questions were naturally asked about the two inter-village affrays among the Konkombas, of Togoland, and about the disturbance on the Cameroon-Equatorial Africa border caused by a prophet who claimed to be invulnerable. This disturbance, which involved the deaths of two Europeans in French Equatorial Africa and of about 100 Africans, was one of those that, in the light of after-knowledge, might have been stopped, M. Franceschi thought, by greater strictness at first, but the Commission wisely refrained from condemnation of the man on the spot.

The evolution of each mandated area into an administrative unit was mentioned in various connections. In the British Cameroon, it was shown, the North and South were so divided by ethnology, religion, and geographical position that unity was impossible, but in British Togoland, where it had previously been said that amalgamation of some of the 68 divisions would be attempted, good progress had been made, and already 13 had been united under the Chief of Kpandu. The intention here, Mr. Jones stated, was to give the united Councils higher jurisdiction than that of the courts of the individual Chiefs, with power to hear appeals from them. On the other hand, as Dr. Ruppel pointed out, the proposed modification of the Ashanti-Northern Territories boundary would have a minor disintegrating effect, since by it a small portion of Togoland around Kratchi would be transferred to the Ashanti administration, claimed by Mr. Jones, however, to be its natural administrative position.

As usual, the subject of commercial equality attracted considerable attention, and the steady growth of German trade in the British Mandated Areas drew questions regarding the absence of a similar growth in the French Cameroon. M. Franceschi had no reply ready, but the answer was to be found in Mr. Arnett's statement regarding the presence of German planters in the British Cameroon, and in the fact that even with exports through Nigeria much of the trade had always gone to Hamburg. At Duala, M. Franceschi denied that foreign shipping paid higher dues, but admitted that in purchases for public works in the French Cameroon preference was given to nationals defending the practice under the section of the Mandate allowing the mandatory power to originate public works on such conditions as it thinks just, and adding that it thereby became possible to obtain spare parts more easily, and, in the case of such items as scientific instruments, to maintain uniformity throughout the country. The growth of the European staff in the French Cameroon from 500 to 729 was also questioned, but this, it was claimed, was not excessive in a population of 2,000,000 Africans. It might have been added, however, that French principles of Colonial administration everywhere have included the employment of their own nationals in minor posts that in British Colonies would always be filled by the indigenous population. Attention was also turned to the subsidies paid to the Metropolis for various services, including that of publicity, which, it was thought, were justifiable only in so far as they served the direct interests of the mandated area.

A number of questions turned upon the traffic in liquor, but were chiefly directed to discovering whether the general falling-off in consumption was the result of restrictive measures or of decreased purchasing power. In regard to a statement made by the Colonial Office representative last year that the figures in the 1928 report included imports into Togoland over the Gold Coast and French borders, Mr. Jones made a correction by stating that importation by land was forbidden and in reply to a request made at the previous session added that 4,463 gallons of spirits and 5,206 of wine and beer had been imported into Togo in 1929, the revenue on this and on 200 beer and 16 spirit licences amounting to about £9,800. In general, it appeared that the decrease in consumption was attributable to lack of money, and therefore temporary, but in British Togoland, at any rate, the new system of decreasing imports adopted by the Gold Coast would have permanent results, provided that the existing difference of 3s. 1d. per reputed quart between French and British-imported gin did not greatly intensify smuggling.

The preparation by Dr. Ruppel of a general report on public health in the mandated territories focussed attention, as last year, on the medical staff, for the principal points made by the report were that since public health in the mandates varied as the number and qualifications of the medical staff, it was clearly necessary to keep all posts filled, using foreign doctors if necessary, to encourage medical missions by grants and by facilitating the admission of all doctors, and where possible to obtain specialists for all campaigns against specific diseases. The questions asked in regard to medical staff showed a tendency to deal with numbers of doctors engaged rather than with their distribution, but the replies to some of them revealed, if not a serious absence of international interchange of health information between the various medical services, a lack of knowledge as between the medical and the administrative services regarding progress made. The matter deserves special attention, since the post-War problem of the spread of sleeping-sickness is one that can be confined to no boundaries defined by political considerations, nor can it be handled by the medical services without the close co-operation of the administrative officers.

No new point appeared in regard to education. Mr. Arnett removed a misconception regarding conditions in the two parts of the British Cameroon by stating that in the South the demand for instruction came from the masses, whereas in the North it came from a limited class already educated in Arabic literature. In reference to British Togoland, Mr. Jones showed that a reported decrease in Government expenditure on education was in reality an increase of £2,521, although certain items had not been brought to account until the following year,—a point which shows how useless is a comparison of the reports that does not cover at least four years. In the French Cameroons report, education occupied so small a space that there was little on which to base comments, but M. Franceschi supplemented the information given by adding that the primary education service consisted of an inspector, 30 masters, and three women teachers of domestic subjects. Against this it was pointed out that the provision for the instruction for girls was very small, for there were only 135 pupils studying domestic economy in the whole country.

Interest in labour conditions was chiefly centred in the extent to which compulsory labour was still used on public works, and in the terms of payment. Thus a statement of the extent to which Native Administrations in British Togoland use unpaid labour is desired, and the payment of lump sums to Chiefs for road work is deprecated. In this respect it is curious that the Commission omitted to point out that the system of payment per road-mile, and not according to the labour engaged, helps to perpetuate a number of abuses, and it is hard to see how the British representatives could prove their statement that no Chief dare retain any part of such monies. In the British Cameroon it was noted that there had been more convictions for refusal to assist in work of public importance, but the Commission was assured that this was due entirely to the larger number of works in hand, the percentage of convictions to labourers requisitioned remaining unchanged. It was asked that the next report on the British Cameroon should contain a summary of the inspection reports made by administrative officers after their periodical visits to the plantations, and this was promised, although it was noted that a promise made last year in regard to particulars of the application of the Slavery Convention to British Togoland had never been communicated to the officer responsible for making out the report, nor had he been given access to the Minutes of the Commission.

The grant of two large concessions in the French Cameroon, one of 7,000 hectares to the Cameroon Tobacco Co., and another of 11,000 for rubber in a "desert region"—presumably a sparsely populated, but fertile, area—raised fears of the continuance of the old concessions policy, but the Commission was assured that no new concessions over 1,000 hectares would now be granted, and also that their growth would neither damage local agriculture industries nor attract away labour that would be more usefully engaged at home. A petition in regard to lands in the

French Cameroon was presented by M. Julio Fonseca, a Portuguese, who had been expelled from the country. It appears that he claimed three pieces of land that were already fully owned, and that his attempt at forcible possession had caused disorder locally. Since the expulsion appeared to be quite legal, the Commission took no action.

In regard to land litigation in British Togoland, it was claimed that a considerable step forward had been taken by transferring the power to hear cases from Accra to the local Chiefs courts and to the Administrative Officers, the latter acting in inter-division and appeal cases, subject to further appeal to the West African Appeal Court. Since barristers can only appear in the last named, it is claimed that this will reduce the cost of litigation, and a statement was made that barristers promote cases of this kind, Chiefs feeling themselves in honour bound to take up the challenge, however slight their chance of victory. It might, however, be worth while inquiring whether, because some barristers are capable of unprofessional conduct, Africans who cannot afford to carry their suits to the Appeal Court can with justice be debarred from obtaining any decision higher than that of the administrative officer.

The bill for the taxation of Europeans in the British Cameroon, promised last year, has not yet materialised, the reason for the delay being that it would involve a consideration of similar legislation for Nigeria. On the other hand, in the consideration of the French reports, M. Merlin considered that all Europeans should be exempt from direct taxation, for its incidence on the petty European officials in the French Cameroon was probably higher than upon wealthy Africans, whose incomes could only be vaguely estimated. It is interesting to note that the Council of Notables of Ebolowa, one of 15 such bodies, has asked for the conversion of the *prestation* labour into a kind of elementary income-tax, accompanied by a system of paid labour for public works, but in this case M. Franceschi saw difficulty in carrying out necessary works in the more sparsely-populated areas, and the matter has been left pending the inclusion in the next Report of the views of the new Labour Office.

Among the subjects not specially connected with West Africa, the chief point of interest is the list of conditions that the Commission consider should be fulfilled before a mandate is brought to an end

TO BREAK DOWN THE COLOUR BAR.

JOINT COUNCIL HOLDS ITS INAUGURAL MEETING IN LONDON.

Sunday News

The greatest world problem of the future is the Clash of Colour, said Sir Norman Angell, M.P., speaking at the Inaugural public meeting of the "Joint Council to Promote Understanding between White and Coloured People in Great Britain," held at Friends Houses, Euston Road, London, on Friday April 24th. Sir Francis Younghusband presided. 8-8-31

Colour prejudice, said Sir Norman, has economic and psychological origins. Its deepest element is suggestion. The British are an unimaginative race but the counter suggestion should be made to those who uphold the colour bar, that they are violating the first rule of a gentleman, which every Englishman wants to be. Four out of five writers and playwrights adopt the attitude of superiority to other races, and suggest that it is only long-haired cranks who talk about fundamental equality. Those who oppose the Colour bar do no ask that savages should consort with the civilized. The colour races themselves do not ask any such thing. They ask that the best should be civilization.

Dr. Harold Moody, a West Indian Negro with a large London medical practice, said that coloured medical students could not become house surgeons or physicians in any London hospital, though by law they had to have a British qualification to enable them to practice in a British Colony. "Character, culture and civilization must be the test of a man, not his colour, he said.

"Believers in the colour bar are examples of offensiveness, snobbishness and bad taste" declared Mr. C. Roden Buxton, M.P. The white races had much to learn from the coloured races and did not just have to give. The British Empire is overwhelmingly coloured, for whereas about 65 millions were white, more than 400 millions were coloured.

Mr. Ivor Montagu said that he was glad to see that the rule of the National Sporting Club excluding coloured men from its programmes was to be broken, except in the case of the Lonsdale Belt. The colour bar in sport was perhaps worst with regard to tennis. When a leading Indian was not given membership of a well known club, Mr. Montagu was told that it would be so awkward for the club members in India if they happened to meet an Indian wearing the Club colours! He hoped that British teams would not take part in the forthcoming British Empire games in South Africa if the suggestions were adopted that coloured competitors should not be permitted to participate.

Mr. Evelyn Wrench, Proprietor and Editor of "The Spectator" strongly supported the work that the Council was to do.

FOUND NOTICE.

The Court

4-29-31

"Found in possession of thieves and to be sold on July 1st, 1931, if not previously claimed."

Measurer

1. One bay gelding faint star, right hind foot white above hoof, white spot between nostrils, mane and tail long, about 8 years. 13 h.h.
2. One chestnut stallion branded R.D. on left hip, mane and tail long, about 13 h.h.
3. One chestnut gelding star, two white saddle marks on back, girth marks under belly, mane and tail long, about 10 years. 13 h.h.
4. One bay mare, right hind foot white at fetlock, right front foot white above hoof, branded M on right hip, white saddle marks on back, mane and tail long, about 4 years. 13 h.h.
5. One brown gelding star, faint white spot at nostrils, mane and tail long, about 4 years. 13 h.h.
6. One dark brown gelding, star, and running blaze between nostrils, mane long, tail stump, about 6 years. 13 h.h.
7. One bay mare and foal at foot, small saddle marks on back, white right ear, half moon behind, mane and tail long, about 6 years. 13 h.h.
8. One cream gelding, branded M M on left hip, mane and tail long, about 8 years. 13 h.h.
9. One cream gelding, branded M N on right hip, mane and tail long, about 9 years. 13 h.h.
10. One black young mare star, white small spots from withers to tail, branded R on left hip, about 4 years. 13 h.h.
11. One black mare star, two front feet white above hoofs, left hind foot white at fetlock, new sore back, left ear swallow-tail, white spot at nostrils, white spots on hips, white marks under belly caused by riems, aged, about 13h.h.
12. One bay gelding star, right ear winklhaak in front, left ear half moon behind, mane long, tail stump, right hind foot white, old sore back, about 6 years. 13 h.h.
13. One brown mare star, white spots at nostrils, left hind foot white above hoof, white saddle marks on left back, mane and tail long, about 9 years. 13 h.h. and her foal died).
14. One brown mare, white small spots running from withers to tail, mane and tail lonk, about 7 years. 13 h.h.
15. One bay mare, mane and tail long, about 7 years. 13 h.h.
16. One bay blaze gelding, two hind feet white from hoof to fetlock, white saddle marks on back, mane and tail long, about 7 years. 13 h.h.
17. One bay blaze gelding, two hind feet white at fetlock, white saddle marks on back, mane and tail long, about 7 years. 13 h.h.
18. One brown mare, white spot at nostrils, mane and tail long, small spots, white, running from withers to tail, about 10 years. 13 h.h.

.. 30 sheep and 8 goats of various ear marks.

1. One black young ox, white flanks, white spot under belly, left ear stump and half moon in front.
2. One young dun hornless bull right ear sawteeth and half moon in front.
3. One red cow, right ear swallow-tail, white brush no brands.
4. One yellow heifer, left ear swallow-tail, no brands.
5. One black and white heifer star, white brush, both ears swallow-tail.
6. One red heifer, both ears stump
7. One red tolly, no ear marks or brands.
8. One red and white heifer, right ear slit, left ear winklhaak behind, white brush, old brands cancelled by thieves.
9. One yellow heifer, right ear slit, left ear winklhaak behind, old brands cancelled by thieves.
10. One greywish white heifer, right ear winklhaak behind, left ear sawteeth and punched, old brands cancelled by thieves.
11. One dun and white heifer, right ear slit, left ear winklhaak behind, old brands cancelled by thieves.
12. One red heifer, left ear stump, right ear punched.
13. One young black and white ox, left ear stump, right ear punched.
14. One black cow, right ear stump, left ear slit, branded A.S. on right hip.
15. One red heifer, both ears swallow-tail.
16. One red heifer, both ears swallow-tail.
17. One yellow cow, white brush, right ear half moon behind, left ear half moon in front.
18. One black heifer, left ear winklhaak in front, right ear slit.

E. STRONG,
Actg. Asst. Commissioner
Tevatoyanang

Race Problem - 1931

Africa

Co-operative Movement.

The Comet

The Star of th 25th May last publishes a letter on the Catholic Missionary Enterprise from a correspondent who appears to be familiar with the present position in this Territory. He traces the sources of the scheme and points out that it originated at Mariannhill Mission some years back and that it has already established branches at various centres in the Union and mentions some of these centres and the benefits derived by the Natives who joined the movement. He then gives us the grounds on which traders and other missionary bodies in Basutoland are opposing it and the steps they have already taken to fight against the movement. We reproduce the entire letter for the information of our readers:—

The missionaries at Roma, Basutoland, with a view to helping the Natives, are desirous of forming a sort of co-operative society among the members of their congregations. Only members of the Roman Catholic community will be eligible to become members, but at the same time this will apply to children as well as parents. One of the conditions laid down is that every member must plant three trees a year, and tend them until they have attained sufficient growth to look after themselves. It is maintained that the Natives will be able to purchase goods at a cheaper rate than they are doing at present. It was first intended that each mission station should run a trading store, but when it was found that this was an infringement of the trading regulations of the country, it was decided that an endeavour be made to come to an agreement with traders in the camps or with the outside and isolated traders to supply goods to the members of the Catholic African Union at a cheaper rate than was customary, such purchase being guaranteed by the union, and paid for in cash.

The movement is an extension of a systematic attempt to foster co-operative purchasing among Natives which has been sponsored by the Mariannhill Mission and its associates for some years. It is already established at various centres in the Union both inside and outside Natal. At Kroonstad, for example, where Natives are not allowed to trade, the Catholic African Union members have a co-operative purchasing society by means of which they buy their meat at 3d per lb., whereas they had to pay 6d to 8d previously, when buying individually. Similar attempts to save money by co-operative buying are being made by the Catholic Natives in the Aliwal North location, and at some other places.

SOME MISGIVINGS.

In Basutoland at present the movement is viewed with some misgiving both by traders and by missions of other denominations. The traders feel that an effort being made to compel them to trade on a reduced scale of profit, and this, they insist, they cannot do. The other churches are alarmed, as they see in the movement an endeavour to increase the membership of the Catholic Church at their expense, and it seems probable that this would happen, for after all the Native with his small amount of cash is compelled to buy in the cheapest market.

The Basutoland Chamber of Commerce have approached the Basutoland Government asking that the movement should be stopped as they see in it a threat to their own prosperity. Not every trader in the territory is a member of the Chamber, and it is felt that there is danger in this, while it is also possible that if the co-operative movement gathers way some of the present members of the Chambers may think it better to take the line of least resistance and agree to trade with the members of the Catholic Union, which would mean the end of the Chamber. The Bishop of Bloemfontein, as head of the English Church in the territory, has interviewed the Resident Commissioner, and I understand, received the same reply as was given to the Chamber of Commerce, namely, that as long as the movement was kept within the law no action could be taken by the authorities.

One school of thought holds that the scheme is foredoomed to failure, as it felt that to carry it out properly that the Catholic Union will have to buy the grain and wool from the Natives, and this side of trading is not at present contemplated. Thus it would be for the trader to refuse to buy produce from the Native who did not buy goods from him, and it is felt that the Native has not sufficient ready cash to deal on a wholly cash basis when buying his goods.

It has also been suggested that an appeal should be made to the Associated Chambers of Commerce asking that goods should not be supplied to any of the mission stations or their nominees, while it has further been suggested that the large wholesale houses, who support a number of the trading community, should also be asked to assist.

In the meantime, it is understood that at least one trader has come to terms with the missionaries, and will trade on a commission basis with the members of the Catholic Union.

ON SOME RECENT MOVEMENTS IN WEST AFRICA
A STUDY OF WHITE METHODS OF REPRESSION.

Weekly News

By Kobina Sekyi.

We reproduce below from the Gold Coast Times this able article from the pen of Mr Kobina Sekyi for the benefit of our local readers.

1-4-31 No. 44

III.

All the money, the energy and suffering that had gone to make up the movement were thus made to become a total loss for there can be no doubt that the terror which this movement inspired in the hearts of Sir Hugh Clifford and his supporters led him to recommend a form of elective representation for West Africa, which the various Governors have each stamped with his own individuality and capacity to understand African aspirations aright.

Freetown, Sierra Leone

Unfortunately for the Congress movement, as soon as the first stage of agony suffering was over the defeat of the petition was got over, especially after the Natural Rulers gave judgment, against the Executive of the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society, for their unwarrantable action in enabling the Omanhene of Akyem Abuakwa to maintain that he had been authorised by the whole country to oppose the Congress Petition, and after the perfervid oration in the Legislative Council which the leader of the Congress then gave, the whole danger was forgotten. The first mistake which the leaders of the movement in the Eastern Province made was to become so far reconciled to the Omanhene of Akyem Abuakwa as to enable him to set up a sort of Natural Rulers' Society, called the Eastern Province Aborigines Society, or some such name, which had no connection whatever with the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society. It will be remembered that it was this society which first re-introduced the dangerous idea of having Natural Rulers as Presidents of assemblies, which the older society in view, of the experience already had in connection with the great Fanti Confederation, had avoided. Here we can trace the influence of white minds, which had been tutoring certain Africans in the Eastern Province and inoculating them with ideas of social distinctions which had no place in our social system and can have no place except during the last stages of our development when we shall be degenerating. It will be observed that these white ideas, having found the Eastern Province mind easily mileable, spread on to the Western Province, very likely along the railway lines, for it left the Central Province untouched. The general result of all this unsetting of settled principles, found by our oldest statesmen to be of the utmost value as safeguards of our constitutional individuality, was that those whose minds

were of weight and whose arguments could carry conviction were gradually left out of the Congress Executive. That Executive then found it easy to pass empty resolutions and modify or break them *ad libitum*. Unconstitutional interviews with Governors and other high officials enabled the Government Executive to detect the weak links in our chains. Finally, the scheme of elective representation, which the Congress had drawn up, and which the Aborigines Society had accepted and forwarded to the Governor was thus easily shelved, no question about it having been asked by the leaders of the Congress, who prate so much of having brought about the "granting" of the "franchise." What has now been "granted" is as different from that for which the Congress sought as bad food is from wholesome food.

The defeat of the Congress Petition was an act of official diplomacy. This act of official diplomacy was rendered successful or effective by the weight which the rivalry between the two legal advisers of the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society made it possible for the Executive of the latter society to tend to the claim of the Omanhene of Akyem Abuaka to oppose the Congress aims in the name of the principal national authorities on the Gold Coast. For that fatal rivalry between two lawyers resulted in such party-feeling as blinded the Executive of the great national Society, then in office, to their duty towards the country, namely, to act in the interest of the whole country and not to further the cause of any one person or party in the country, or to indulge any personal or party feelings of spite or ill-will. The decision of the Natural Rulers in the complaint brought by the Executive against the Gold Coast members, of the Congress was based on this ground, which the Chiefs, by their *Akyiami*, very clearly expressed in the traditional manner, all the official stick of the *Akyiami* having been placed point to point "When the Natural Rulers of this country decided to invest and did invest the Executive of Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society with power to act on behalf of the State composing the Society, it was never intended that that power should be vested in any one Natural Ruler even for a moment. *The Akyiami* then proceeded to add that the secret manner in which the Executive had acted in communicating with the Omanhene of Akim Abuakwa proved that they knew that they were doing an act which would be opposed if done openly, and also proved that they acted with an evil mind. And when one considers the subsequent conduct of the Congress leaders, I think one is justified in concluding that, from the beginning of the idea of the formation of a West African Conference unclean motives were at work in minds not fitted constitutionally for leadership of such a wide and momentous movement, which minds, nevertheless assumed control of the organisation that proceeded to realise the idea in action. For, otherwise, when the Congress Petition was thrown but, any compromise with those who thus treacherously defeated a popular and necessary movement would have been avoided, till after the success of a subsequent petition had made it possible for compromise or co-operation to be honourable and fair. In our haste to prove that we do not deserve the name of "die-hards"—some of us being apparently afraid of being marked out in any manner—we often forget that a compromise, or any co-operation, which is not honourable, that is, not between parties equally placed in power or position or otherwise, is no compromise or co-operation, and is likely to lead to the ultimate undoing of the party unfavourably situated at the time of such so-called compromise or co-operation.

Concerning the petition presented by the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society against the new Constitution and the protest of the same Society against the Native Administration Ordinance I have written at great length in my articles "Thought for the Reflective" and "The Conflict of Loyalties," I propose here merely to draw attention to the main events in what may be called the struggle between the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society and the Gold Coast Government for recognition of the former by the latter as the sole authoritative body representing the Gold Coast.

The Society which I have already pointed out elsewhere is a Federation wrongly called a "Society," probably as a result of the reluctance of some of our christianised diplomats to face real facts squarely, was founded over thirty years ago. It arose out of the proposal of Sir Wm. Maxwell, then Governor of the Gold Coast Colony *and* **Protectorate. to create certain so-called waste** lands in this country "Crown Lands." The people rose up in unity acting in full accord with their natural rulers, who knew that if the lands went into the hands of the "Crown" their rule would come to an end. The position was such that no one could misinterpret it to any other person: every native of the Gold Coast who heard of it realised at once what it meant, and this spirit rose up in protest, at once. The result was such a unity among those who actually took up the matter, namely, the Kings and Chiefs of what are now the Western and Central Provinces in the administrative division of this Country for colonial purposes that nothing could shake. The methods employed by the Acting Administrator in the days of the Fanti Confederation to break up that great national organisation failed in this one, principally because the position was too clear to be misunderstood by any native of the Country, and perhaps also because the rivalry of the Kings could not be exploited in that no King had been made president of the organisation founded for the purpose of protesting against and preventing the expropriation in favour of the "Crown," of any of our lands not given by ourselves for the public service in our country. No occupant of a Stool with public functions among our people was made an office holder in the society which arose out of the protest, all the Kings and Chiefs agreeing to vest authority in the society to act through a President and an Executive composed of persons none of whom was to be the occupant of a Stool with public functions. So long as this rule through observed, the society was safe, and also sometimes it erred on the side of over diplomacy or over cautiousness, there was very little for the people to object in the working of the society.

But there was undoubtedly a great deal for the British Colonial Government her established with our consent to dislike or detest in the society: and the unfortunate name of the society helped to cover the real ground for the official acts which were done whenever opportunity arose, to be-little the society and restrict its powers or narrow down its claims. Our principal literate people, by their long course of association with white missionaries of a rather limited mental outlook and of little or no experience of administrative methods in their own country, had lost a great deal of their original firmness in dealing with foreigners especially white foreigners and gradually some of those leading in the society came to be so elated with small points gained in contest with officials that they were against the launching out of any definite forward policy designed to check the encroachments of the Gold Coast Government and restore the old distinction between the Colony and Protectorate, which about four years after the foundation of the society, was officially abandoned. The 1901 Order in Council having been passed the Society seemed to content itself with merely praising members thereof, like the late Rev. S. R. B. Attoh-Ahuma, who wrote or spoke against the subtle but legally unjustifiable method of the British who, by passing an Order in Council in England maintained that they had annexed the Protectorate and thereby altered its character. It will be observed that the method adopted in 1901 was repeated in 1925 but on this occasion, there being among those leading in the Society a greater number of minds like that of the late Rev. S. R. B. Attoh-Ahuma, the Society went further than merely praising those who in unofficial writings protested against the serious invasion by the British of our fundamental rights as natives of a Protectorate.

Constitution of the "Ma... Native Farmers Associ ti n"
Machochonous
6-24-31
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Basuto land

I NAME

This Association shall be called "Maseru Native Farmers Association."
Maseru

II OBJECT

To encourage its members to use proper methods of Agriculture and to take an interest in farming.

Race Problem - 1931

Abyssinia

Africa

ABYSSINIA'S RULER REVEALED AS EDITOR

Times

Haile Selassie Has Been the Proprietor of a Newspaper in His Capital Since 1928.

New York, N.Y.

SERVED AS REPORTER, TOO

7-24-31

Editorial by Him Denouncing Addis Abeba's Night Life Was Based on Personal Observations.

Emperor Haile Selassie of Abyssinia, who on July 16 retired from the ranks of the absolute monarchs and gave his people a constitution, has been the proprietor, editor and often the reporter, ever since he became King Regent in 1928, of a paper published at Addis Abeba in Coptic with parts in English and French.

That he had occupied himself with journalism had been kept a profound secret until it was proclaimed a few day before the festivities which ushered in the new Constitution, although the signature, "Ras Tafari"—his name as Regent and King—was not unknown in the columns of some French and English papers.

His paper is called Ethiopia, after the official name of his empire, and the special number which announced his retirement from absolutism contained a signed article in which editorial comment was mingled with reportorial observation. The London Times of July 10 calls it "a powerful article," saying:

"The Emperor of Ethiopia, in the paper of which he is editor, has written a powerful article against gay night life. The royal and editorial pen combine their forces, and he has denounced the drink shops of Abyssinia, where young men are lured by music and dancing into spending more than they can afford, so that they pawn their weapons and cease to count."

Likened to Haroun-al-Raschid.

It has been known for some time that the Emperor nurtured a paternal regard for his subjects and sought as far as possible to learn how and in what manner they lived. Stories have appeared from time to time in the French and Italian press describing his nocturnal wanderings in disguise about the streets of Addis Abeba and his visits to the town's resorts.

In this he has been compared to Haroun-al-Raschid of Bagdad fame, and the correspondents assumed that his Majesty was in quest of knowledge and possibly of pleasure, and never unearthed the fact that he was trying to emulate them as a reporter.

It had become known, however, that in his investigations he was encouraged rather than discouraged by his wife, Waisern Menen, whom he married in 1912 at the age of 21. She is said to be an expert typist and first aided him in his work when he began to write for La Tribune d'Orient and Correspondance d'Ethiopie of Addis Abeba in 1925.

In the following year he had a caustic correspondence with the League of Nations and with the British and Italian Ministers when he somehow discovered that England and Italy had created zones of influence in his territory without consulting him. His letters at this time, as well as his subsequent reply to a note from the League accusing his country of maintaining slavery, and his petition to the League asking for the admittance of his country—granted in 1923—were all favorably commented upon abroad for their logic and rhetoric. It was assumed that he must have a very intelligent secretary—possibly an Oxford or a Sorbonne man—and vain attempts were made to discover the secretary's identity.

Praises the Sunlight.

In his article condemning, from personal observation, the night life of Addis Abeba, his Majesty hints that those who make a practice of bartering their arms for drinks are guilty of treason, and then enters into a eulogy of the life-giving sunlight, under whose rays man is alone expected to toil and to enjoy himself. He does not condemn either starlight or moonlight as periods for legitimate pleasure and meditation, but night with artificial light he roundly denounces.

In further comment on the usefulness of his Majesty's adventures and their editorial application The Times says:

"An Emperor finds it advisable to prepare the ground for his rescripts by energetic personal journalism, and an elected representative demonstrates his general competence in order to secure respect for his political advice. It is the age, not of force but of a personal publicity which seeks to buttonhole and persuade. Abyssinians may be glad, even if they disagree on the quiet with their Emperor's pussyfoot tendencies. Buttonholing, even with argumentation, is after all a mild activity and leading articles are not lethal weapons.

"Earlier Ethiopian Emperors, lacking journalistic training and a wide acquaintance with tags, have evinced a less nice discernment of the relative efficacy of pen and sword, and have shown themselves less considerate in the methods by which they have contrived to reach the heads and hearts of their subjects."

History in Celluloid.

N.Y. Times
7-26-31

AFRICA was a fertile field for the imagination of Rider Haggard, but there are some places in Africa where the facts conquer the imagination. Picture, for instance, the scene at Addis Abeba, capital of Abyssinia, ten days ago when the descendant of the romance of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba granted a Constitution to his subjects.

Speaking from his throne, inscribed "The Lion of Judah Hath Conquered," Emperor Haile Selassie I explained the provisions of the Constitution which more in appearance than in reality removes him from the corporal's guard of absolute monarchs in the world. In so doing the head of one of the most out-of-the-way countries of the earth displayed an even greater genius for publicity than many a high-powered "counsel in public relations" in this country. Film moguls and impresarios of the prize ring cannot sign their momentous contracts, it seems, without the presence of the press. Haile Selassie went even further; not only did he summon foreign newspaper correspondents to watch him sign the Constitution, but he asked them to place their signatures on the document, too.

Well Filmed

The Ethiopian's epidermis and the leopard's pelt may not have done much to support the theory of evolution, but after 3,000 years Ethiopia has changed her form of government, and in full view of the celluloid film. Will Rogers once said, "Give Ireland home rule, but give me the movie rights." Now he may be willing to change the geography of his wish from Ireland to Abyssinia. Recent events in Abyssinia have screened well. There was the scene of barbaris splendor of a year ago when Haile Selassie was crowned Emperor. A short time before was a simpler, even more significant picture: Haile Selassie, the embodiment of calm dignity, seated at a flat-topped French desk; behind him, in striking contrast, an Ethiopian noble in gorgeous robes and the American Chargé d'Affaires in starched linen and morning coat; and the caption was "Signing the Kellogg Anti-War Pact."

The slow progress of Western civilization from the Dark Ages to the present is chronicled on shelf after shelf of our great libraries. Can the transition of Abyssinia from the Middle Ages to the era of conquered electrons be recorded on a few feet of film?

White Educator for Abyssinian Post

Afro-American

ADDIS ABABA, Abyssinia.—Dr. F. Ernest Work (white), professor of history at Muskingum College, New Concord, Ohio, has been retained by Emperor Haile Selassie to educate the 10,000,000 natives of this country, of whom less than one per cent can read or write.

DEMOCRATIC ABYSSINIA

Like the ancient Ethiopian who was treasurer to Queen Candace, and who has been immortalized by mention in the Bible of his reading as he rode in his chariot down from Jerusalem toward the African capital, the present sovereign of Abyssinia must have found time to read. The royal traveler of 2,000 years ago when asked, "What readest thou?" replied, "The prophecy of Isaiah." This king, the "Conquering Lion of Judah," must have been reading the prophecy of the fate that has overtaken kings and emperors in his day.

He has been absolute master of 15,000,000 people. The army is at his command. But hardly had the shouting and the tumult over his recent coronation died before he began to plan for democratic institutions. "It is my intention," he said to an American correspondent a few months ago, "as a supreme contribution to my country, to establish a constitution and give to it a parliament," and he added, with a modesty in contrast with the pomp and flourish which attended his imperial coronation, "perhaps not entirely perfect at first, but at least a start."

According to yesterday's cabled deport from his capital, the constitution has been proclaimed, a legislative body of two houses is to be set up, which, he gives promise, is to be "inspired by scientific principles." This suggests that he has not, after all, read deeply of the experiences of sovereigns that have entertained like worthy purposes.

He will find welcome among the democracies and constitutional monarchies of the earth, which has become an inhospitable, lonesome place for old-style kings and emperors, some of whom now have not where to lay their once uneasy heads.—New York Times.

ABYSSINIAN EMPEROR ACTS TO END SLAVERY

Times

Ras Tafari Issues Drastic Decree—Reports That He Has Put Some Traders to Death.

New York

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Aug. 21. Drastic measures to enforce the emancipation of 2,000,000 Abyssinian slaves are being taken by Ras Tafari, King of Kings and Emperor of Ethiopia. "The Conqueror Judas and Elect One of God," to give his majesty more of his titles, has sent a message to the Antislavery Society of London, stating that in addition to prohibiting slave traffic by decree he even has gone so far as to put slave traders to death. Already slaves in possession of private owners are being freed and a school has been opened at Addis Ababa, the Emperor's capital. King Tafari promised to abolish slavery as a coronation gesture when he was crowned last November, but Abyssinia is still one of the biggest centres of the slavery system. It is estimated that there are 4,000,000 slaves in the world, half of them in Abyssinia. Sir Sidney Barton, British Minister at Addis Ababa, has been elected to the committee which is enforcing the new reforms.

MODERN ETHIOPIA.

GRANT OF NEW CONSTITUTION.

(Special to the "African World.")

The Emperor of Ethiopia, His Majesty Kadamawi Haile Sillassie, granted a Constitution to his subjects on Thursday morning of last week, at a brilliant ceremony in the Palace in the presence of the Diplomatic Corps and representatives of the foreign press.

THE ETHIOPIAN LION STATUE.
Erected by the Emperor in memory of Menelik

Speaking from the Throne, his Majesty said that he had long wished to set up constitutional government, but had been prevented for various reasons. Now, however, he was able to do so. It was his intention that the Constitution which he was now granting should be enforced. Abyssinia must remain united like a single family, and would be governed by the Emperor in conformity with the Constitution. In future everyone would be subject to the law.

For many years Abyssinians had been isolated from the world and had been very backward, so that it was necessary for the Emperor to govern like a father, but now such progress had been made as to make it possible for them to take up some share of the task which he had hitherto performed alone. "It is in this spirit that we have decided, in order to enable all those who are worthy of it to take part in this work, to institute a legislative body of two Chambers. Their members will be designated by the Provinces subpect to Our consent."

Responsible Ministers would be appointed to execute throughout the Empire those decisions of the two Chambers which received the Imperial approval. In order to prevent future disputes the succession to the Crown would be secured to the present Dynasty. Legislation for the development and progress of the Empire would be inspired by scientific principles.

The Emperor said that he was granting the constitution after mature reflection and in conformity with the customs of the country. His Majesty concluded by thanking the members of the Diplomatic and Consular Corps for their attendance.

The Emperor then signed the Constitution, which was countersigned by Prince Asfau, the Heir Apparent, by Mgr. Kyril, Abuna and Primate of Ethiopia, and by all the Rases, Dejasmatches, Fitauraris, and other chieftains present. The foreign diplomatists, Consuls, and Pressmen were invited to sign as witnesses.

The ceremony was remarkable for the efficiency of its arrangements and for the admirable discipline of the troops on duty with their Belgian instructors. Many of the Abyssinian officials wore uniforms of a European type, but the Guards wore their traditional lion's mane headdresses.

The Secretary-General of the League of Nations was notified of the event by the Abyssinian Ministry for Foreign Affairs at Geneva, and Sir Eric Drummond sent a message in reply expressing his best wishes for the prosperity of that Empire.

The Minister Plenipotentiary.

His Excellency Bedjironde Zelleke Aguediou, Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to the Emperor of Ethiopia for Europe, arrived in London on June 27 from Paris and Vevey, and in a special interview with an African World representative, described the progress recently made in Ethiopia since the accession of the new monarch.

The Emperor of Ethiopia.

Ras Tafari, or, to give him his present title, Kadamawi Haile Sillassie (The Power of Trinity) is the most prominent figure in Abyssinia to-day, and claims descent from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. He was chosen Regent in 1923, was crowned King under the Empress in 1928, and when the latter died last March he was proclaimed King of Kings.

His Majesty Kadamawi Haile Sillassie succeeds to a throne of which he has long performed the duties.

His Majesty the Negus Tafari was born on the 17th Hamlie, 1883 (New Style, July 1891), and is the son of the Ras Makonnen grandson of his Majesty Sahle Selasse nephew of his Majesty the Empero Menelik II. At the age of 23, on the 17th Mascaram, 1909 (New Style, September, 1916), he was named heir to the throne and Regent of the Empire, which led to warfare between himself and the Negus Micael, father of the ex-heir to the throne, Prince Yassou. The Negus Micael and his adherents were defeated at Segale and taken prisoners. Prince Yassou, seeing that his father was vanquished, fled to the desert, whence he passed to conceal himself in the Tigre province under the government of Ras Gugsa, who arrested him by order of his Majesty the Negus Tafari and delivered him up to him after the great expedition to Dessier in April, 1921.

HIS MAJESTY KADAMAWI HAILE SILLASSIE.

On the 27th Mascaram, 1921 (October 7, 1928), the Negus Tafari Makonnen was solemnly crowned King of Ethiopia by the popular will, but a fresh coronation took place in November at which the Duke of Gloucester attended, incidentally being the first British Prince to visit Abyssinia in an official capacity. Thanks to this indefatigable King, who is considered the Light of Ethiopia, this country will become, within a few years, as civilised as a European one.

His Majesty has always shown a readiness to imbibe new ideas and an eagerness to be enlightened on matters which have hitherto been thought to hold no interest for his countrymen. He is known to favour the progressive modernisation of his country—his recent purchase of their aeroplane from some enterprising visitors was another illustration of his Majesty's willingness to adapt the newest products of mechanical science to the uses of the oldest of civilisations. Seven years ago he paid an historical visit to London, being the first direct heir of the Royal House to leave his native African fastness. He also visited France and Italy. His journey thus constituted a momentous break with the past. Silent, observant, and dignified, he created a most favourable impression wherever he went; and he returned to Addis Ababa with an invaluable first-hand knowledge of the heart of the Empire whose fringe has 2,000 miles of common frontier with his own.

Banque d'Ethiope.

The Banque d'Ethiope, to which the Banque d'Abyssinia has been officially changed, has been taken over by His Majesty's Government at a cost of £250,000, and this will be re-established as from September 1 next. The Bank is entirely owned by the Ethiopian Government, and the shareholders are all connected with the Government of the country and other Abyssinian notabilities.

It is intended to establish branches of the bank throughout Europe, when the concern is better established, with also a branch in London.

The New Constitution.

The new Constitution granted by His Majesty Kadamawi Haile Sillassie, aims for continued progress in Ethiopia. His Majesty intends to follow the ideals originally laid down by his predecessor, Menelik, and to improve upon those ideas in every way possible, so that his country may progress on modern lines. Everything possible has been done to put the laws and regulation of Ethiopia in order, and each Department of State has now received instructions direct from His Majesty for the more efficient working of internal matters.

His Majesty signed the new Constitution on July 16, corresponding to the 9th Hamlie of the Ethiopian Calendar. Judges, magistrates, and all sections of the Government have received written instructions on how to deal with their offices in the future, and in the short time since the Coronation and His Majesty became independent, he has done all in his power for the good of the country.

Improvements in Ethiopia.

Since his accession much progress has been made in Ethiopia, chiefly due to the zealous efforts of the Sovereign. The Postal Administration and organisation has been brought up-to-date, means of communications, well-laid roads, and general improvements have been carried out.

Addis Ababa, the capital, has been brought into line with the best European cities. New buildings have been put up, and it is the intention of the Emperor to build a new palace adjacent to the site of the existing palace built by Menelik.

Race Problem - 1931 I Liberia.
Africa.

LIBERIA: REFUGE—AND TRAP—FOR SLAVES

A Picture of the Country, Set Up as a Haven, in Which the Traffic in Human Beings Is Now Flourishing

A "Pawned" Bush Boy "Raised Up" as a Monrovia House Servant.

By CAROLINE SINGER

DISGRACED, the Americo-Liberians, who form the governing aristocracy of Liberia, stand before the civilized nations. These descendants of freed slaves from the United States and the West Indies—those courageous pioneers who, with the aid of a handful of white men, founded a "refuge" for the black race and who proclaimed as their sacred slogan, from the day of the republic's birth in 1847, "There shall be no slavery"—are charged, as the result of a recent investigation on the part of the League of Nations, with slave-holding and slave-trading. Ironical their situation is; admittedly, it is shameful. And yet, viewed dispassionately against its African background the situation's outlines—undeniably ugly—become somewhat less sharp. For many the report of the International Commission of Inquiry is not news. Spectacular reports and rumors concerning the survival of slavery in Liberia and persistent exploitation of helpless jungle folk by descendants of repatriated Africans now resolved into charges which assume international significance—have long been current throughout West Africa. They form a conspicuous part of the monologues of sea captains on coastwise vessels, and every traveler learns of them—particularly the American, to whom they have been related in a slightly accusatory tone and with obvious relish, for Liberia, bound to the United States by ties that are intensely practical as well as sentimental, is frequently referred to, even in government circles on the West Coast, as the "American Protectorate." And despite the rigid policy of censorship—extending even to the mails—despite the policy of concealment, lying and interference with foreign visitors, black and white, maintained by the recently deposed President King, whose prolonged grip upon the republic was akin to a dictatorship, the shocking lapses of Americo-Liberians with regard to slavery were evident to the most casual observer tarrying in Monrovia or visiting its tropical environs.

In a population about which little authentic information exists, but which is commonly estimated to be less than 1,500,000, the Americo-Liberians (descendants of the pioneers for whom white Americans procured coastal land and whose emigration took place, for the most part, between 1820 and 1860) are said to number 20,000. Monrovia, capital of the government which is dominated by Americo-Liberians, is also the only settlement of any consequence, as well as the chief seaport.

This Monrovia is a lolling, overgrown village with crooked, grassy streets which amble into its outskirts, narrow to paths and finally trickle into the near-by jungle. On every hand is apparent the urgent need for thrifty activity of a sort requiring little skill or experience. There is no water system; there are not enough wells and many of those which exist are shallow and likely to be exhausted during the dry season. For indefinite periods the street lights remain out of order. A lack of the rudimentary sanitation needed by a port still visited periodically by yellow fever is evident. There are a few government buildings and semi-modern residences, some rotting cabins and a goodly number of pretentious storied houses. Badly built, incomplete, or wanting simple repairs, these last wear a ramshackle air. With its lush gardens and its setting of sea and jungle, the settlement is not altogether unbeautiful. But it is steeped in a strangely vitiated atmosphere for which the depressing heat is not altogether responsible, since its male citizens, suffering no discomfort, affect heavy imported woolens.

* * *

THE newcomer is immediately struck by the fact that Americo-Liberians are conspicuously absent from the town's few desultory activities. In the harbor the freight is handled by able seamen from the Kru tribe. White clerks in the waterfront establishments of white traders — Monrovia's only shops—are assisted by educated Africans from elsewhere, or from hinterland tribes. In the market animated women peddlers are "natives" or "creoles" from British Freetown. The servants of the white households are drawn from the hinterland.

Meanwhile, sleek and cheerful, the Americo-Liberians are to be observed swaying in rocking chairs upon verandas, ambling from house to house, unctuously attending countless religious gatherings of which they are extravagantly fond, or marching, prancing to lodge meetings in the wake of a band reiterating a pagan folk tune in terms of jazz.

Breeding places for fever-carriers, the weeds grow high and empty cans collect. The surrounding country cries out for agricultural development and the town's market is insufficiently supplied with fresh foodstuffs. But magnificent is the disdain of Americo-Liberians for manual labor; they are "white-collar" folk. Lacking practical experience and inclined, therefore, to substitute sharp practice and cunning for industry and intelligent application, they are barred from berths in foreign business concerns. And though so many of the voting and property-holding males are now in government pay that government is called Liberia's "chief industry," there are never enough posts.

And yet, mysteriously as orchids, the Americo-Liberians thrive. Notoriously impecunious—the one British bank has withdrawn—they nevertheless seem to possess infinite leisure; their living conditions, measured by European standards, fall far short of luxury, but they are lavish when compared with the primitive conditions of the hinterland.

The explanation, long apparent and now broadcast throughout the world, is quite simple. The Americo-Liberian aristocrats are served by unpaid labor. Babies are tended meals prepared, enormous washings done, floors scrubbed, bundles carried—no Americo-Liberian in his or her right senses will fetch and carry—by personal servants, usually children. In Africa it is always customary for the younger people to serve the older. It is their obligation. Therefore, the extreme youth of this labor is not particularly shocking to anybody. These—a raggle-taggle crew with whom the Monrovian houses teem—are known as "bush" children and they are, for the most part, well treated. Not infrequently these household servants, upon reaching maturity, marry Americo-Liberians. And this is good, for thus new links are forged between the up-stage aristocrats and their hinterland subjects.

The method of procuring the children, however, throws light upon the moral standards of Liberia's best society, the capital's bon ton. Some are adopted from primitive tribes with their parents' consent. (This "adopting" of orphans for practical purposes has not been unknown in our own fair land.) Some are received as presents from primitive folk who, though they seem to love their offspring deeply, are at times inclined to considerable carelessness in such matters. These

strange human presents are sometimes thus given to Americo-Liberians by wistful pagans, desiring that their children should "learn book," be educated. Sometimes they are given in return for a favor. And if a loan constitutes this favor, the child is then actually pawned to the debtor. Since these debts are rarely paid, such a transaction assumes the aspect of a sale.

This dubious business of "pawning," now illegal in Liberia, is African. For centuries parents have pawned their children in this manner, given them over to slave-holding fellow-Africans in return for money, goods, or, in time of famine, foodstuffs. Chiefs have maintained the right to pawn their subjects. And men without means or goods, confronted with the payment of fines imposed by tribal courts, have been known to pawn themselves.

Akin to this pawning of individuals is a custom of servitude prevalent in many parts of Africa. Having become destitute, or belonging to a tribe which has become disintegrated, a family will place itself in permanent servitude to a prosperous man and his heirs. Chiefs have often encouraged this type of dependence by offers of material rewards or by bringing about the impoverishment of such a family. A chief, surrounded by such dependents has under his immediate control laborers who insure him wealth and who also provide vassals, likely to be more loyal than more independent clansmen.

* * *

AMONG the "bush" children a goodly number are acknowledged to be the results of extra-marital unions of Americo-Liberian men with "bush" women as "secondary wives."

Extra wives are not difficult to procure in a country where monogamy is considered to be abnormal and eccentric. Chiefs have always made a practice of currying favor, with one another and with those possessing superior power, by gifts of comely and strong young women. In return for a "bride price" —this price varies with different localities—any parent will part with a healthy young daughter. This "bride price" is not considered a purchase price. It is accepted by the parents as compensation for the girl's training and as consolation for the loss of her labor. A definite practical value these secondary wives have particularly for men who feel above the meanness of toil but are unable to pay farm labor. Since they wear only a strip of calico around their loins, a few beads, kerchiefs upon their heads and grow their own food, they are not a liability. Their children, making admirable servants, sometimes develop into admirable daughters—and sons who may become statesmen. Furthermore, these women are expert farmers; for in West Africa all women farm, and in many tribes the agricultural work is done entirely by them.

The transition from the use of "bush" children as domestic servants, and of "bush" concubines as unpaid farm labor, to the use of unpaid plantation labor of both sexes is brief. How such labor was procured in one instance that I noted I cannot say. But I spent an afternoon on a coffee plantation owned by a prominent Americo-Liberian who was then a member of President King's Cabinet—a place popular with foreigners and not more than twenty miles from Monrovia — and saw near our host's bungalow, one of the best in the vicinity, a small mud and thatch village of passive, bewildered natives. It was an acknowledged fact that, strangers to any of the local tribes, they had by some means been brought from the far interior and, fearing violence, did not dare return to their own people. These poor creatures, at their master's will, produced their masked tribal oracle, who danced on stilts before the foreign guests.

At the time of President King's inauguration a great gang of nearly naked laborers accompanied by two drummers swept over Monrovia like locusts, cutting away the grass from the streets and removing refuse heaps. Like the plantation labor these, too, were naïve, bewildered strangers. Since the sight was then novel and the drumming of their two musicians sounded very jolly, my husband went out to sketch. I to listen and look on. There immediately appeared beside us a Cabinet Minister, who, without prefacing his remarks with any greeting, stated belligerently, "These men receive 6 pence apiece a day and food. Also they are very happy." Not until then had our suspicions been aroused. We became curious, and before nightfall had, without any especial difficulty, discovered that the men had been seized by soldiers of the government's frontier force and marched from a distant village. They were captives, receiving no pay and compelled to furnish their own primitive tools and food supplies.

Drafting of labor gangs by patriarchal African chiefs is customary when some special work is needed in their own tribal territory, and the men respond like docile children obeying a father. This arrangement is generally a happy one and the work, accompanied by the excitements of drumming and singing, applauded by wives and kinsmen, assumes the air of a fiesta. However, from this innocent African custom, so suitable to communal existence, spring some of the most vicious practices in West African colonies. It can readily be understood that all chiefs are not equally wise, courageous or good, and this custom facilitates their corruption by individuals or colonial governments. For a little money or a special favor they willingly turn over their own men to strangers; and the men, never highly individualized—in tribal life they rarely are—and fearing tribal discipline as well as trouble with their 'employers," dare not rebel. But when hinterland natives are impressed into service to clean the streets of Monrovia, a different situation develops. No money was paid for this labor during President King's inauguration, the laborers were supplied by a chief who feared Americo-Liberian persecution.

* * *

NO brotherly love, but a long-standing feud, exists between Americo-Liberians and native folk. The first settlers, as the result of Christian teaching, were imbued with a desire to uplift their "black brethren"—this desire lingers in the protestations of contemporary politicians. But as white flesh is no bond between Europeans, black flesh is no tie between different groups of Negroes. It is this fact which makes possible the recruiting of large colonial armies, such as those which, under the leadership of Allies and Germans, opposed each other so savagely in tropical Africa during the World War. The natives looked upon the first settlers as aliens, as contemptible aliens, a detribalized African folk speaking a borrowed tongue. They warred upon them, exterminating whole settlements. The Krus, whose largest settlement now forms a slum upon the seaside outskirts of Monrovia, always notorious slave raiders, attempted to capture them for slaving whites.

Recent disclosures prove conclusively that the chasm which divides Americo-Liberians from their less enlightened wards is neither so wide nor deep as the former claim or the outside world has supposed. But Americo-Liberians, in countless ways, take pains to advertise and exaggerate the rift. In West Coast Africa it is customary for whites to use "bush" as a term of reproach in rebuking Africans who have adopted foreign ways. To call such Africans "bush boys" or "bush women" is comparable to calling them greenhorns, oafs, country bumpkins. In dealing with primitive folk, this term of reproach is also freely used by black Americo-Liberians in Monrovia, as well as the word "nigger."

The right of precedence is reserved by Americo-Liberians for themselves. On the streets of the capital the average Americo-Liberian man—the women are less demonstrative—demands the right of way. Primitive people who interrupt his progress are cuffed or jostled aside. The Americo-Liberian, loving clothes—with him the European dress is a badge of cultural superiority—maintains a holier-than-thou attitude concerning semi-nudity. In many white colonies laws against semi-nudity have been passed, not for the sake of public morals, but in order to stimulate a desire for imported cloth which, in turn, creates a need for money, this need encouraging Africans to collect and sell native products coveted by white traders.

Similar laws exist in Liberia, not for the sake of trade, but because Americo-Liberians, particularly Monrovians, are greatly offended by the sight of too much exposed black flesh. Consequently the simple country maiden who innocently walks into town wearing the customary "bush" skirt is liable to a stiff calling-down, shattering to her pride, or to arrest and fine. These fines are useful to the police magistrates of an impoverished government.

* * *

VERY touchy are the Americo-Liberians about the flag flying daily before the Presidential Mansion. When these colors are raised at sunrise and lowered at sunset to the tooting of a bugler all persons, black or white, within sight—even blocks away—must stand at at attention. Naturally such formalities are unknown to chance visitors from the "bush," who are pounced upon by the police and with dazed expressions upon their faces, hauled away to the jail. I witnessed such an arrest. On this occasion, the native was delivering an order of beer from a sea-front store to a white dinner party. It was necessary for the white host to bail out his boy and the half-dozen bottles before the dinner party could proceed.

This relationship between Americo-Liberians and the native peoples was unpleasantly apparent during the inauguration of President King. Several hundred paramount chiefs arrived in the capital after many days of trekking. Their visit was not voluntary. They had been warned to appear or suffer the consequences, their attendance being needed to impress foreign visitors. One by one these travel-worn men, able, shrewd-visaged, of startling dignity but distinctly bored, reported to the Department of the Interior. Then, coming away with bottles of "trade" gin, they sought shelter in native villages or made camp beyond the town's precincts, having been forbidden by the government to annoy Americo-Liberians by remaining in town during the night.

Time's Magazine

ONE of the features of an inaugural ceremony is the triumphal march from the Presidential Mansion to a temporary pavilion raised for the occasion beside the House of Representatives, in which only those invited may take part. The marchers, ranged according to their local importance, are led by the newly elected President, accompanied by the members of the Cabinet, the Representatives and visiting foreign officials, and followed by Americo-Liberians of less importance, who precede white traders and other foreign residents. At the tail end, hustled about by minor officials, straggle the Paramount Chiefs, who are most often the

Race Problem-1931 II Liberia

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great men of Africa.

But having marched as bid, all but a score—when I witnessed the affair—were forcibly shoved away at the pavilion door, since no provision had been made for seating these humble if honorable guests. Throughout the long speeches, alone among the natives permitted within ear-shot, they stood in the heat outside staring at their Americo-Liberian betters with curious, secretive looks. One meeting was held for them only, at which the President, sitting in a gilded chair of state, speaking through a troop of interpreters, warned them that he would expect increased taxpaying. Referring to his program, he facetiously remarked that if they "found this soup too hot for them they must blow on it; but it must be drunk."

When the week's general excitement dissipated, when dances and dinner parties were fewer, the Paramount Chiefs—quite by themselves—were fed late one evening in the upper room of a government building. Afterward I encountered them, accompanied by the government's jazz band, dancing half-heartedly and somewhat drunkenly through the town's back streets, led by President King and the Minister of the Interior in high hats, their identity obscured by the velvety darkness. This was the government's only social gesture in behalf of mutual understanding and brotherly love.

* * *

DURING that same fantastic week it was rumored that my next-door neighbor, newly arrived from the southern coast, had just succeeded, with the aid of Liberian Government soldiers, in ruthlessly capturing several hundred jungle folk and shipping them aboard a Spanish boat bound for the cocoa plantations of Spanish Fernandez Po, selling them for $50 apiece, the proceeds to be split with those in power who made the venture possible. Later I met a German sea captain whose boat had overhauled the Spanish vessel as she steamed away, her exposed decks packed with a human cargo. A lively hearty man, my neighbor, to whom the President soon tendered one of the government's highest posts, is now dead; he died during the recent inquiry, his death following with mysterious suddenness upon the rumor that he had made an affidavit concerning slavery and involving his intimate, the President.

From time immemorial there has been a slave trade and slavery in Africa. There were Negro slaves in ancient Egypt, Carthage, Athens, Rome and Jerusalem. The first people to trade "in a big way" were the Moors and the Haussas. These latter are the vigorous black warriors now sought for police duty and army service by white colonial governments. Eventually Arabs monopolized the importation of slaves to Mediterranean countries and during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries profited by the Atlantic trade established by Europeans supplying the American Colonies. Though the magnitude of the wrong inflicted upon Africa by slaving whites is so gigantic that it can never be measured, it must also be remembered that then, as always before, the middlemen were Africans.

In the shameful old days, African cultures which might have flowered were demolished by the destruction of villages, by the intimidation and scattering of defenseless peoples, by the precipitation of intertribal warfare, accompanying actual depopulation. And it is to be remembered that folk of Christian countries were very reluctant themselves to condemn slavery. Before the trade was declared iniquitous more than 3,000,000 souls, it is estimated, were taken out of Africa. Men and women, shackled together, driven from the interior under the lash of brutal African middlemen, were imprisoned at the sea coast and sold to whites.

Once again the marches have taken place. The floggings at the hands of African middlemen—members of Liberia's frontier force recruited from primitive tribes—the cruel, vile imprisonments at the sea coasts, have been duplicated. And with wholesale procuring of labor for white Europeans, for French and Spanish colonials on the west coast of Africa, the purpose is the old purpose. In defense of themselves the Americo-Liberians have always protested that the excellent fees received for this labor—shared by the Liberian Government, individuals and native chiefs—do not constitute a purchase price since the people shipped to foreign territory were privileged to return eventually, though no provision was made for such a contingency. However, along the coast of West Africa it is well known that of the more than 7,000 shipped away, particularly to Spanish Fernandez Po, few could ever return, since they were placed on cocoa farms, in areas rife with sleeping sickness, areas which the disease year after year depopulated.

Doubtless the first Americo-Liberians were earnest in denouncing slavery. But it is likely that they had little time or energy left for the rehearsal of past wrongs. And it is still more likely that they did not care to dwell much upon a former state of degradation. Therefore the indignities suffered by them in a far-away land must have seemed extremely shadowy to their children. For these children and the succeeding generations the prejudice against slavery was an inherited prejudice. Though incorporated in political effusions, sermons and textbooks, it tended to degenerate into an unsubstantial thing of nice phrases lacking conviction.

And so, despising the "heathen," the aristocratic Americo-Liberians have adopted their practices

A KRU SLAVE RUNNER

A Belle of the Bush Country

A Slave Type From the Hinterland.

Left—
A "Secondary Wife" of Monrovia.

Conscripted Bush Natives, Guarded by a Frontier Force Soldier, Working on Roads in Time With Tribal Drummers

Charleston, S. C., News & Courier
Sunday, January 25, 1931

Slavery in Liberia

World attention has been directed to the shocking slave conditions in the negro republic of Liberia. Negro owners of negro slaves are common. Mr. Stimson, American secretary of state, has denounced the conditions in strong terms, placing all of the responsibility and a good share of the guilt on government officials in Monrovia. The Nation applauds Mr. Stimson's stand.

"Without official protection whether it be protection directly given or merely that of tolerance, slavery and forced labor would quickly die out," The Nation says. "This is the lesson of the Stimson denunciation. It is a lesson that should be driven home to the delegates of the slavery-protecting countries at Geneva. The League of Nations has already done admirable work in this direction."

Slavery in the negro republic of Liberia would seem to be utterly out of the question. The setting up of the republic was to assure freedom to negroes. freedom in all its forms. This generation has forgotten the exodus from Charleston. It has forgotten Alfred B. Williams' graphic account of the voyage of the bark Azor. It has forgotten the picture of Liberia furnished by Mr. Williams. Forty years ago Liberia sounded like the promised land to tens of thousands of American negroes.

Reports of slavery in Liberia shows that the negroes are brought from distant parts of Africa and that their condition is a most unhappy one. They get little and they are expected by their negro owners to return profits. How the negroes governing Liberia can justify slavery is for negro leaders to answer. White people who would spread evil reports of conditions when slaves were property in South Carolina are invited to turn their attention to Liberia. If they believe, as they profess to believe, that negro slaves in this state were cruelly treated, what think they of the the treatment of negroes by negroes in Liberia?

BEAUMONT, TEX.
ENTERPRISE

JAN 30 1931

SLAVERY IN LIBERIA

A black aristocracy supporting itself by the toil of black slave labor is the picture of conditions in Liberia, drawn by a writer for the New York Times Sunday Magazine. The sprawling little capital of Liberia, Monrovia, is the kind of town one would expect to find in a country still backward and ruled by a minority of about 20,000 Afro-Americans whose chief aim in life seems to be to avoid unnecessary exertion in the form of work.

Negro freedmen founded the republic in 1822 with the help of American whites. Liberia was to be a haven of refuge for the black man. It represented, in a small way, an effort on the part of the United States to make amends for some of the wrongs done negroes during slavery times. The black man was to have a land and a government of his own where his rights would be respected, as they were respected nowhere else in Africa at that time.

But the high ideals expressed in the constitution of Liberia, and still parroted by her politicians, soon lost their force. It was easier for the dominant black man to enslave his savage kin from the jungles than to pay plantation workers and house servants.

Thus slavery gained a foothold in Liberia, Although Liberia notified the League of Nations in 1930 that all domestic slaves had been freed, recent investigations conducted under the auspices of the league revealed that the worst abuses of a system outlawed by enlightened world opinion existed in the republic whose very name was made a mockery by slave traders.

So. African Native Workers' Wages Slashed

Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

CAPE TOWN, South Africa.—The decision of the government to reduce the substantive pay of colored and native workers in the railways and harbors' service has created a certain amount of unrest in Cape Town. The government's action is viewed with disfavor in that those least able to bear it are called upon to carry the burden of the reduction of wages.

Today the native dock workers addressed a petition to the Minister of Railways, in which they pointed out that, though their pay was 4s 6d a day, they were lucky to obtain two days' employment a week. Out of their meagre earnings they had to pay poll tax, quit rent, rent at the local location, and in addition contribute to the support of their dependents in the native territories. Trade in the port of Cape Town is at a low ebb, and the reduction of even 1s a week means serious hardship to them. The petition was couched in courteous language, and expressed the hope that, even at this stage, the government would stay its hand.

Colored railway workers are equally disappointed with the action of the government. They intended to hold a mass meeting on the Parade today to voice their protest, but decided at the last minute to postpone the meeting. They intend to follow the lead of the native section of the workers. At the same time arrangements are being made for a mass protest meeting early next week.

Race Problem-1931

Liberia.

Africa

NEW YORK WORLD

FEB 1 1931

Liberia Suffers Bad Sanitary Conditions

Colonizing Societies Unite to Improve Negro Nation's Affairs

By Lester A. Walton

SUPPRESSION of slavery is not the only major problem confronting the Liberian government for prompt solution. Elimination of yellow fever, the country's most deadly and menacing hidden foe, is another.

Criticism directed against unsanitary conditions in the little black republic is made by the Advisory Committee on Education in Liberia, whose membership is composed of American colonization, missionary and educational societies. It is as accusatory in tone and as specific in allegations as the charges contained in the report of the International Commission of Inquiry into the existence of slavery and forced labor.

The Advisory Committee on Education in Liberia charges Liberian officials with maintaining an apathetic attitude toward improved sanitation, and in resolutions sent to the United States Secretary of State asks that an international commission be appointed to see that the recommendations of the slavery commission be carried out for the welfare of the people of the republic.

Liberian Officials Ceased Support

The implied threat in the resolutions of the possibility of the missionary societies and other agencies withdrawing their teachers and closing all mission schools under their supervision unless whole hearted cooperation is given by the Liberian government is unmistakable. Should conditions reach so acute a stage as to bring about such a contingency it would mean a complete breakdown of Liberia's most effective educational system.

Of the 164 schools in the republic 108 are conducted by missionary and colonization societies, with 259 teachers, some of whom are natives. It is estimated that more than a quarter of a million dollars is spent annually in their maintenance.

The committee in its resolutions relates that:

After the death of James L. Sibley, educational adviser of the committee, and W. T. Francis, the United States Minister to Liberia, and other persons during the yellow fever epidemic in Monrovia in the spring and summer of 1929, Great Britain had requested the State Department at Washington to use its good offices in an effort to have the sanitary condition of Monrovia improved with a view to cleaning up the yellow fever situation; that at the suggestion of the State Department the Liberian Government requested the United States Public Health Service to send a sanitary engineer to Liberia to co-operate with the government in carrying out a thorough sanitary program.

Affairs Come Before League

Dr. Howard F. Smith was sent and made an excellent beginning with an effective program, but after a few months the government withdrew its co-operation, with the result that Dr. Smith found it impossible to carry out his plans; that notwithstanding the United States State Department's urgent request to the Liberian Government to continue its support of Dr. Smith it was discontinued on Nov. 1, 1930, and he reported to Washington that his presence in Monrovia was no longer justified. At the same time a strong note was presented to the Liberian Government pointing out that responsibility for any unsanitary conditions and the possible recurrence of yellow fever was entirely theirs.

Incorporated in the resolutions is the statement that prominent Liberians refused to remove cane and barrels of stale water from their premises when requested to do so by Dr. Smith. Despite diagnoses made by representatives of the Rockefeller Institute and other medical authorities, and the fatal illness of Minister Francis, Dr. Sibley and others, officials of the Liberian Government have scouted the idea that yellow fever exist in Monrovia, it is averred.

Great Britain's serious concern for the health and safety of its citizens living in Liberia was evidenced recently by the withdrawal of the British Bank of West Africa, located in Monrovia.

The following representatives of colonization, missionary and educational societies signed the resolutions pledging to the United States Government, through the Secretary of State, full support in efforts to assist the Liberian Government improve conditions with respect to slavery, forced labor and sanitation, and to help the republic take its proper place among the nations of the world:

Jackson Davis, New York State Colonization Society; Thomas S. Donohugh, Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church; J. E. East, Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention; Thomas Jesse Jones, Phelps-Stokes Fund; A. B. Parson, Department of Missions, Protestant Episcopal Church; M. Edwin Thomas, Board of Missions of the United Lutheran Church; Henry Litchfield West, American Colonization Society, and George G. Wolkins, Trustees of Donations for Education in Liberia.

Elizabethton, Tenn., Star
Saturday, February 28, 1931

U. S. Youth of 27 Will Aid Liberia

WASHINGTON — Twenty-seven-year-old Samuel Reber, jr., of Eastnampton, N. Y., and Harvard, will help the negro republic of Libera abolish slavery and fight pestilence in its yellow-fewer infested jungles.

He is the American member of the Leauge of Nations committee.

Reber, charge d'afraires at Monrovia, the mosquito-ridden capital of Africa's "land of the free," is one of the very young "career men" of the diplomatic service.

Graduated from Harvard in 1925, he entered the foreign service in 1926 and had been on duty at Washington and Lima Peru, before assignment to the African post. Reber has made an intensive study of the Liberian situation.

The League of Nations committee will meet soon at Geneva to formulate plans of assisting the Liberian government put into effect reforms recommended by the international commission of inquiry, which revealed the existence of "shocking slavery conditions," corruption in high office and lack of sanitation.

These may provide for financial aid for the Liberian government and the procuring of district supervisors, either Americans or Europeans, whose chief duty would be to prevent slave raiding in the interior.

Terrorization of the natives has resulted, the commission said, in retarding the development of the entire country to the detriment of the ruling Americo-Liberians themselves.

Education of the native and improvement of his living conditions, the commission held, would benefit the governing class and increase governmental revenues.

Charleston, S. C., News & Courier
Wednesday, February 25, 1931

U. S. YOUTH TO ASSIST

27 Years Old, Named for Reforms in Liberia

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Paris Daily Coaches King's Liberia to Answer America

Negro World
2-22-31
New York, N. Y.

Satire on America's Insulted Innocence

"If We Have Slaves, We Are Just Imitating You

WE DON'T BURN THEM

"While League Is Very Very Angry With Us—Well—?"

PARIS. — The Paris Midi, leading afternoon journal, writing on slavery in Liberia, thinks that the United States is somewhat too sensitive about conditions in the African republics. The status of the blacks, in America, the Paris Midi thinks, is in ne respects worse than in Liberia. Liberia, it says, the Negroes are t not burnt alive.

n this manner, the Midi thinks, that Liberia should respond to the note of the United States:

"Dear Uncle and god-father, thou art my father and my mother, and I am nothing but a little worm so I am very much afraid when you thunder and lightning like that. You have a pain in the liver because we have slaves in our land who plant manioc, beat the tom-tom, and carry big trees, and who are whipped with bamboos when they won't work. You say: 'It is shameful, because I took you out of slavery and now you have enslaved your brothers and your cousins. If you don't behave I will send against you a great warship with sharpshooters armed with great red flowers that will kill.'

"But how unfortunate we are, we poor Negroes! The white men who are like God Almighty, we poor Negroes, never know just what they want. But understand,' Oh great master and uncle, that if we Liberians have slaves it is because we were trying to imitate the great republic of the United States. We have a president, like you, a cabinet, a senate, a house of representatives like

you, and universal suffrage, and you also make the slaves work so that you can make plenty of dollars. . . .

"Oh, my father, and my mother, my uncle and my godfather, the great Uncle Sam, understand this: We have slaves, it is true, but we are kindhearted. When we have to punish a wicked Negro we put him to death after a trial but we do not burn him alive, we never pour oil on him and then set him afire.

"And for doing that the League of Nations has never said anything to you, my uncle; but with us, very angry, very angry."

Name White Man on Slave Commission

Defender 2-14-31

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 13.—Appointment of Samuel Reber Jr. (white), former American charge d'affaires at Monrovia, as the representative of the United States on the international committee to consider means of assiting the Liberian government in putting into effect the recommendations of the international commission which investigated slavery there last year was announced at the state department last Wednesday.

Mr. Reber left Monrovia on Saturday for Geneva, where the committee will meet. No date has yet been set for the first meeting. The committee will consist of representatives of Liberia, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Spain and Venezuela, in addition to the United States. It was proposed at the recent session of the council of the league after the Liberian government had accepted the recommendation of the slavery commission in principle and had invited the appointment of a supervising committee.

The United States was opposed to any committee which would amount merely to another investigating body without real powers. The committee now authorized is satisfactory to this government.

EX-PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA FACES SLAVERY TRIAL

Afro-American

Vice - President, Secretary of State Imprisoned for Murder

4-18-31

NATION AROUSED

Baltimore Md.

Faulkner Expected to Defeat Pres. Barclay

[Reproduction Forbidden]

(Special to the AFRO-AMERICAN)

MONROVIA, Liberia.—Ex-President C. D. B. King and two former members of his cabinet are on trial for their lives.

Ex-President King is charged in Sinoe County, with participation in the slave trade.

Allen Yancy, ex-vice-president, and M. Brooks former superintendent, Maryland, County, and captain of frontier soldiers, is in jail on the charge of murder and enslavement of natices.

I. B. Watson, former Md. County district commissioner, is indicted for slavery and forced labor.

In Monrovia, Montserrado County, the ex-President's son, Charles King, along with one Nathan Eastman, of the Treasury Department; Commandant Harper, of the Frontier force, an American boy King reared in his home, are all held for embezzling the Frontier soldiers' money when they paid them off.

David Carter, a real tyrant, held for slavery, forced labor and murder, is in jail.

John L. Morris is also held on the charge of murder. He is former secretary of Public Works, and a son-in-law of the Rev. Mr. Ernest Lyon.

Mr. Philip F. Simpson, former member of the House of Representatives, is held for slavery and forced labor. Quite a number of minor arrests have been made, and there appears a determination on the part of the judiciary to make a clean breast of this affair, though, there is a tendency to shield certain ones even yet.

Faulkner Campaigns

T. J. R. Faulkner, responsible for the slavery expose, and the probe of the International Commision, is campaigning for election May 5, and being received everywhere with acclaim.

The people, and especially the natives, are very anxious to see the man who dared to risk so much to relieve them of the great burden that they thought would never be lifted. Wonder receptions were given him. The Americo-Liberian, who did not dare open his mouth, no matter how terrible the act of these officials, is surprised.

Ex-Vice-President Yancy, now behind the bars, forced white merchants to dismiss all persons that were known to have voted for Faulkner in the last election, and upon any excuse they were heavily fined and persecuted. The joy of the people is indescribable, and if Barclay is defeated in the election, which is without doubt, there will be complete joy.

Barclay Incompetent

On the 21st of January, while the Council of the League of Nations was in session, the British representative at Monrovia, called on President Barclay and told him that the British Government had instructed him to say that his administration was incompetent to institute the required reforms and that the British Government suggested that Liberia invite an International Commission of Control of Liberian Affairs for a certain definite period.

Though he could not accept the suggestion of seven as was asked to take over the affairs, but did ask the League Council to appoint four of the seven recommended. Mr. Barclay has not as yet been recognized by the nations as the legal President of Liberia.

President Barclay cannot understand that the nations are against him because he denied the slavery charges that were found to be true; that his denial was for the purpose of shielding these culprits.

In addition, Mr. Barclay, while a member of the cabinet of President King, received $2.50 for each native shipped by M. Ross and Yancy, indicted slave traders. Mr. Barclay issued the passports for each laborer shipped out of the country.

$30,000 Short

Auditors claim President Barclay was $30,000 short, this amount being money due for passports of laborers shipped, and monies accruing from dead laborers' estates that had not been settled. Barclay borrowed the money to settle up this shortage, and for a time his pay as the Secretary of State was withheld, even after he was sworn in as the Acting President.

THE FUTURE LIBERIA.

Weekly News

THE League of Nations Commission of Enquiry in Liberia is not altogether of unmixed evil. In fact all the prognostications indicate that it will result in the improvement of the country. The findings of the Commission disclose a condition of things which have received such publicity, criticism and comments that further discussion on them would be surplusage Liberia has however the consolation that in order to set its house in order it invited and constituted the Commission. 4-4-31

The recommendations of the Commission will have the effect of revolutionising Liberia and making of the Country a place where the attention of the civilised world would in the future be focussed. To put them into operation money is required, and Liberia in its present condition is totally wanting of this. In fact the **financial condition of the Republic reached such a depth that the only Bank operating was compelled to close its doors and leave the country. The financial history of Liberia is one of great embarrasment which has increased as the years went by. Loans have had to be raised, but owing to the fact that the security of the Republic is low, the interest and other conditions have been excessive. The last loan was made by the American Government, and although interest on the whole amount is being charged, only half of the amount has been received by the Republic, and in addition the salaries of the White Officials who are sent by the American Government to supervise the expenditure of the money take up a great part of the amount.**

The League Committee which met in London has decided that Liberia cannot undertake the carrying out of the recommendations of the Commission unless she is financially strong. In order to examine the position and to find out ways and means for rendering assistance to Liberia, two financial experts have been sent out to the Republic to study the conditions on the spot and to report. There is every hope that their report will deal with the unsatisfactory nature of the American loan agreement and the Firestone arrangement. Liberia would be in a far more secured position if her liabilities are taken over by the League of Nations and an International Board of Control constituted than the present American control. No doubt America has befriended Liberia in the past and her over-shadowing protection has enabled the Republic to survive through the partitioning of Africa among the European nations in the days of African Colonisation: but the attitude of America since the report of the Commission cannot but be described as unfriendly. The peremptory note by America has created a doubt in the minds of friends of Liberia as to whether the sole management of the financial condition of the Republic could be safely left in the hands of the United States of America.

We observe that with the investigation into the financial position of Liberia the health and sanitary condition are to be considered. These are matters which require careful investigation; the Sanitary conditions of the Countries of the Republic are in a very unsatisfactory condition, and deserve all the attention possible. When these preliminary matters are investigated there is every hope that Liberia will emerge out of the morass into which she has fallen into a state of advance and prosperity, and then it will be found that the Commission has meant the salvation of the Republic.

Liberia

Race Problem - 1931

Africa

NEW YORK EVE POST

JUL 1 - 1931

IS LIBERIA A SLAVE STATE?

Whole Liberian Villages "Sold" Into Slavery by Ruling Classes

Above, front view of the Legislative Hall in Monrovia. Below, waterside scene with Providence Island in the background, where pioneers landed 110 years ago. Photographs by George S. Schuyler.

"Poo Boy" Traffic Pales Before Town Bondage

Is Liberia a slave state, despite the reforms ordered last year by the League of Nations? The EVENING POST *sent George S. Schuyler to Liberia to find out. He has set forth his conclusions in a series of six articles, of which this is the third.*

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

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Compared to the spectacle of whole villages toiling without reward to furnish Liberian officials with rice, palm oil, chickens, goats and occasionally cattle, the Fernando Poo "boy" traffic, bitterly complained of by the International Commission in its recent report, dwindles to insignificance. The "boys" at least get something—specifically $25—for their two years of killing toil in one of the unhealthiest spots in the world, but often hinterland natives get nothing for their labor but abuse. Moreover, forced labor in the form of requisitioned porters and carriers who are never paid and seldom fed is as common as the brilliant sunshine. Since the natives, even the chiefs, are unmercifully beaten if they refuse to do as they are bid, it is not too far-fetched to say that they are enslaved.

Reports of these conditions in the hinterland had come to me and in order to find out whether or not they were true, I left Monrovia on March 10, accompanied by W. R. George, an American vice-consul, and about fifteen carriers and traveled over 500 miles afoot through the countries of the Vai, Gola, G'Bande, Mendi, Buzi and Kpwessi peoples, returning to Monrovia on April 16. I visited numerous towns and interviewed chiefs and Liberian officials.

"Levy" to President

Before leaving Monrovia on this trek, I had been my good fortune to see official correspondence indicating beyond any reasonable doubt that in November and December, 1930, and January and February, 1931, nearly three tons of rice, to say nothing of fowl and cattle, from the Sanoguellah district were carried to Monrovia where practically the whole of it went to the President, Cabinet officers and other minor officials. This requisitioning was done after the departure of the International Commission and of course the produce was not paid for.

Proceeding into the hinterland through stately forests, suffocating jungles and seemingly bottomless swamps, over tortuous trails, visiting town after town, I learned that the requisitions from the Sanoguellah district and their destinations were not at all unusual, but that the practice was and is general throughout the entire back country. Everywhere the natives complain bitterly against these exactions but are without redress. The very people to whom they would appeal are the identical persons who are exploiting them.

When I entered the Gola town of Genne, just above the line of Grand Cape Mount County, the place seemed deserted save for a group of old men eyeing my party suspiciously from the verandah of the chief's house. No women, children or young folk were to be seen. It looked queer because the town is marked prominently on the maps. I called my Buzi headman to engage the chief in conversation and tell him who I was. Meanwhile, my stewards got out bags of [illegible]ning salt and stalks of trade toba[illegible] presents or "dash."

American "Open Sesame"

When the chief heard the magical word "American" and noted that I was actually about to give him something, his whole manner and that of his advisers changed. They became quite cordial, hut doors began to open and people appeared from everywhere. Soon my little party was completely surrounded by curious Golas of all ages and I learned to my surprise that the chief, whom I had first to address through an interpreter, spoke fluent good English.

Later, over excellent palm wine, the chief, a short, mustached fellow clad in a combination of civilized and native clothes, explained it all. The Liberians came so often, it seemed, demanding large quantities of produce for which they never paid and whipping the chief and others if their demands were not satisfied, that the people of the town had taken to running off into the bush whenever a large party of strangers approached the village. It is the custom of the Liberians to go up-country empty handed and return laden down not only with food, but furniture, ornaments and native cloth. Americans and other foreigners, the chief assured me, are the only ones who pay their way in the back country. In addition to these unannounced visits, the chief continued, he is forced to send monthly requisitions of rice and palm oil to the nearest Government post.

Two weeks later I sat in the palaver kitchen of the beautiful town of Voni Jessu in the Buzi nation and heard a similar tale from the lips of the very dignified chief through the medium of my headman-interpreter.

This chief was much more specific. He must furnish to the district commissioner, several days' walk from his town, eleven forty-pound hampers of cleaned rice and five gallons of palm

oil every month. In the bargain, he must pay his taxes of four shillings and six pence per hut, two or three times a year instead of once. Failure to comply with these orders of the Liberian officials means that he will be seized, tied and beaten before his own people, who are taught to reverence and respect him.

Another Tale of Tribute

Two days later I sat in the palaver kitchen of the equally beautiful Buzi town of Sublema and listened to the chief through my interpreter tell an almost identical tale. His taxes are also collected two or three times a year, but as he rules a slightly smaller district than his colleague at Voni Jessu, he must furnish to the district commissioner only eight forty-pound hampers of rice and five gallons of palm oil every moon.

Two weeks later I sat in front of the guest house in the newly built town of Goh in the Kpwessi country, while the funny little chief with braided hair, a skirt-like garment and a large native sword swung to his side, complained of having to twice pay hut taxes of five shillings in the space of one year besides sending to the authorities each month three forty-pound hampers of rice and four gallons of palm oil.

It is a mighty long distance from Genne to Goh and there are scores of towns between, but everywhere I found the story much the same. Those in America who buy their rice in neat packages from the corner grocer and pay hundreds of dollars, perhaps, in taxes every year can hardly appreciate what these exactions mean to the poor native in the Liberian hinterland.

Blood Money in Silver

Let us take those neighboring towns of Voni Jessu and Sublema and total their tribute to their masters. Together they send in nineteen hampers, or approximately 760 pounds, of rice monthly, the total for the year being the enormous quantity of 9,120 pounds, or nearly five tons! The ten gallons of palm oil furnished by these two villages grows in a year's time to 120 gallons, or approximately four barrels! In addition, they must pay their hut taxes *in British silver* (there being no Liberian coin larger than a copper two-cent piece). This means that Voni Jessu, which has around 120 houses must pay taxes of 540 shillings, or $129.60, not once, but two or three times a year, according to the caprice of the Liberian officials.

The Liberian system of communications is terrible. Only trails are available and where the government sought during the halcyon days of the notorious Department of Public Works to build roads with forced native labor using sticks (and surveyed by the blowing of a horn), ignorance of engineering, coupled with rapid erosion and encroachment of jungle, has made them impassable for anything but foot travel. As the natives are forced to sell their produce on the coast if they are to get the British silver with which to pay their hut taxes, they must undergo a tremendous loss in sending carriers over the trails with rice and palm oil, the standard commodities. From a fairly central point it takes a carrier from five to six days to get to Monrovia and perhaps ten days for the round trip. His forty-pound hamper of rice will perhaps bring $1.50 if the market is high.

Paid? Of course not!

The carrier must eat at least ten pounds of rice on the trip, which reduces the actual receipts to about $1.15. If the carrier got paid for his time and labor at the standard rate of one shilling a day, the village would actually lose money by sending him to Monrovia with the rice. But of course he doesn't get paid.

It is plain the huge quantities of rice and palm oil which a village like Voni Jessu must raise in order to pay taxes and also furnish the requisitions. It is, in fact, laboring almost wholly in order to meet the exactions of the Liberian officials. In order to grow the rice the jungle must be cut and burned, then the rice planted and tended by the women and constantly watched to keep rice birds away. Then it must be harvested and threshed by treading and finally winnowed. It is a long and laborious business executed in the primitive way. The palm oil is almost as difficult to prepare for use.

What is true of the villages I have named is true of hundreds I have not named. They must all make their requisitions and pay their taxes in British silver, once and perhaps three or four times a year. Of course, there are few towns that can do it, with the result that the Government in most districts cannot collect more than one-third of the taxes. Generally the revenue collector or his messenger gets what he can and threatens about the rest.

Travel Allowance Not Used

The carriers who take the monthly requisitions of rice and palm oil to the Liberian officials are seldom, if ever, paid, and villagers en route have to feed them. Sometimes the round trip requires six or more days. Also, whenever the district commissioner or any of his staff travels abroad the porters whom they requisition to carry them from village to village are given nothing for their labor except occasional curses and buffets. The district commissioners have a travel allowance, but it is a standing joke that they never use it. They can always get plenty of strong young natives free to carry their hammocks.

Actually, these hundreds of thousands, maybe two millions, of natives in the Liberian hinterland, are enslaved in a very real way by their Americo-Liberian masters. The greater part of thei time is devoted to raising food products in the laborious and age-old manner in order to meet the exactions of their masters. Their strongest young men are used to transport this food on their backs over tortuous trails to designated stations or to the coast for sale to get money to pay taxes, while others are subject to carry the hammock of the district commissioner or some of his satellites, for all of which they are unpaid. In return, these poor people get exactly nothing except whippings and finings. The good roads they need to bring their produce to town and realize a modest profit are non-existent and the bankrupt Liberian Government hasn't the money or skill to build them.

Topographically resembling Virginia, Liberia is perhaps the most beautiful country in Africa. It is a great botanical and zoological garden where every tropical animal, tree, flower and fruit is to be found. Its mineral wealth in gold and diamonds is almost as great. But its greatest wealth is its people. The aborigines are as admirable as most of their Americo-Liberian taskmasters are despicable. Everywhere in the hinterland one finds the natives self-supporting in every way, whereas their rulers are not. The native towns are uniformly clean and neat, and their inhabitants are generally honest, truthful and trustworthy.

Labor in every native community is divided according to skill and necessity. Work begins usually at daybreak and many trades are followed, such as spinning, weaving, tanning, dyeing, ironwork, pottery making, and other minor ones. Their farms are located usually an hour's walk or more from town and are grouped around collections of huts called half-towns, where the agricultural workers live. Here is a perfectly organized and functioning society, superior to that of the Americo-Liberian but yet subordinate to him.

It seems a great pity that these quite admirable people should be kept impoverished, virtually enslaved, to support a few suave officials in Monrovia, many of whom, though drawing meager salaries, live in regal style, own automobiles, maintain large country estates (kept up by serfs) and frequently send their children abroad to school. One does not wonder that the Americo-Liberians are so inordinately proud and jealous of their independence. They want no interference with their plucking of the natives, the only really industrious people in the land.

LIBERIAN SERIES IN POST PRAISED

President of Colonization Society Commends Drawing of Attention to Conditions

SERVICE, SAYS ASHURST

By a Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, July 1.—Henry Litchfield West, president of the American Colonization Society, which established the Liberian Colony as a haven for American Negroes, today commended the EVENING POST'S series on Liberia.

Mr. West said that the account given by Mr. Schuyler corresponded entirely to the situation as the society understood it and that he felt it was a valuable thing to bring the matter to public attention.

"I believe," he said, "that the activities by the United States and by the Liberian Commission of the League of Nations are having a decided beneficial effect. I think things are working around in such a way that the Government of the republic will have to stop the slave trade and will have to improve the deplorable sanitary conditions existing there. Whatever public attention is attracted to the situation will aid in the application of pressure for improvement.

"The State Department and Liberian Commission of the League of Nations are entitled to much credit for having initiated the effort to improve conditions in Liberia. The more public attention it receives, however, the more the governing officials of Liberia will realize that the eyes of the whole world are upon them and that this is not just a local matter in Liberia.

"I am hopeful that the problem will work itself out and the more public attention it receives the easier it will be to work it out."

Senator Henry F. Ashurst of Arizona also commended the Liberian series. He said that the EVENING POST was performing a real public service in bringing conditions to the attention of the American people and that he believed the strongest possible pressure should be put upon Liberia to correct them.

"I am glad to see the EVENING POST present a statement of conditions in Liberia," he said. "If it aids in bringing renewed pressure upon the little African republic to right its house, as I believe it will, it will have been well worth while. Such conditions should not be allowed to go on."

Race Problem - 1931

Liberia

Afrika.

SLAVERY IN LIBERIA

BY GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

(A Capital News Service Feature)
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Convicted before the world as a slave state, how long will Liberia be permitted to continue her uncivilized practices? Can she reform from within or must she be reformed from without? Even the report of the recent international commission has not put a stop to pawning, domestic slavery, concubinage, oppression of the natives, forced labor of the less spectacular kind, and merely rendered the "boy" traffic more infrequent and less profitable, can we expect any improvement?

There is a possibility of cleaning house in Liberia through political upheaval at the polls, but it is about as remote as a Republican victory in Mississippi. There are some honest Liberians who are sincerely aroused by the plight in which their country finds itself, but they are few in number. They have tried for thirty years to oust the True Whig Party from office but without avail. Most of them are now discouraged.

Most of this group of Liberians, with many others, one imagines, who are eager for nothing but office, are organized in what is known as the People's Party. In this year's election they chose as their standard bearer for the third consecutive time Thomas J. R. Faulkner, the country's most successful business man. Faulkner is an American-born naturalized Liberian, highly respected by the gladly get rid of him as they have he has a large office and private hotel.

Active for Progress

During his thirty years' residence in Liberia, Faulkner has been most active in trying to develop the country. The first electric light plant, the first ice plant and the first telephone system were all introduced by him. Meantime he has been the most persistent foe of Government graft, inefficiency, fraud and crime. He it was who was largely instrumental in bringing about the international investigation into slavery and forced labor in Liberia. Others knew what was going on but only Faulkner spoke out and denounced the evils. Graduates of foreign universities, clergymen and missionaries maintained a discreet silence about it. Faulkner is the biggest thorn in the side of the politicians and they would gladly get rid dof him as they have other annoying persons, but he is too popular for that.

The man is a dynamo of energy. In a country where travel must be either by hammock, surf boat or canoe and conducted with the maximum of difficulty, he is ever on the go, rushing back and forth from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, uncovering those in power. Like an avenging angel he appears suddenly in the most out-of-the-way places gathering evidence of fraud and graft which is duly published in the one or two little weekly four-page opposition papers. At one time he journeyed over 300 miles of tropical sea from Cape Palmas to Monrovia in a dugout canoe to attend an election, thus surprising his opponents. Some of his feats seem miraculous to Liberians, who are notoriously short on energy.

Party Friendly to U. S.

The platform of the People's Party favors a more friendly policy toward America, American citizens and American business, urges the conviction and imprisonment of all Government officials guilty of complicity in the Fernando Poo "boy" traffic and the brutalities of the recent forced labor road program, asks the granting of concessions to foreign enterprises that Liberia may become economically developed and advocates the immediate reorganization of the judicial system which is now the laughing stock of Africa.

The platform is the work of Faulkner and the People's Party is largely financed by him. Some people say he is merely an adventurer who loves the Presidency of Liberia more than he does Liberia; his friends say he is the only man who can save Liberia. It is safe to say that a majority of the Liberians, outside the official clans and its satellites, and certainly most of the natives are for him. But the chances are that he made a poor showing at the polls in the recent May elections, the returns of which will not be published until the Legislature sits in December. The machinery of government has been in the hands of the True Whig Party for so many years and politicians in office are so adept at the art of obtaining majorities on paper if not in reality that their defeat will be a modern miracle.

In the 1928 election, when Faulkner opposed former President C. D. B. King, the True Whig machine was working in its usual excellent order. Indeed, the True Whig machine and the Government lighthouse are about the only two things that do work in Liberia. Although only property owners enjoy the right of franchise in Liberia and not over 15,000 persons were qualified as electors, King received 243,000 votes while Faulkner got but 9,000! King's aide-de-camp alone delivered 100,000 votes from the interior. In one district where there are but 9,000 electors, 40,000 votes were cast. In the town of Sinoe, with a total population of but 3,500 souls, the Registrar of Elections, who is allowed 2 cents for each vote registered sent in a bill for $948.00!

Vote by Truckloads

On that election day a high Government official excitedly sought to borrow a truck for tlectioneering from the manager of the Firestone Company. When refused, he remarked wistfully, "Oh all right. I just voted a bunch of men down here (in Monrovia) and I wanted to rush them up country so I could vote them again before the polls close."

In Grand Cape Mount County, the true Whigs suggested and the People's Party managers agreed, that the polls should be kept open one hour for the Faulkner adherents, then an equal period for the King men, and alternate in this manner through the day in order to avoid clashes between enthusiasts of the two factions. The polls opened the first hour for Faulkner, but the rest of the day only True Whigs were permitted to vote. The forces of law and order upheld the True Whigs.

Hence, it is difficult to imagine that the election of this year to fill the vacancy made by the resignation of President C. B. D. King over the slavery revelations was any fairer than previous ones.

Filed Charges

Indeed, in an indignant open letter to Acting President Edwin Barclay, dated April 14, 1931, Faulkner charged:

"(1) Your Excellency upon application has signed thousands of deeds in blank which have been forwarded to the various counties throughout the republic, and there they have been filled in with names of persons who declare themselves for the Whig Party If they are suspected to be in favor of the People's Party, they are denied a ddeed. This is connivance to defraud in the election.

"(2) Further in reference to these deeds, they are offered for probation in the Monthly and Probate Courts and registered by he Registrar for the county without the usual $1 revenue stamp as required by law, and thus the Republic of Liberia is cheated out of considerable revenue just to win this election. This is fradulent.

Faulkner then charges that the Government. (the True Whig Party) "has for twenty-six years enticed the natives with gin, tobacco and force them to vote for it and is vented from voting they will recessary years notice that they cannot vote, without a deed to land their own name and fee simple."

"Registrars", he continues "have in mind many cases refused to adister the oaths to electors when they apply for registration which is an open violation of the law . . . A large percentage of registrars have entered names from lists handed them not requiring deeds nor persons to be present, these names to be used to vote any person whom the boosters of the Whig Party present at the polling place on the day of election. These registrars have also refused to allow the inspectors of the People's Party to inspect the deeds and register so they might be informed if the persons were bona fide electors. This illegal registration of names, from lists handed in is done solely for the purpose of swelling the number of voters for the Whig Party, and then fradulently place the ballots in the box on the day oof election to represent the names registered.

Faulkner on the basis of these charges "challenges and protests 99 per cent of the registration throughout the Republic. He especially points out that the deeds in question, with are not only without stamps but there out which an elector cannot qualify, is no number of lot or boundaries set out on them. The open letter ends with the statement that if certain native tribes are prevented from voting they will refuse to pay their taxes and "stand to resist the Government." President Barclay hadn't replied to the charges in Faulkner's letter at the time of my departure.

From the foregoing it would seem that there is slight chance of cleaning up the evils disgracing Liberia and retarding its progress by a polital revolution. The old gang has everything sewed up tight. Only an armed revolt could throw it out of power. And while Charles King, former, President Kings son; Major Harper. the commandant of the frontier force, and Charles Eastman, Controller of the Treasury, are now under indictment for embezzling the soldiers' pay, in the army are well enough fed to stand by the Government with their antiquated Krag Jorgensens and defensive ammunition in case of civil strife.

Slumps Foreign Reformers

The bulk of foreign observers in Monrovia see no way to clean up the mess of slavery, forced labor, pawning, bankruptcy and inefficiency except by outside control. They argue that money and technical assistance are necessary to the development of Liberi into a modern state, and that the present Government is hardly of such a character to inspire confidence in the hearts of international bankers and concessionnaires.

Few believe that anything is to be hoped for from the League of Nations because Liberia is a member and nothing can be done without its permission and agreement. The chief and primary need in Liberia is the ousting of the present misgoverning gang, and it is not on record where politicians voted themselves out of office, particularly when they have no other occupation. Beyond sending health experts to clean up Monrovia and fight the yellow fever menace, the League of Nations can do little except dispatch commissions to study conditions and make reports. It might arrange another loan for Liberia but that seems remote.

The United States has always taken such a friendly interest in the affairs of Liberia and as the little republic is already known up and down the West African coast as an American protectorate, there are some who think America should step in and straighten things up as she has in some small states nearer home. But there is no indication as yet, that the United States is eager to become so deeply involved. It would perhaps at best be a thankless lions of dolpenditure of mil-philanthropy necessitating the uncame self supporting and developed a superior class of governing officials.

Ruling Class in Saddle

Meanwhile, the little, haughty, impecunious ruling class, perplexed over the future but getting what can be extracted from the preset, sits uneasily astride the backs of a million and a half sullen and dissatisfied aborigines. They can get labor for the grbbing; extra wives for the taking and plenty of food by requisition, they are incable of developing the rich natural resourv of their beautiful land or even of constructing descent roads to enable others to do so.

Cruel, unmoral, incompetent, they flock devoutly each Sabbath to their numerous churches, praying for salvation—and meaning another loan

CONVICTED BEFORE WORLD, WILL LIBERIA END SLAVERY?

'Newcomers' In Saddle, But Storm Will Brake Unless—"

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

(A Capital News Service Feature)

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"(1) Your Excellency upon application has signed thousand of deeds in blank which have been forwarded to the various counties throughout the republic, and there they have been filled in with names of persons who declare themselves for the Whig Party. If they are suspected to be in favor of the People's Party, they are denied a deed. This is connivance to defraud in the election.

"(2) Further in reference to these deeds, they are offered for probation in the Monthly and Probate Courts and registered by the Registrar for the county without the usual $1 revenue stamp as required by law, and thus the Republic of Liberia is cheated out of considerable revenue just to win this election. This is fraudulent....."

Faulkner then charges that the Government (the True Whig Party) "has for twenty-six years enticed the natives with gin, tobacco and force to vote for it and is now failing to give them the necessary year's notice that they cannot vote without a deed to land in their own name and fee simple."

"Registrars" Recalcitrant

"Registrars," he continues, "have in many cases refused to administer the oath to electors when they apply for registration which is open violation of the law. . . A large percentage of registrars have entered names from lists handed them, not required deeds nor persons to be present, these names to be used to vote any person whom the boosters of the Whig Party present at the polling place on the day of election. These registrars have also refused to allow the inspectors of the People's Party to inspect the deeds and register so they might be informed if the persons were bona fide electors. This illegal registration of names from lists handed in is done solely for the purpose of swelling the number of voters for the Whig Party, and then fraudulently place the ballots in the box on the day of election to represent the names registered."

No Reply To Charges

Faulkner on the basis of these charges "challenges and protests 99 per cent of the registration throughout the Republic." He especially points out that the deeds in question, without which an elector cannot qualify, are not only without stamps but there is no number of lot or boundaries set out on them. The open letter ends with the statement that if certain native tribes are prevented from voting they will refuse to pay their taxes and "stand to resist the Government." President Barclay hadn't replied to the charges in Faulkner's letter at the time of my departure.

From the foregoing it would seem that there is slight chance of cleaning up the evils disgracing Liberia and retarding its progress by a political revolution. The old gang has everything sewed up tight. Only an armed revolt could throw it out of power. And while Charles King, former President King's son; Major Harper, the commandant of the frontier force, and Charles Eastman, Controller of the Treasury, are now under indictment for embezzling the soldier's pay, it is believed that the 367 soldiers in the army are well enough fed to stand by the Government with their antiquated Krag Jorgensens and defective ammunition in case of civil strife.

Schuyler's Brilliant Series Concluded This Week

Stumps Foreign Reformers

The bulk of foreign observers in Monrovia see no way to clean up the mess of slavery, forced labor, pawning, bankruptcy, and inefficiency except by outside control. They argue that money and technical assistance are necessary to the development of Liberia into a modern state, and that the present Government is hardly of such a character to inspire confidence in the hearts of international bankers and concessionaries.

Few believe that anything is to be hoped for from the League of Nations because Liberia is a member and nothing can be done without its permission and agreement. The chief and primary need in Liberia is the ousting of the present misgoverning gang, and it is not on record where politicians voted themselves out of office, particularly when they have no other occupation. Beyond sending health experts to clean up Monrovia and fight the yellow fever menace, the League of Nations can do little except dispatch commissions to study conditions and make reports. It might arrange another loan for Liberia but that seems remote.

Attitude of U. S.

The United States has always taken such a friendly interest in the affairs of Liberia and as the little republic is already known up and down the West African coast as an American protectorate, there are some who think America should step in and straighten things up as she has in some small states nearer home. But there is no indication as yet that the United States is eager to become so deeply involved. It would perhaps at best be a thankless philanthropy necessitating the unappreciated expenditure of millions o dollars before Liberia became self-supporting and developed a superior clas of governing officials.

Ruling Class in Saddle

Meanwhile, the little, haughty, impecunious ruling class, perplexed ove the future but getting what can be extracted from the present, sits uneasily astride the backs of a million and a half sullen and dissatisfied aborigines They can get labor for the grabbing extra wives for the taking and plenty of food by requisition, but lacking brains and money, they are incapable of developing the right natural resources of their beautiful land or even of constructing decent roads to enable others to do so.

Cruel, unmoral, incompetent, they flock devoutly each Sabbath to their numerous churches, praying for salvation—and meaning another loan.

Africa
NEW YORK EVE POST

JUL 3 1931

IS LIBERIA A SLAVE STATE?

Missionaries Blind to "Slavery" and Vice Conditions. Is Charge

Condone "Pawning" and Other Evils, Investigator Says

Is Liberia a slave state, despite the reforms ordered last year by the League of Nations? The EVENING POST *sent George S. Schuyler to Liberia to find out. He has set forth his conclusions in a series of six articles, of which this is the fifth.*

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

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The findings of the recent International Commission, startling as they were to the outer world, were really old stuff to Liberians. It was like announcing in Chicago that Al Capone's men had "bumped off" another rival gangster.

The Fernando Poo "boy" traffic had been in operation for almost a score of years, pawning antedated the settlement of the country by the freedmen from America, domestic slavery had been practiced since the earliest days when the recently-landed colonists turned right around and virtually enslaved the unfortunate Negroes taken off slave ships by British men-o'-war and dumped on the beach at Monrovia, and forced labor was as ordinary as the annual rains.

If these practices are so shocking and reprehensible and have been going on so long, one wonders why there has never been an outburst of protest from the missionaries who overrun the country. As a class they have sat serene and complacent and observed the forced labor of whole tribes on the Government roads. They have stood with closed mouths and seen "boys" returned from Fernando Poo who were unable to walk because of sleeping sickness and elephantiasis. They have never seen fit to protest to the outer world about the debauchery of native women living as concubines in the homes of many of the leading Liberians. The spectacle of hundreds of little children enslaved as drudges in households has never aroused their pity to the point of protest. If they observed the socially harmful custom of pawning, they kept it quietly to themselves.

None Would Protest

If these missionaries were the representatives of some savage cult that favored slavery, pawning, concubinage and forced labor, there would be no occasion for comment at their long silence, but they are Christian missionaries. Most of them are good Baptists, Methodists, Catholics, Lutherans and Episcopalians, and almost all of them come from the Land of the Free! With the exception of the Catholics they are running back and forth to the United States all of the time. It does seem that during the past seventy years, during which time they have been operating in Liberia, at least *one* prominent missionary might have protested effectively to the world against the evils easily observed in the black republic.

There is no use asking where they have been, for they have been right there in the midst of what elsewhere they are hot to denounce as sin and iniquity. Representatives of the very Protestant sects who in the United States are four-square behind the Anti-Saloon League and the Lord's Day Alliance actually seek in Liberia to smooth over and apoligize for the acts of the Americo-Liberian ruling class.

"Pooh-Pooh" Conditions

When I spoke to a venerable bishop of a powerful church about the terrible sanitary conditions in Monrovia, where the new sanitary officer from the Gold Coast actually had raked together 1,000 motor truck loads of trash, tins [illegible] bottles in a town of 6,000 people, pooh-poohed the whole matter and went on to compare conditions today with those forty years before when he had first come out to the country.

Back in the hinterland near the French border, I was telling the missionary with whom I was dining what I had discovered about the huge quantities of rice, palm oil, chickens and cattle exacted from the natives by Liberian officials. He immediately launched into a half-hearted defense of the Government men, after advising me that he had been stationed there for ten years.

During my stay in Liberia, I can remember but two missionaries out of the large number I met who did not sound like Americo-Liberians when discussing the aborigines. They were eager to tell how shifty were the chiefs and how watchful they had to be to keep the natives from taking advantage of them. Some of them expressed regret that the evils disclosed by the International Commission were in existence, but I met none who was full of Christian zeal to do anything about it. "Our hands are tied," they would say. "What can we do about it?" Then they would tell of their work in bringing Jesus to the savages.

Missionaries Callous

Missionaries of the Lord sent out to the wilds of Africa to Christianize the so-called benighted native struck me as being singularly callous and indifferent about the fate of the aborigine. They are eager for his soul, but apparently not interested in his body. At least, they have never been sufficiently concerned to protest to the world his enslavement and mistreatment. It is significant that the reports of conditions in Liberia had to be communicated to the outside world, not by these disciples of Christ, but by individuals having no connection with the church.

It is these missionaries who have been in charge of Liberian education for the past three-quarters of a century. Today, the various denominations support some sixty mission schools and stations with a total annual budget of a half million dollars, all coming from the United States. With the exception of five or six small stations in the interior, all of these schools are inside the forty-mile strip which marks so-called civilized territory and they serve principally Americo-Liberians and the few thousand civilized natives. Primary and grammar school courses and some sort of industrial training are given, but most attention is naturally paid to molding good, Christian character.

Schools Limited

Since the number of Liberian public schools does not exceed ten, which number includes Liberia College, a glorified high school graduating mainly lawyers and receiving $8,000 annually from the Government, it is no exaggeration to say that Liberian education is missionary education. The foreign churches are supporting such prominent secondary schools as Monrovia College, the College of West Africa, Muhlenberg Academy, Brierly Memorial School, Cape Palmas Seminary, Cuttington College and St. John's Academic and Industrial School.

Thus, whatever be the character and training of the Americo-Liberians, the missionaries are largely responsible. After seventy years of this excessively Christian education, which begins and ends the day with hymn-singing and long prayers, we find products of the system to be the most shiftless, untrustworthy, incompetent and grafting ruling class to be found today anywhere. With some exceptions they display an amazing lack of industry, originality and ingenuity except in the fields of intrigue, evasion, sponging, double-dealing, excessive litigation and exploitation of natives but are very adept at annoying and interfering with foreign businesses eager to assist in the development of the country.

Incidents Cited

The following incidents illustrate the point: The wife of an important official of the Firestone Company asked a group of Liberian boys to stop throwing stones on her veranda. They continued until she grew frantic. Then one of them ran up on the veranda and made faces at her. "Just push me," he yelled, knowing that it is an offense to lay one's hand on another in Liberia. "I wish you would push me. I want to get some of Firestone's money, too!"

The Firestone Company built an excellent garage and machine shop in Monrovia for the care and repair of passenger automobiles and trucks. It filled a great need as there was no other of its kind in the republic. Liberians and foreigners began to patronize it regularly. Soon the company had to close it down because not a single Americo-Liberian would pay his garage bill. The garage is still closed.

President Barclay, I was told, purchased a limousine from the United States Trading Company and hadn't paid the first cent on it when I was there. Another high Government official wanted to purchase an automobile from the same company, but having no ready money he suggested that he allocate to the company his salary for the months of July, August and September as part payment. Wary, the company officials made a private investigation, and discovered that the applicant had already drawn his July salary. Confronted with this information, the Liberian blandly apologized, saying it was an oversight on his part.

Lending Risky Practice

Nobody with sound mind thinks of lending a Liberian money, for a creditor is subject to all sorts of abuse if and when he insists upon payment. The Liberians are extremely sensitive about being told to pay up. When dunned, they usually reply, "You have plenty of money, why do you bother me about that little debt?"

Former Vice-President Allen R. Yancey, one of the chief slave traders reported by the International Commission and now living peacefully on his large estate at Cape Palmas, had a unique and characteristic method of paying his debts. Having no desire to pay a sum of $800 owed another Liberian, he detailed one of his numerous minions to get his creditor's account book and throw it into the sea. When the creditor came to collect his money, Yancey boomed, "If you can show me where I owe you anything on your books, I'll gladly pay it." The Vice-President thus became a public benefactor, since his act automatically freed all of his victim's other debtors from the burden of payment.

Just a week or two before I arrived in Monrovia, the large iron safe in the office of Mr. John Loomis, the American, Financial Adviser to the Republic, was stolen. It had been erroneously supposed by certain persons that documents of great importance reposed therein. The police, as usual, were completely at sea. As a last resort, the office clerks decided to call in a witch doctor and see if African magic could succeed where police methods had failed.

Devil Man Gets Busy

Having received a liberal "dash," the Devil Man got out his paraphernalia, shook his rattles and gri gri bags, uttered weird cries and squeals and danced about the room. Finally he dived out of the office window and raced

down the street followed by an excited crowd of clerks and pedestrians. Suddenly he stopped before a pretentious Liberian residence and pointing dramatically to it, shouted "There!" and would go no farther. It was the home of Hon. Edwin Barclay, President of the Republic of Liberia! Great as was the resulting merriment, this is not to say that President Barclay committed or was accused of the theft.

The numerous missionary schools and the millions of dollars dumped into Liberian education by naive church people in the United States have failed to develop Liberian leaders capable of creating a self-supporting State. There are politicians in the Republic a-plenty, but no statesmen. They are past masters at levying taxes, fining the unfortunate and raiding the villages of obstreperous aborigines, but missionary education has not taught them to improve the state of agriculture, transportation or commerce which would in turn have increased the revenues for which they pine.

Figures Speak

So Liberia today suffers financially as the following official figures conclusively show:

Cal. Year	Imports	Exports	Excess Imports
1923..	$1,361,700.32	$1,166,735.40	$194,964.83
1924..	1,433,184.69	1,416,896.41	16,288.28
1925..	2,115,021.08	1,911,053.00	203,967.98
1926..	2,251,597.83	1,757,521.86	494,075.97
1927..	2,896,081.16	1,614,671.02	1,281,410.14
1928..	4,484,546.83	1,465,768.24	3,018,778.59
1929..	2,064,439.99	1,475,356.41	589,083.58
*1930.	1,258,857.65	741,125.46	517,732.19

*Eight months.

In explanation, it may be pointed out that the jump in imports from 1925 on was due largely to the Firestone Company bringing in supplies and the expenditure of loan money abroad by Liberian officials who purchased expensive automobiles and had generally a big time as long as the money lasted.

A balance is established by what the Financial Adviser calls the "Invisibles." They are:

(a) Money sent into the country by foreign mission boards.

(b) Expenditures for maintenance and development of the Firestone plantations.

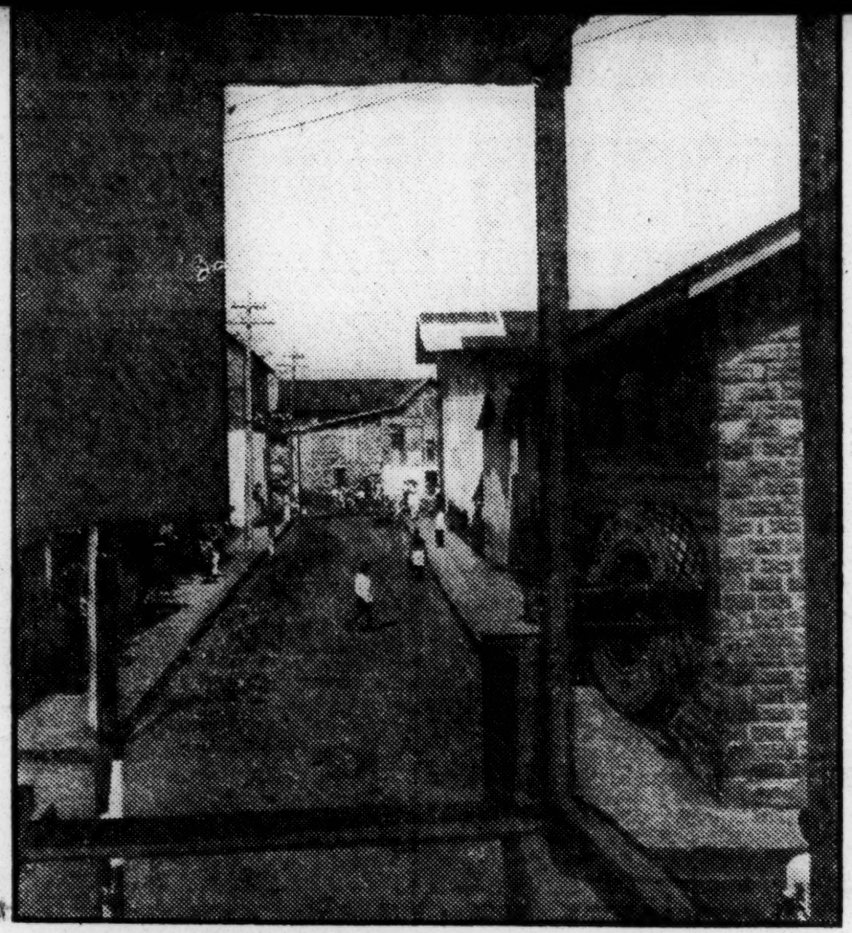
(c) Money brought into the country by the Kru stevedores and deckhands.

(d) Exchange charges of the Firestone bank for transfer of funds to and from Liberia.

(e) Sale of "boys" to Fernando Po.

Graft Methods Increase

As the missionary money has been cut by the depression and the growing suspicion at home that little progress is being made in Liberia; as the Firestone expenditures grow slimmer and slimmer with the progress of the development; as more and more the wary Kru stevedores take up residence



Above, view of Water Street, one of the main thoroughfares in Monrovia. Below, the First Baptist Church in Monrovia. Photographs by George S. Schuyler.

in Freetown, Accra and Lagos to [illegible] plucking by Liberian officials, and as the scrutiny of the outside world has curtailed the Fernando Poo "boy" racket, the necessity for getting funds by grafting, other shady methods and fining grows more imperative.

While I was in Libefia a black clerk in the Firestone Bank, who is paid two pounds ten shillings a month salary, was fined exactly two pounds, ten shillings for whistling at night in the lanes of Kru town. Shortly afterward another clerk was fined a similar amount, likewise his entire salary, for flashing an electric torch from his window down on two Liberians. Both offenses were called disturbing the peace.

A prior classic case was that of the white motorist who ran over and killed a female dog about to become a mother. The magistrate fined the luckless foreigner two pounds for killing the dog and twelve shillings for each of the six puppies she might have had. Since the canine had given birth to two puppies at her first confinement and four at her second, the court felt it was reasonable to suppose she would have given birth to six puppies the third time, and he levied his fine accordingly.

Cuts Government Receipts

Grafting of the missionary-trained Liberian officials prevents the Government from getting much revenue due it. For example, some of the Liberian Consuls in Europe and the United States send in practically no fees at all and the Secretaries of State and Treasury do not compel them to do so. One-half of such fees are supposed to be sent to the Government if the officer is not on salary; if he is being paid, he is supposed to send all of them. Although the Liberian Government's share of these fees in 1928 was $14,000, the Treasury received but $1,500.

There is no regular assessment of property in the civilized towns, although the natives are taxed regularly. Monrovia hasn't had a general property assessment for fifteen years. Both Great Britain and Germany have suspended postal money order service with Liberia because of failure to get money due them. Almost $10,000 is due the British Post Office.

With money growing increasingly scarce and no loan in sight, it is hardly to be wondered what the Liberians are now squeezing the natives so tightly. Many officials are forced to do strange things to make ends meet. One of them, a customs official in a small port, boarded a steamer just anchored off the reef and storming up to the captain charged that some regulation had been violated and threatened to fine the company $350.

"Come, come now," cajoled the skipper. "Can't we compromise this matter?"

Comedy of Customs

After a momentary reflection, the Liberian agreed that it was within the realm of possibility. After considerable dickering the wily Britisher mentioned casually that he had some excellent hams in his cold room. With no great reluctance, the customs officer decided to accept the hams in lieu of the $350. At this point, the chief customs officer clambered aboard and glanced suspiciously over to where the two men were conversing in low tones. The minor official's manner immediately changed.

"Are you trying to bribe me?" he shouted in the astonished captain's face. "You can't bribe me, sir! I'll fine you a thousand pounds!"

Surprised, flushed and angry, the skipper was seeking words to reply when the newcomer turned on his heel and walked down the deck. When he was out of earshot, the minor official muttered in a low tone, "All right, captain, I'll take those hams now."

Liberia.

Race Problem—1931

Africa.

Why Pick on Liberia?

THE ABOVE QUESTION is asked with some irritation by German editors. Literary Digest

In their view it would seem that the League of Nations does not get a bit excited over domains controlled by great Powers which permit slavery, but the little Negro republic of Liberia, as the Berlin *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* remarks, must be called to order, rebuked, and held up to the scorn of the world.

Caustically the Berlin *Germania* declares that while slavery has been "officially" wiped out everywhere, "unofficially" it persists in many parts of the world. 2-21-31

In sections of the British Colonial Empire, this daily charges, black men are now held as slaves. Despite the universal prohibition of human bondage, which goes back only a few years, this daily assures us that it is questionable whether there's any real observance of the spirit of it. New York N.Y.

In more than one British domain, slavery exists in various forms, even if in some cases the practise has lost its old name, and this newspaper proceeds:

"The black men are theoretically debtors.

"Their debts are by means of one trick or another kept in being.

"They must work these out.

"The practical result is that the blacks are still actual slaves.

"They are not allowed to depart from their place of labor, nor may they take up any other kind of work.

"If they were to do so, they would be brought back to their 'duty' by the police."

ONE of the most striking instances of the prevalence of human slavery in the world, adds the *Germania*, was revealed less than four years ago in South America:

"In many regions of that continent, human slavery had revived on a scale suggesting that it had never really been abolished. . . .

"One district in particular won the name of the Dev[illegible] Paradise.

"It belonged originally and, of right, still belongs, to a native Indian tribe.

"These natives are not on a high level of culture.

"When an organized company took away their land, a nominal legal right to do so was assumed.

"The colored people were employed in theory as workers.

"When the natives asserted their right to labor as free men, they soon found themselves terribly undeceived.

"Brutal overseers, sent to the region by the company, forced the Indians and their wives to toil in return for a few pence a day.

"When the Indians alleged that they were free, and had a right to work or not as they inclined, they were shot down remorselessly or subjected to tortures of a physical sort.

"The most frightful punishment was inflicted to intimidate the poor blacks.

"Whole families were exterminated."

In this wise, proceeds the German daily, native tribes are reduced to serfdom.

If protests arise, the usual assurance is given that slavery has been abolished—which it has been, "officially."

In actual fact, suspects this commentator, it is doubtful if slavery has been done away with in vast regions of the world even after exposure of it in South America.

WHITE PRESS COMMENDS ON CONDITIONS IN LIBERIA

Savannah Journal

1-31-31

Washington, Jan. 28 (CNS)—The following comments from the white press on the Liberian slavery situation were culled last week:

Giving attention to American interests in the republic, the Baltimore Sun makes the statement as to the problem: "To emphasize the defects in the attitude of previous Secretaries of State is not to dispose of Mr. Stimson's generosity in dealing with it and his frankness in condemning what he found. It wuold perhaps be too much to expect one of President Hoover's cabinet officers to point out that American interests, spurred by Secretary of Commerce Hoover's passion for smashing the British rubber monopoly, made huge investments in Liberian plantations, the labor for which was recruited by a Liberian government labor bureau." "The American Liberians," in the opinion of the Boston Transcript, "are exploiters—i na sense aristocrats—in the hintherland of their struggling republic. They are backed by at least the notion that they are protected by the United States for without the effecive prevalence of that notion their republic would long since have passed under the domination of some European power.

"Continued pressure will have to be exerted upon the leaders of a race that has been inured to slavery from the time immemorial," advises the Detroit Free Press, remarking that "we need not be surprised to find slavery still widespread in a country only 4 per cent of whose population is classified as civilized."

Asserting that "slaves have long been exploited in our Liberia-captured or brought from neigrboring tribes or from the wandering and ubiquitous Arab slaver driver," the Columbia State asks why the United States "has tolerated this well know" traffic in slaves," asserting that "we mildly protested to our dusky portege, but we have not put our foot sheathed in the hobnailed boots of the Marines, down good and hard on the neck of the protected traffickers in human bodies and human souls

"The facts as revealed are incredibly shocking," says the Philadelphia Public Ledger, while the Scranton Times holds that "it is high time that the Liberian Government is forced to put an end to such a condition," for "Liberia was origially established as a haven for American slaves," and the Times explains that "Mr. Stimson's note, while couched in displomatic language, is looked up on generally as an ultimatum." The Asbury Park Press hopes that "Merely the threat of the loss of American friendship may bring the desired results," and remarks that "one would have looked for complete emancipation and the fuliest liberty in a country conceived in liberty, dedicated to freedom, and whose very name means the land of liberty."

"It is one of the ironies of life that the republic established primarily as a home for freed slaves from the United States should itself tolerate slavery," agrees the Seattle Daily Times, giving emphasis to the resignations of the President and Vice President of Liberia, and holding that the country "Is rich in natural resources, and with good business management might be a leader in Africa." The Kalamazoo Gazette states that "the Liberian people have looked to the United States for friendly guidance and counsed on frequent occasions throughout their brief history, so they should be able to accept in good faith the warning that has come to them from Washington." The New York Evening World thinks "It would be a strange turn if, as is treatened by implication, the United States should sever relation with the Negro republic because that republic will not end slavery."

A fifth issue for current use is now readv.

MORE PROBES OF LIBERIA ARE NOT DESIRED BY U. S.

Journal & Guide

2-7-31

Norfolk, Va

Wants Committee With Real Powers To Act Now

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The proposal for a committee appointed by the League of Nations, on which the United States would be represented, to deal with the slavery question in Liberia is favored by the State Department, but only if the committee is vested with real powers and can see that necessary reforms are instituted.

The plan thus far presented, it was sad, did not meet thi condition, althuogh negotiations were proceeding in an effort t oreach a satisfactory basis. Officials are not optimistic of an early aggreement, predicting that it will be some time before an arrangement is made.

The United States has no desire for a commission that would be wthout powers or merely authorized to conduct an examination of the slavery question. This would amount merely to a duplication of the work performed by the international commission composed of a Liberian, an American and a representative of the League of Nations, which investigated the situation last year and made recommendations for far-reaching reforms.

The State Department was supported in its stand by Great Britain. Since then the matter has been under negotiation by the American Consulate at Geneva with representatives of the other countries through the agency of the League. No satisfactory basis, it was said, had yet been reached.

LONDON, Foreign Secretary Henderson, explaining his position in the House of Commons in regard to forthcoming administrative reforms in Liberia, denied that he had communicated with the United States.

"I am glad to inform the house," he added, "that the League of Nations, in response to a request by the Liberian Government, has decided to establish a committee to examine the manner in which assistance can best be rendered to the Liberian Government. The United States is being invited to cooperate with the League in this matter, and it is hoped the committee's report will be available at the next Council meeting."

FREMONT, NEB.
TRIBUNE
JAN 31 1931

U. S. DEEPLY INTERESTED IN CRUSHING SLAVERY IN LIBERIA

Has Played Role of 'Big Brother' to Tiny Country Which Was Founded by Ex-Slaves From America

BY MILTON BRONNER
NEA Service Writer

LONDON—While the whole civilized world has been shocked at the slavery scandal in Liberia, the United States, more than any other nation, has been embarrassed by it. And that is why a thundering note from the American government has brought about the resignation of Liberia's president, C. D. B. King, even though he can be charged with nothing worse than ignorance of the nefarious practices which were being carried on behind his back.

For more than a century, the United States, of all other nations, has been principally interested in Liberia, and this slavery agitation is the culmination of it. Liberia was founded as a free and independent settlement on the west coast of Africa in 1822, when a landing was made at Monrovia by negro freedmen from the United States, with the assistance of American colonization societies interested in the abolition of slavery. A republic was formally proclaimed in 1847, and a constitution was adopted, modeled on that of the United States. Electors, it stipulated, must be of negro blood and owners of land.

U. S. Protected Liberia

Since then the United States always has maintained a protective attitude toward the little republic, whose area about equals that of the state of Indiana. It extends inland about 200 miles, but real civilization is confined largely to the sea coast, where some 100,000 people are considered civilized. About 20,000 of these are American negroes.

In the black jungle country, which has no railroads and often not even roads, there are something like 2,000,000 natives, most of whom still live under the actual rule of their chiefs. The American government stepped into Liberian affairs in 1912 when the control of customs was placed in the hands of an American general receiver and financial adviser. On American initiative, Liberia formally declared war on Germany, signed the Versailles treaty and joined the League of Nations. Three years ago a loan of $5,000,000 was negotiated in New York.

America once more stepped in when the government sent a memorandum to the League of Nations in June, 1929, calling attention to reports which definitely indicated that something akin to slavery was being practiced in this land designed as a home of freedom for ex-slaves. The League of Nations, at the suggestion of the Liberian government itself, named a commission to investigate.

Found Slavery Existed

This commission filed its report recently with the League of Nations. Upon receipt of an advance copy, the American government sent a smashing note to Liberia. President King, Vice-President A. N. Yancy and a long line of other Liberian officials then resigned. The report did not score King, but it severely reproached Yancy and other officials. Also it mentioned that an American rubber planting concern had nothing to do with slave, semi-slave, or forced labor.

As for others, it found that the uncivilized natives of the hinterland had been forced into labor, frequently by systematic intimidation on the part of government officials and Frontier force officials. Furthermore it found that laborers had been shipped from Southern Liberia to other states under conditions of compulsion hardly distinguishable from slave trading. The commission found that the native tribes and their chiefs were in a state of terror. One song, a terrible lament from the heart of the people, tells its own story:

"We were here when trouble came to our people;
"For this trouble Jeh was imprisoned and fined.
"For this reason Yancy came to our country—
"He caught our husbands and our brothers,
"Sail them to Nana Poo
"And there they die!
"And there they die!
"Wedabo women have no bands, Yancy, why?
"Wedabo women have no brothers, Yancy, why?
"Mothers, fathers, sons have died,
"Waiting for their return, Yancy, why?"

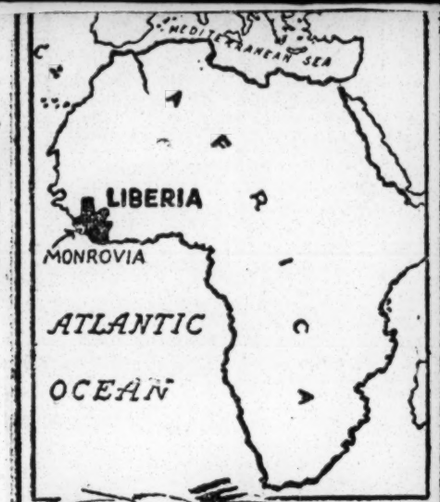
The new Liberian government through its representative at Geneva, now has promised the League of Nations that everything possible will be done to stop all these abuses. In the meantime, here in London a certain amount of sympathy is felt for President King who resigned.

Why President Resigned

King was here in London about a year ago and made many friends. There was nothing of the Emperor Jones swagger about the little Monrovia lawyer. He had with him several secretaries. Wherever he went he was accompanied by a tall, handsome young Dutchman, alert and cultured, who represented Liberia here in London, and by a former negro officer in the American army who settled in Liberia, achieved high command, and came to London as the president's military aide.

To your correspondent President King said one of the most hopeful signs for his country was that American companies were beginning rubber plantations there and were model employers. He seemed hazy about the hinterland. Apparently he had never been there. All he knew was from reports of officials and army officers stationed there. He said occasionally the uncivilized natives revolted against payment of taxes or other laws of the republic and the soldiers had to quell the rebellions.

He honestly seemed to know nothing about any slavery or semi-slavery conditions. His was really the bliss that comes from ignorance—an ignorance in which he probably had been kept purposely by those responsible for dark deeds in the back country. His resignation marks the passing of one of the few men of education, energy and character who have appeared in Liberia's public life in recent times.



MANY NATIONS HAVE PROTESTED AGAINST SLAVERY IN LIBERIA.

C. D. B. King who has resigned as president of Liberia is pictured upper right. At left, a map showing the location of the tiny republic on the coast of Africa. A commission of the League of Nations reported that slavery existed in the country.

THE LIBERIAN COMMISSION.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—There has been a good deal of criticism over the findings of the Commission which sat to investigate the report of slavery and forced labour in Liberia. Little or no sympathy has been shown by critics in Europe and America; the picture of the republic presented to the civilised world is one of gross maladministration, and a people incapable of governing without the aid of Europeans.

It should be taken into consideration that Liberia is still an embryo State, and not yet a century old; there should be some admiration for the founders and their associates, who patiently plodded on and were still able to maintain their independence. However, it is to be regretted that a cultured President, such as Mr. King, who has proved himself the ablest of all the Presidents, should have allowed cruelties and irregularities by his subordinate officers, without bringing his authority to bear upon them. By his inaction, he has allowed himself to be arraigned before the civilised world as condoning their wrongdoing. The poor labourers who were forced to leave their country against their will, were transported to Fernando Po and elsewhere in British ships. Surely the captains of these vessels must have noticed the deplorable conditions under which the men were shipped? Admitting the findings against Liberia to be correct, the question arises, what example is "civilised" Russia with centuries of "civilisation" setting before the world? Are not brutalities, massacres, and other crimes perpetrated in that European country? Are the wheat and timber which are overstocking England and destroying industries, procured by voluntary or forced labour? Yet, on all that, the League of Nations is silent, and no step, so far as the world knows, has been taken to check and ameliorate the sufferings of the oppressed in "Christian" Europe. Our African potentates who figured in history 50 years ago were not more barbarous, even in those dark days when they simply practised Native customs, and knew nothing of present-day civilisation. Wherever forced labour exists, and the labourers are not paid for work done, it is slavery, no matter what name it bears

Race Problems-1931

Liberia

Africa.

DOMESTIC SLAVERY AND 'BOY' TRAFFIC AN OLD STORY TO NATIVES

Courier 10-17-31

Pittsburgh Pa.

Schuyler Says Products of 70-Year-Old Missionary System Are Shiftless and Untrustworthy—Ruling Class Grafters.

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER
(Capital News Service)

The findings of the recent International Commission, startling as they were to the outer world, were really old stuff to Liberians. It was like announcing in Chicago that Al Capone's men had "bumped off" another rival gangster.

The Fernando Poo "boy" traffic had been in operation for almost a score of years, pawning ante-dated the settlement of the country by the freedmen from America, domestic slavery had been practiced since the earliest days when the recently landed colonists turned right around and virtually enslaved the unfortunate Negroes taken off slave ships by British men-o'-war and dumped on the beach at Monrovia, and forced labor was as ordinary as the annual rains.

If these practices are so shocking and reprehensible and have been going on so long, one wonders why there has never been an outburst of protest from the missionaries who overrun the country. As a class they have sat serene and complacent and observed the forced labor of whole tribes on the government roads. They have stood with closed mouths and seen "boys" returned from Fernando Poo who were unable to walk because of sleeping sickness and elephantiasis. They have never seen fit to protest to the outer world about the debauchery of native women living as concubines in the homes of many of the leading Liberians. The spectacle of hundreds of little children enslaved as drudges in households has never aroused their pity to the point of protest. If they observed the socially harmful custom of pawning, they kept it quietly to themselves.

None Would Protest

If these missionaries were the representatives of some savage cult that favored slavery, pawning, concubinage and forced labor, there would be occasion for comment at their silence, but they are Christian missionaries. Most of them are good Baptists, Methodists, Catholics, Lutherans, and Episcopalians, and almost all of them come from the Land of the Free! With the exception of the Catholics, they are running back and forth to the United States all of the time. It does seem that during the past seventy years, during which time they have been operating in Liberia, at least one prominent missionary might have protested effectively to the world against the evils easily observed in the black republic.

There is no use asking where they have been for they have been right here in the midst of what elsewhere they are hot to denounce as sin and iniquity. Representatives of the very Protestant sects who in the United States are four-square behind the Anti-Saloon League and the Lord's Day Alliance actually seek in Liberia to smooth over and apologize for the acts of the Americo-Liberian ruling class.

"Pooh-Pooh" Conditions

When I spoke to a venerable bishop of a powerful church about the terrible sanitary conditions in Monrovia, where the new sanitary officer from the Gold Coast actually had raked together 1,000 motor truck loads of trash, tins and bottles in a town of 6,000 people, he poohpoohed the whole matter and went on to compare conditions today with those forty years before when he had first come out to the country.

Back in the hinterland near the French border, I was telling the missionary with whom I was dining what I had discove ed abo the huge quantities of rice, palm oil, chickens and cattle exacted from the natives by Liberian officials. He immediately launched into a half-hearted defense of the government men, after advising me that he had been stationed there for ten years.

During my stay in Liberia, I can remember but two missionaries out of the large number I met who did not sound like Americo-Liberians when discussing the aborigines. They were eager to tell how shifty were the chiefs and how watchful they had to be to keep the natives from taking advantage of them. Some of them expressed regret that the evils disclosed by the International Commission were in existence. I met none who was full of christian zeal to do anything about it. "Our hands are tied," they would say. "What can we do about it?" Then they would tell of their work of bringing Jesus to the savages.

Missionaries Callous

Missionaries of the Lord sent out to the wilds of Africa to Christianize the so-called benighted native struck me as being singularly callous and indifferent about the fate of the aborigine. They are eager for his soul, but apparently not interested in his body. At least, they have never been sufficiently c[illegible]ned to protest to the world his enslavement and mistreatment. It is significant that the reports of conditions in Liberia had to be communicated to the outside world, not by these disciples of Christ, but by individuals having no connection with the church.

It is these missionaries who have been in charge of Liberian education for the past three-quarters of a century. Today, the various denominations support some sixty mission schools and stations with a total annual budget of a half million dollars, all coming from the United States. With the exception of five or six small stations in the interior, all of these schools are inside the forty mile strip which marks so called civilized territory and they serve principally Americo-Liberians and the few thousand civilized natives. Primary and grammar school courses and some sort of industrial training are given, but most attention is naturally paid to molding good, christian character.

Schools Limited

Since the number of Liberian public schools does not exceed ten, which number includes Liberia College, a glorified high school graduating mainly lawyers and receiving $8,000 annually from the government, it is no exaggeration to say that Liberian education is missionary education. The foreign churches are supporting such prominent secondary schools as Monrovia College, the College of West Africa, Muhlenberg Academy, Brierly Memorial School, Cape Palmas Seminary, Cuttington College and St. John's Academic and Industrial School.

Thus, whatever be the character and training of the Americo-Liberians, the missionaries are largely responsible. After seventy years of this excessively christian education, which begins and ends the day with hymn singing and long prayers, we find products of the system to be the most shiftless, untrustworthy, incompetent and grafting ruling class to be found today anywhere. With some exceptions they display an amazing lack of industry, originality and ingenuity except in the field of intrigue, evasion, sponging, double dealing, excessive ligitation and exploitation of natives but are very adept at annoying and interfering with foreign businesses eager to assist in the development of the country.

Incidents Cited

The following incidents illustrate the point: The wife of an important official of the Firestone Company asked a group of Liberian boys to stop throwing stones on her veranda. They continued until she grew frantic. Then one of them ran up on the veranda and made faces at her. "Just push me," he yelled, knowing that it is an offense to lay one's hand on another in Liberia. "I wish you would push me. I want to get some of Firestone's money, too!"

The Firestone Company built an excellent garage and machine shop in Monrovia for the care and repair of passenger automobiles and trucks. It filled a great need as there was no other of its kind in the republic. Liberians and foreigners began to patronize it regularly. Soon the company had to close it down because not a single Americo-Liberian would pay his garage bill. The garage is still closed.

President Barclay, I was told, purchased a limousine from the United States Trading Company and hadn't paid the first cent on it when I was there. Another high government official wanted to purchase an automobile from the same company, but having no ready money he suggested that he allocate to the company his July, August and September salary as part payment. Wary, the company officials made a private investigation, and discovered that the applicant had already drawn his July salary. Confronted with this information, the Liberian blandly apologized, saying it was an oversight on his part.

(Copyright 1931)

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Paramount Chief Ousted By Liberian Government

Courier 10-17-31

MONROVIA, Liberia, Oct. 15—The Barclay government is retaliating against all who opposed the candidates of the Whig Party in the notorious May election. The latest victim is the Paramount Chief of the Dey Section who was elected by his people [illegible] choice but when one of his opponents received [illegible] to the Secretary of the Interior, J. Jeremiah Harris, that he had supported Thomas J. R. Faulker, nominee of the People's Party for the Presidency, the Secretary of the Interior immediately recalled the election. He informed the Paramount Chief that "A tree has fallen across your path and until you can remove that tree, you cannot be Paramount Chief."

It is reported from the hinterland that there is much oppression of the natives by gove[illegible]nt officials and soldiers. The natives are helpless, being unarmed and unable to resist.

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LIBERIA, AS SEEN BY THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY EXPEDITION.

THE REPUBLIC THROUGH THE EYES OF SCIENTISTS.

The publication of the Report of the Harvard African Expedition of 1926-7 (Oxford University Press, Amen House, Warwick Square, E.C.; two vols., 67s. 6d.), under the title of "The African Republic of Liberia and the Belgian Congo," is particularly interesting at the present time, when the former of the countries visited is so much in the limelight. The expedition consisted of Prof. R. P. Strong, Harvard School of Tropical Medicine, who edits the Report; Dr. G. C Shattuck and Dr. M. Theiler, also of the School of Tropical Medicine; Dr. J. C. Bequaert, Professor of Entomology; Dr. D. H. Linder, Botanist; Dr. G. M. Allen, Zoologist; Mr. H. J. Coolidge, Assistant Zoologist, and Mr. L. Whitman, Photographer and Assistant Ornithologist, and after making a biological and medical survey, that included the Liberian hinterland from Monrovia to the borders of French Guinea, and a cross-country trip to Greenville, it passed on to the Belgian Congo and followed what can now be described as the usual route across the continent to Mombasa. The second part of the journey, although including the greater mileage, was, of course, of less scientific importance than the practically untouched field of Liberia, and in consequence the Report is for all practical purposes one dealing with that Republic and containing occasional references to the Congo.

To Africans, naturally jealous of foreign interference with the only independent State on the Western side, the work is marred by a chapter which, after touching the many weak spots of Liberian administration, proceeds immediately to what Africans cannot but regard as propaganda for American control, more especially since, apart from the scientific interest of the country, the four reasons given for the choice of Liberia emphasise the financial control already exercised, and the possibility of "development," i.e., the revolution of the local system of society and land tenure for the production of rubber for export. From this point of view, Buell, whom the Report is inclined to regard as too superficial in his observations, but who bases his views on admitted facts, will be considered by most Africans as a more trustworthy prophet of possible danger than an expedition primarily concerned with sciences other than economics.

In whatever light the Harvard Expedition Report be read, however, it deserves a welcome as giving a very fair impression of existing health conditions, besides affording, in the second volume, a valuable detailed study of the natural history of the areas visited. It is on the first volume that interest will be centred at the present time, for the three parts into which this is divided are of considerable practical importance. The first part gives a general study of the Liberian peoples and their environment, while the other two describe medical, pathological, and biological investigations into that environment with a view to its ultimate improvement through greater knowledge of the parasites affecting human beings, animals, and food and economic plants.

Although it is natural that the present condition of the people should receive attention before their present and past environment, the arrangement is not altogether a satisfactory one, for it encourages a prejudging of their response to the conditions in which they find themselves, and the Report should be prefaced with the notes, culled from later and less conspicuous pages, that not only are natural conditions locally far more difficult from the health and development point of view than in many other parts of the Coast, but the people, originally dumped in their ancestral home after they had completely lost touch with it, and more or less abandoned there, lacked the capital and the experience for the development of *any* extensive area, let alone the difficult one in which they found themselves. That they should fall into serious debt is not unnatural, nor that they should subsequently yield to the temptation, common to all debtors, to raise money by questionable methods, and to save expense by an abuse of the system of communal labour that, many administrators maintain, *still* affords the only means of developing communications in remote parts of Africa. What such a people need is clearly disinterested assistance from others more experienced in tropical administration, and this the Republic seems at last a little more likely to receive.

On the subjects of land tenure and labour the Expedition throws little new light, for these fell outside its province. Nevertheless, it bears witness that slavery, in the true sense of the word, existed to no appreciable extent in the hinterland,—apart, that is, from the grave abuse of communal labour, and the exactions of individual officials,—while the system of pawning, although open to abuse, seems practically the same as elsewhere in West Africa. The rubber-planting activities of the Firestone Company are shown as a restraining influence in labour difficulties, since labourers dissatisfied with tribal or other conditions, flee to the plantations and secure a regular wage. The amount so paid out by the Firestone concerns in 1928 is given as 1,024,050 dollars, a sum which undoubtedly made a considerable difference to local trade and revenue, and it is a pity that comparative statistics and of foreign loan charges were not added, although these were presumably not available. The same absence of recent and authoritative figures in regard to other branches of administration, although unavoidable, gives to this part of the Report an air of vagueness that in itself marks it as distinct from the careful marshalling of facts in the science sections describing the true work of the Expedition.

The medical and sanitary conditions are referred to as "perhaps unique," for there were no properly trained sanitary or medical officers, no public health laboratory, and no official health organisation. What this means in the larger centres of population has been made clear from the severe losses from yellow fever and from the recent withdrawal of an important European bank from the Republic. Practically the whole of the medical and sanitary responsibilities of Monrovia were in the hands of two private European doctors, but outside the town what little health work is done is in the hands of missions, with, of course, American doctors on the Firestone plantations.

In the interior the health situation has probably been saved by the very primitiveness of local conditions, for, as far as one can judge from the survey by the Expedition, public health was little, if any, worse than in similar areas elsewhere in West Africa. In many places along the route house-to-house inspections were made by members of the Expedition, apparently with the co-operation of the Chiefs, but probably few regular Coast medical officers would care to claim, as does the Report, that this meant that few of the local sick escaped notice. The houses were clean, and the absence of human fleas, both in Liberia and the Congo, is mentioned more than once, but a lack of these creatures was more than counterbalanced by the presence of other biting insects and of the parasites of which they were the vectors.

The general position in regard to disease, away from the towns, seems to be that of the neighbouring Colonies, with, however, less dysentery, probably owing to the low density of population and to the sufficiency of the water supply. With regard to the great variability in the reports from other parts of West Africa concerning the incidence of yaws and syphilis, it is interesting to note that in the view of Prof. Strong and Dr. Shattuck, many lesions likely to be ascribed to tertiary syphilis were probably advanced cases of yaws, as were, possibly, instances of gangosa, although the last might also be connected with leprosy. In any case, congenital venereal disease was rare away from the coastline. Sleeping sickness, the great menace to the countries farther to the East, was found to be rare in Liberia, but since the spread of this disease is so commonly associated with the extension of communications, it is to be hoped that the favourable remarks in the Report will not lead future Administrations to neglect precautions against the disease.

In regard to leprosy, the large number of "burned out" or arrested cases in proportion to advanced active ones is remarked upon, and the suggestion made that it may represent an acquired tolerance of, or immunity to, infection. This, of course, presupposes that the Expedition saw practically all the sick as it proceeded, but it might equally mean that many of the worst cases were concealed by the villages. Of ulcers other than leprotic the Expedition was kept in constant knowledge, as are all travellers in Africa, but in respect of these and other ills no attempt seems to have been made to trace contributory factors once the causative organism was traced, and there is nothing in the Report to show, for instance, to what extent dietetic deficiencies might affect health, nor are there any important notes regarding African medicines other than poisons. In many tropical diseases, such as yellow fever, no opportunity for original observations arose, but the inclusion of a summary of progress to date serves to make the Report a self-contained survey of general health knowledge throughout Liberia and the Congo.

Religions and languages naturally received little attention from what was primarily a medical expedition, and the particulars given are largely compilations from the work of other observers. In consequence, the "leopard men" receive the chief share of the space that should have been given to a consideration of the true place of the secret society and the herbalist or jujuman in Liberian life. The reference to the "Leopards," by the way, and to the good work already done by the Government in their extirpation, shows that whatever may be the position concerning health and sanitation, the Administration has shown activity in certain beneficial directions, and that, if it has fallen into most of the difficulties that might have been expected of colonists with no mother-country behind them, it may yet, aided by genuine and practical sympathisers, attain to the position of which the undoubted natural advantages of the country give promise.

Race Problem—1931

Liberia

Agrbca

2 DELEGATES OF LIBERIA ARRIVE AT THE HAGUE

Afro-American 9-3-31

Protest to League of Nations Against Foreign Mandate.

Baltimore Sun

NAME BARCLAY IN ELECTION FRAUD

Faulkner Really President, they Declare.

LONDON. — The African World reports the arrival here of the Hon. Dr. F. W. M. Morais, author of the Minority Report in the Liberian legislature on the International Commission's report on slavery, to lay before the League of Nations assembly meeting a protest from natives of the Republic.

Counsellor N. H. Sie Brownell, one of the leading lawyers of Liberia, accompanied the Liberian leader and will act as legal advisor.

To Make Protest

Dr. Morais will lay before the league council the petition of natives that the country should not be mandated, as is foreshadowed in the foreign press. The natives inssit that the fialure of the American-Liberians to conduct an orderly government and to reform existing conditions is not the failure of the aborigines who have never been privileges to form a government and direct its policy, or actually to participate in the government of their own country.

Left Whig Party

Dr. Morais, expressing the sentiments of many of the natives, showed his dissatisfaction with the Whig Party, following that party's simply requesting the resignation of President King and Vice-President Yancey, by leaving the party fold and accepting the nomination for vice-president on the People's ticket, which was headed by the Hon. Thomas J. R. Faulkner.

Afro-American

Claim Fraud

The result of that election, held last May, showed, it is claimed, that the People's Party candidates were actually elected, despite the fact that the present government still holds office. Because they feel that they are the real owners of the country and that thir welfare should be paramount in considering the future of Liberia, the natives sent Dr. Morais to the League to present their claims.

Counsellor Sie Brownell put aside a lucrative practice and business in Monrovia in order to journey to Geneva with Dr. Morais to act as legal adviser.

League Experts at Work

M. Charles Brunot (French), M. Ligthart (Dutch), and Dr. MacKenzie (British), the experts sent by the Council of the League of Nations to Liberia at the latter's request to investigate what forms of financial, sanitary, and administrative assistance could be usefully recommended to that country, began yesterday at Geneva the preparation of the detailed report, which will be submitted to the special committee of the Council to be presided over by Mr. Henderson (British Minister for Foreign Affairs).

Christian Sci. Mon. 9-29-31

New York

N. Y.

U. S. Educational Adviser to Liberia Says Little Republic is Object of International Criticism

Dr. Howard Oxley Submits Report of Survey Made of Educational Conditions in Liberia During Past Six Months

By HANNAH DORNER
(In New York Herald Tribune)

Founded for the liberated Negro, where he might come into his own in his original environment, with the heritage of centuries undisturbed by the white man's progress, Liberia, the free Negro republic on the West Coast of Africa, has become within the last few months the object of international criticism.

With reports of slavery from the jungle interiors, of economic and social deterioration, of political corruption, of deep ignorance, the searching eye of criticism was focussed earlier in the year upon the tiny republic by the League of Nations. Today it faces the prospect of foreign intervention which will bring its government up to the standards of modern democracies.

Work of Lifetime

Dr. Howard Oxley, United Sta adviser to the Committee on Ed cation of Liberia, has passed six months in that country in an attempt to bring modern educational methods into the darkest interiors.

Back from Liberia recently, Dr. Oxley, in an interview, called the task of educating the tribes, whose culture he says is on a level with that of early paleolithic man, one of a lifetime. With proper funds and proper co-operation by the present Liberian government, Dr. Oxley estimates that in ten years schools could be established in each of the 3,000 villages that make up the country.

In his report to the United States Advisory Commission of Education, of which Dr. Thomas J. Jones is chairman, Dr. Oxley recommended that the government of Liberia adhere to the proposals of the League of Nations, which offers temporary foreign control that secure stability in the country. Finances to carry on the running expenses of the government, he believes, could be secured from American philanthropy and from the taxes and other fees collected by Liberia.

Scourged by Disease

It is recommended also that Liberia co-operate with the mission schools, and with the Booker Washington Agricultural and Industrial Institute, in which vocational courses are taught the natives, and where, according to Dr. Oxley, a vast amount of faith may be placed for the future of the country. He also recommended that for educational purposes the country be divided into three regions—the Northern section at Cape Mount, the Central at Monrovia, and the Southern at Cape Palmas.

"In order to make the progress of Liberia secure, one of the most important of the innovations that need to be made is proper sanitation." Dr. Oxley said. Yellow fever and malaria are the two most common diseases there, and it is virtually impossible for Liberia to attract foreign capital, since the death rate is so high. Monrovia, the principal city, has only one hospital and two doctors."

"Must Have League Aid

The primary need, Dr. Oxley asserted, is for an adequate dependable permanent administration, which, without help from the League of Nations, it is virtually impossible to secure. There must be an equally adequate administration of the interior, he says, since the "world will no longer tolerate the outrages committed against the helpless natives by Liberian officials."

The reluctance with which President Edwin H. Barclay is viewing the proposal of the League of Nations to send foreign administrators into Liberia, Dr. Oxley believes, is only delaying its progress. An international loan is seen as absolutely vital in the country's needs. Roads must be built, since the seventeen tribes in the interior of the country are isolated by the jungles, and no sweeping changes could be made unless communication were facilitated.

A Primitive Country

Finally Dr. Oxley calls for the development of agriculture. Agriculture has formed the economic basis of the country, and for centuries it has been the sole occupation of the natives. At present, the lack of modern impliments make agriculture comparatively unprofitable.

Socially and culturally, with the exception of American Negroes, and very few natives, the country dates back to primitive man. There are in all seventeen tribes which are divided into three groups, each with its own government. All the ancient witchcraft still flourishes.

The "Devilbush" the only school there, being an organization maintained by the "Poro" Society, a secret fraternity. There the young boy of six or eight is initiated into the ways of manhood. The young men learn the rudiments of husbandry including the growing of rice

Young of Both Sexes Apart

The young women are inducted into a similar school, at the time when the boys at the end of their schooling are set loose. Thus both sexes are kept apart during adolescence and only when the marriage age draws near are they brought together.

There are 3,000 villages in the country, with an average of fifteen to twenty huts and from one to five living in each. Some communities have as high as 400 huts. There are several classes in Liberia, American whites and Europeans numbering about 100. The American Negroes constitute the highest cultural group, numbering approximately from 5,000 to 15,000; the civilized natives number 25,000, and of the aborigines there are from 800,000 to 1,500,000.

Liberia constitutes 42,000 square miles of swamps, forests, rivers and dense jungles. The economic possibilities have not been developed because of the extreme poverty of the country, because of adverse health and because Liberian laws do not give sufficient guarantee to foreign capital, according to Dr. Oxley. The death rate of the country is tremendous, infant mortality forming the major portion of it. It is estimated that approximately one of four children die because of the lack of proper care and nourishment.

Firestone's Liberian Colony
A Little Slice Of America
In Wilds Of African Jungle

Schuyler, After Visit To Rubber Plantations Absolves Tire Magnate Of Charge Of Using Force In Recruiting Laborers

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

(A Capital News Service Feature)

(Continued from last week.)

The next day at noon I left by automobile for the forty-mile trip to the Du River Plantation of the Firestone Company. The dirt road, perhaps the best in Liberia, is none too good. Nothing whatever has been done to it for over a year and consequently it is necessary to drive with caution. The trip requires all of three hours.

Entering A New World

To motor into this largest of the three Firestone plantations is to enter a totally different world, a picture of what this beautiful country might be under intelligent control. In just eight years a model development has been carved out of what was almost impenetrable jungle. The miles of roads running in all directions, well crowned, drained and bridged, could hardly be improved, and workers, clerks and superintendents are well housed.

There are a modern 100-bed hospital completely equipped, offices, a general store with ice plant adjoining, sawmill, machine shops, water and electric light plans and a wireless station. It is, indeed, a little American colony in the heart of wild Africa.

The management boasts that this task has ben accomplished almost wholly with native labor, exceptions being clerks and superintendents. Liberians were first employed as clerks, but were found to be troublesome, litigious and inefficient that they had to be replaced by Negroes from the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Sierra Leone.

There are some Liberian foreman remaining, but many have been replaced by natives. The superintendents are all Americans with the exception of the tree nursery, a Dutchman.

Firestone Largest Employer

The Firestone Company is the largest employer of labor in Liberia and quite naturally considerable interest must attach to its treatment and payment of that labor. I found that the workers get the standard Liberian wage of one shilling a day, six pence being deducted for food. Skilled workers like chauffeurs, merchants, nursery workers and so forth, receive from one to four shillings a day. In the beginning, common laborers were paid from two to four shillings a day, unheard of fabulous wages in Liberia, but the Government objected, saying that Liberian farmers were protesting on the ground that the high wages drew away their labor. Even bank clerks in Monrovia get but two pounds, ten shillings a month. At one time the Firestone Liberian payroll exceeded $1,000,000 annually.

The laborers work at will, only a small percentage ever drawing a full month's salary. Out of a total of 3,000 workers now employed on the Du River plantation, 66 per cent turn out daily. So there seems to be nothing to the rumor that the men are driven.

The workers are housed in sixteen camps resembling diminutive native villages. Each camp is ruled by a native headman elected by the workers and under whose direction they perform their daily tasks. The men will not work under undesirable headmen and the company respects their wishes. I found the camps neat, clean and sanitary, much more so, indeed, than Monrovia. There are seldom members of more than one tribe in a camp.

Natives Are Skilled

The company has a nursery of 545,000 young rubber trees and the delicate work of grafting is done entirely by natives. The automobiles and trucks are operated and largely repaired by natives and they do much other work requiring skill, such as constructing roads and culverts and uilding concrete bridges. Some day, it would seem, Liberia should greatly profit from the training these natives are receiving and which they could get nowhere else in the republic!

Seeking the Firestone Company's answer to the statements made by President Barclay, I went to the office of W. D. Hines, the resident manager of the Firestone plantations, who has been in Liberia since the beginning of the project. Mr. Hines was rather wearily amused by the remarks of the Chief Executive, but politely proceeded to relate the whole history of the company's effort in Liberia.

In answer to my question concerning the President's claim that the Firestone Company had insisted the Government must build roads so that rubber might be taken to port, Mr. Hines drove me in his car to Landing No. 10 on the Du River, where there are warehouses, a small dock and several large motor launches moored.

He explained that such rubber as has been produced is shipped from that point to the mouth of the river at Marshall, where it is loaded aboard ship, thus making completely unnecessary transportation by land. He pointed out that the small and much older Mount Barclay plantation sits astride of a Liberian road that was constructed long before the Firestone Company entered the country.

Denies "Pressure"

When I mentioned the accusation of President Barclay that the Firestone Company, through the American Legation, sought to get the Government to use pressure to increase the flow of labor to the plantations, he replied:

"There was always a sufficient supply of labor until former District Commissioner David Carter (now jailed on charges of murder) began to interfere with laborers en route to the plantations in order to extract illegal fees from them or to divert them to forced labor on the Government roads.

"Upon being requested to stop the practice, Commissioner Carter referred me to the then President King. I immediately took up the matter with the President, but the only thing he would say was that if the American minister would make the request that the Firestone Company would be supplied with more labor, it would be furnished.

"I replied that I could make no such request of the American Minister, nor could I see where he had anything to do with it. A high Liberian official was interfering with our labor supply and I was merely asking that this interference cease.

"However, President King communicated with Mr. Francis, who was then American Minister, concerning the matter. Mr. Francis replied at first that he would have nothing to do with the matter. Upon King's further insistence, Mr. Francis stated that he saw no reason why an American corporation should not be permitted to have all the labor it desired."

Mr. Hines expressed the opinion that the whole scheme was to make the American Government appear to be forcing the Liberian Government to supply the Firestone Company with labor. I discovered later that there was not a shred of correspondence in the files of the American Legation to support President Barclay's charge.

Denies League Spur

The Firestone manager stated, in answer to the charge that his company inspired the League of Nations investigation, that as they had never had any difficulty in getting sufficient labor, except when interfered with by Liberian officials, there was no reason for the company to complain against the exportation of a few hundred laborers.

He mentioned the fact that years before Liberia had been criticized for permitting this traffic in "boys" and that Thomas J. R. Faulkner, wealthy merchant and head of the People's Party, had been a frequent and outspoken accuser of Government officials in that connection. He suggested that Faulkner's charges may have speeded the investigation.

It is true that 15,000 laborers are a whole lot to recruit from the scattered Liberian villages, and one might be excused for crediting rumors that force was used. And yet, from my travels in the interior, where money is so scarce and so desired, I can see where even at the peak of its operations the Firestone Company needed no force to get labor.

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Land Is Fertile

Liberia is rich in land and cheap in labor. There are 43,000,000 acres of land more fertile than anywhere else in Africa. The agricultural possibilities are limitless and there are excellent facilities for thriving lumber industrices. Rice, oil, coffee, tobacco, tea, lumber fruit and minerals constitute the economic wealth of the country, but their potentialities would prove to be limitless if modern facilities were brought to develop them, the survey shows.

The center of educational activities in Liberia is in the Booker-Washington Institute at Monrovia. There the chieftains of the tribes send their boys. The entering age is approximately ten. The institute has seven grades, and one instructor for the academic work, J. B. Bar Rolle, whose father was a West Indian merchant, and whose mother is a Gallinean princess.

Use "Pidgin English"

The school year begins in February and runs until November with short vacations. English is the language taught, since the bulk of the business of the government is carried on in that tongue. Dr. Oxley said that not one boy in fifty knows his own age, and the best kind of English one can get from the natives is the so-called "pidgin-English," where only nouns and verbs are used.

Classes at the institute begin at 8 o'clock and are of approximately forty minutes' duration, with frequent rest periods in between. Courses are given in good manners, in hygiene and sanitation, in obedience and punctuality. The ages of the students run from 11 to 25, with the majority of the students sixteen.

The method of teaching English, Dr. Oxley explains, is through practical application. For example, students will learn the words "sit and stand" through a practical demonstartion of their meaning. The prepositions, conjunctions, phrases adjectives and adverbs are taught them much later.

Seek Professions

"The ready-money jobs appeal just as much to the African mind as they do to the American mind," he said. "They all wanted to be lawyers, doctors, mechanics, one boy from the Mandingo tribe preferring not to work at all, while still another from the Kpese chose mechanics or nothing. Chauffering was a popular occupation."

The motive behind their choice, Dr. Oxley believed, was due to the fact they had seen white people and American Negroes in those jobs, and from all outward appearances the amount of work entailed was little.

"Liberia needs one good newspaper and a press service which would keep her people alive to the activities of the world. They have allowed themselves to follow false ideals which are entirely out of keeping with the standards of the rest of the world.

"International control in Liberia at this moment would allow her to take up the reigns of government within twenty to twenty-five years. There is a definite lack of systematic organization in their governmental activities and they need outsiders' help. As the natives from the interior says when he sees the white men doing anything more systematically and expeditiously than he: 'The white man he is fine He know how do things.' "

Race Problems - 1931

Liberia

Africa.

Schuyler, an Apologist for Firestones

BESIDES recklessly slandering Liberia, George Schuyler has turned out to be an apologist for the Firestone rubber interests, the questionable diplomacy of the State Department at Washington and an eulogist for Mr. Faulkner who is in many quarters alleged to be working in cooperation with the Firestones and the State department. The general burden of Mr. Schuyler's articles has been to impose Americanism, which means the ideology of the American whites, upon the unhappy Liberians.

Mr. Schuyler is guilty of the very things that he is accusing the "Americo-Liberians," that of looking down upon the Liberians in general because they do not have the same standards, both material and moral, because they do not have the same notions of "efficiency, decency righteousness and justice" as George himself. The Negro World has pointed out repeatedly that the American returned Negroes have been treating the native Liberians the way they have, because they have looked at them through a distorted prism they took with them through the grace of the white Christian missionaries.

Mr. Schuyler was plainly not fit to study the various problems of Liberia. From the articles he has produced it is plain that he did not know the intrigues about the Firestone concession conducted through the State department, and therefore, deliberately or not, he has whitewashed the affairs of the concession with a pretty stupid phrase, namely that he saw a bit of America in the wilds of Liberia.

Further he does not reveal that he knows anything about the African history, the spread of Mohammedanism, the ethics of the heathens, the social rigidity and regulations of the primitive society, and so on. And this ignorance has enabled him to burst into a puritanical fury we wrote about last week. He apparently does not realize the harm he has done to Liberia.

If Mr. Schuyler were sincere he could have suggested how reforms could be introduced effectively in Liberia. He ought to realize that no reforms could work by legislative or executive fiat. He himself is a victim of such a reform in the United States. If he were independent, intelligent and honest he should have discovered that element of sincere reformers in Liberia and tried to strengthen their hands. But he either did not choose, or he was not free, to do that.

The only thing Mr. Schuyler has accomplished has been to give a certificate to the Firestone interests to go full speed in their exploitation of Liberia. On the other hand he has contributed to the hindrance of the reform work in Liberia through his uinformed rashness.

Charter Ship for Cruise; Sails for Liberia Oct. 6

Folders and literature are out announcing the 1931 West African cruise to Liberia, the only independent Negro republic in the world, where members of the Race hold all the offices, cast all the votes and make all the laws. The cruise is sponsored by the United States lines, the Douglas National bank and the Liberian Development association, and the sailing date is Oct. 6, aboard the U. S. liner S. S. Republic, considered one of the finest liners afloat in the luxury of its appointments and the excellence of its service.

The cost of the cruise which will last 58 days and travel 12,000 miles is $350, which includes all expenses except the U. S. government revenue tax of $5, passport and visa fees, tips, etc. The boat sails direct to Cherbourg, France, and the tourists proceed from there by rail to Paris, where a special delegation will meet them to show the wonders of the so-called "capital of the world." After a day or so of sightseeing they will leave by rail or motor coach for Bordeaux, France, where they will sail for Monrovia, Liberia, aboard the 12,500-ton S. S. Brazza.

From Oct. 30 to Nov. 7 the tourists will be the guests of the Liberian president and the members of his cabinet, and there will be a round of official receptions, sightseeing tours, hunting expeditions and visits to the gold mines, rubber plantations, Congo Town and other places of interest. The return trip will be made Nov. 7 from Bordeaux via Paris and Cherbourg, arriving in New York harbor aboard the S. S. President Roosevelt on Dec. 2 in ample time for the tourists to arrive home before Christmas.

The object of the cruise which is being promoted by the Liberian Development association, a regularly chartered organization, is to promote the welfare of Liberia; to establish closer relationship between African merchants and American business men; to give members of the Race in America an opportunity to get first-hand information about affairs in Liberia; to increase the production and export possibilities of the republic, and through a campaign of enlightenment show members of the Race in America the limitless advantages to be gained by settling in Liberia and developing its resources.

Frank White is president of the Liberian Development association and manager of the cruise, maintaining offices at 3522 S. Michigan Ave. He was educated at Wilberforce university, is a civil engineer and has been in the service of the Firestone Rubber company, both in Liberia and other parts of West Africa. He is married and his wife and two children are at present in Liberia, awaiting his return. His assistant, Africannus Shaack, is a native Liberian, college trained, has traveled extensively and is well informed on present conditions in his native land. Charles Duke, H. Curtis Cooper and Isaac Harris are among the Chicagoans contemplating the trip, reservations for which have just started.

SLAVERY IN LIBERIA

BY GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

SLAVERY IN LIBERIA IN THE GOLO COUNTRY

When I entered the Golo town of Genne just above the line of Grand Cape Mount County, the place seemed deserted save for a group of old men eyeing my party suspiciously from the veranda of the chief's house. No women, children or young folk were to be seen. It looked queer because the town is marked prominently on the maps. I called my Buzi headman to engage the chief in conversation and tell him who I was. Meanwhile, my stewards got out bags of gleaming salts and stalks of trade tobacco for presents or "dash."

AMERICAN "OPEN SESAME"

When the chief heard the magical word "America" and noted that I was actually about to give him some thing, his whole manner and that of his advisers changed. They became quite cordial, hut doors began to open and people appeared everywhere. Soon my little party was completely surrounded by curious Golas of all ages, and I learned to my surprise that the chief, whom I had first to address through an interpreter, spoke fairly good English.

Later, over excellent palm wine, the chief, a short, mustached fellow clad in a combination of civilized and native clothes, explained it all. The Liberians came so often, it seemed demanding large quantities of produce for which they never paid, and whipping the chief and others if they demands were not satisfied, that the people of the town had taken to running off into the bush whenever a large party of strangers approached the village. It is the custom of the Liberians to go up country empty handed and return laden down not only with food, but furniture, ornaments and native cloth. Americans and other foreigners, the Gola chief assured me, are the only ones who pay their way in the back country. In addition to these unannounced visits, the chief continued, he is forced to send monthly requisitions of rice and palm oil to the nearest Government post.

Two weeks later I sat in the palaver kitchen of the beautiful town of Voni Jessu in the Buzi nation and heard a similiar tale from the lips of the very dignified chief through the medium of my head-man-interpreter.

This cihef was much more specific. He must furnish to the district commissioner, several days' walk from his town, eleven forty-pound hampers of cleaned rice and five gallons of palm oil every month. In the bargain he must pay his taxes of four shillings and sixpence per hut, two or three times a year instead of once. Failure to comply with these orders of the Liberian officials means that he will be seized, tied and beaten before his own people, who are taught to reverance and respect him.

ANOTHER TALE OF TRIBUTE

Two days later I sat in the palaver kitchen of the equally beautiful Buzi town of Sublema and listened to the chief through my interpreter tell an almost identical tale. His taxes are also collected two or three times a year, but as he rules a slightly smaller district than his colleague at Voni Jessu, he must furnish to the district commissioner only eight forty-pound hampers of rice and five gallons of palm oil every moon.

Two weeks later I sat in front of the guest house in the newly built town of Goh, in the Kpwessi country, while the funny little chief with braided hair, a skirt-like garment and a large native sword swung to his side, complained of having to twice pay hut taxes of five shillings in the space of one year besides sending to the authorities each month three forty-pound hampers of rice and four gallons of palm oil.

It is a mightly long distance from Genne to Goh and there are scores of towns between, but everywhere I found the story much the some. Those in America who buy their rise in neat packages from the corner grocer and pay hundreds of dollars perhaps, in taxes every year can hardly appreciate what these exactions mean to the poor native in the Liberian hinterland.

BLOOD MONEY IN SILVER

Let us take those neighboring towns of Voni Jessu and the Sublema and total their tribute to their masters. Together they send in nineteen hampers, or approximately 760 pounds of rice monthly, the total for the by these two villages grow in a year's time to 120 gallons, or approximately four barrels! In addition, they must pay their hut taxes in British silver (there being no Liberian coin larger than a copper two-cent piece). This means that Voni Jessu, which has around 120 houses must pay taxes of 540 shillings, or $129.60, not once, but two or three times a year, according to the caprice of the Liberian officials.

The Liberian system of communications is terrible. Only trails are available and where the government

sought during the halcyon days of the notorious Department of Public Works to build roads with forced native labor using sticks (and surveyed by the blowing of a horn), ignorance of engineering, coupled with rapid erosion and encroachment of jungle, has made them impassible for anything but foot travel. As the natives are forced to sell their produce on the coast if they are to get the British silver with which to pay their hut taxes, they must undergo a tremendous loss in sending carriers over the trails with rice and palm oil, the standard commodities. From a fairly central point it takes a carrier from five to six days to get to Monrovia and perhaps ten days for the round trip. His forty pound hamper of rice will perhaps bring $1.50 if the market is high.

PAID? OF COURSE NOT!

The carrier must eat at least ten pounds of rice on the trip, which reduces the actual receipts to about $1.15. If the carrier got paid for his time and labor at the standard year being the enormous quanity of 9,120 pounds, or nearly five tons! The ten gallons of palm oil furnished rate of one shilling a day the village would actually lose money by sending to Monrovia with the rice. But of course he doesn't get paid.

It is plain the huge quanities of rice and palm oil which a village like Voni Jessu must raise in order to pay taxes and also furnish the requisitions. It is in fact laboring almost wholly in order to meet the exactions of the Liberian officials. In order to grow the rice the jungle must be cut and burned, then the rice planted and tended by the women and constantly watched to keep rice birds away. Then it must be harvested and threshed by treading and finally winnowed. It is a long and laborious business executed in the primitive way. The palm oil is almost as difficult to prepare for use.

What is true of the villages I have named is true of hundreds I have not named. They must all make their requisitions and pay their taxes in British silver, once and perhaps three or four times a year. Of course there few towns that can do it, with the result that the Government in most districts cannot collect more than one-third of the taxes. Generally the revenue collector or his messenger gets what he can and threatens about the rest.

TRAVEL ALLOWANCE NOT USED

The carriers who take the monthly requisitions of rice and palm oil to the Liberian officials are seldom, if ever, paid, and villages en route have to feed them. Sometimes the round trip rquires six or more days. Also, whenever the district commissioner or any of his staff travels abroad the

(Photo by George S. Schuyler)

VAI FARM, GRAND CAPE MOUNT COUNTY, LIBERIA.
From such farms as these the corrupt Liberian officials exact a heavy tribute in grain and cattle.

porters whom they requisition to carry them from village to village are given nothing for their labor except occasional curses and buffets. The district commissioners have a travel allowance, but it is a standing joke that they never use it. They can always get plenty strong young natives free to carry their hammocks.

Actually, these hundreds of thousands maybe wo million of natives in the Liberian hinterland are enslaved in a very real way by their American-Liberian masters. The greater part of their time is devoted to raising food products in the laborious and age-old manner in oredr to meet hte exactions of their masters. Their strongest young men are used to transport this food on their backs over tortuous trails to designaed stations or to the coast for sale to get money to pay taxes, while others are subject to carry the hammock of the district commissioner or some of his satellites, for all of which they are unpaid. In return, these poor people get exactly nothing except whippings and finings The good roads they need to bring their produce to town and realize a modest profit are non-existent and the bankrupt Liberian Government hasn't the money or skill to build them.

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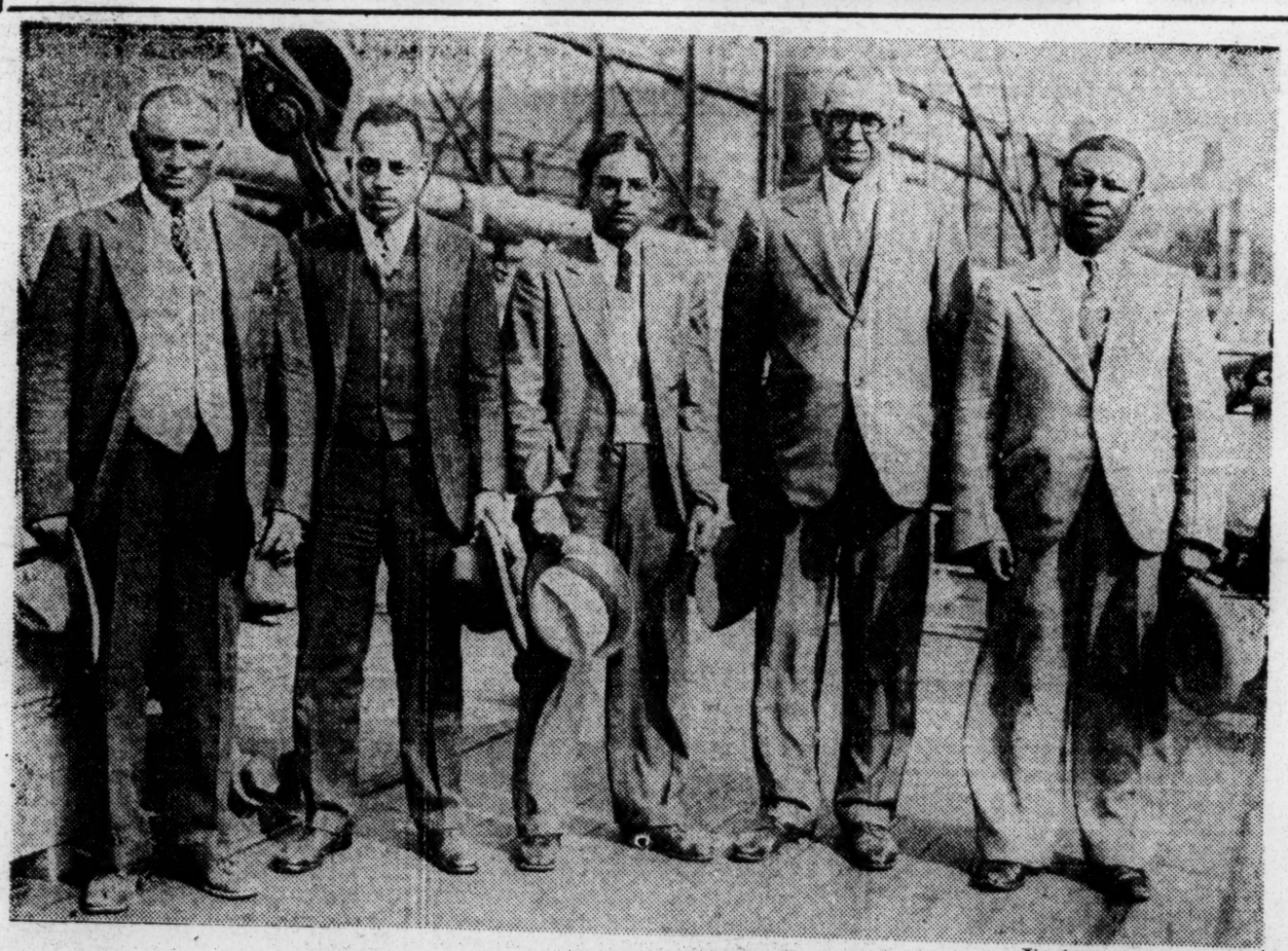
In the next issue we go with Mr. Schuyler into the Liberian "White House" and meet the suave little man who guides the destiny of this Negro Republic. Mr. Schuyler is the first American correspondent to interview President Barclay. What the president said is worth reading.

-:- Off for the Homeland -:-



Eastern Features Photo.

FOUR CHICAGOANS who may figure in the future development of Liberia sailed Thursday on the Von Steuben en route to the little West African republic. They are shown here with Robert L. Ephraim, head of the Race Federation Organization, sponsor of the Liberian immigration program. Shown, left to right, are Anthony Hopkins, Fred Smith and Milton Smith, engineers, and George C. Adams, lawyer. Mr. Ephraim did not sail.

Race Problem - 1931

Liberia.

Africa.

President Blames Firestone Rubber Company For Many of The Bad Conditions In Liberia

Journal and Guide

10-3-31

Monrovia, Va.

Its Recruiting Of Labor, He Says, Disrupted Village Life. "Slavery Never Existed In Fact In Liberia," He Declares

By George S. Schuyler

(A Capital News Service Feature)

A COUNTRY OF BEAUTY

Topographically resembling Virginia, Liberia is perhaps the most beautiful country in Africa. It is a great botanical and zoological garden where every tropical animal, tree, flower and fruit is to be found. Its mineral wealth in gold and diamonds is almost as great.

But its greatest wealth is its people. The aborigines are as admirable as most of their Americo-Liberian taskmasters are despicable. Everywhere in the hinterland one finds the natives self-supporting in every way, whereas their rulers are not. The native towns are uniformly clean and neat, and their inhabitants are generally honest, truthful and trustworthy.

Labor in every native community is divided according to skill and necessity. Work begins usually at daybreak and many trades are followed, such as spinning, weaving, tanning, dyeing, ironwork, pottery making and other minor ones.

Their farms are located usually an hour's walk or more from town and are grouped around collections of huts called half-towns, where the agricultural workers live. Here is a perfectly organized and functioning society, superior to that of the Americo-Liberian but yet subordinate to him.

Admirable People

It seems a great pity that these quite admirable people should be kept impoverished, virtually enslaved, to support a few suave officials in Monrovia, many of whom, though drawing meager salaries, live in regal style, own automobiles, maintain large country estates (kept up by serfs) and frequently send their children abroad to school.

One does not wonder that the Americo-Liberians are so inordinately proud and jealous of their independence. They want no interference with their plucking of the natives, the only really industrious people in the land.

The Firestone Plantations Company was given a clean bill of health by the International Commission investigating slavery and forced labor in Liberia. Nevertheless, there are many persons there and elsewhere who are or profess to be, unwilling to concede the firm's entire guiltlessness. One belief is that the Firestone Company, greatly in need of large numbers of native workers to clear off the jungle preparatory to planting, was willing to and did use forced labor supplied by the Liberian Government.

On the other hand, it is widely thought that, fearing the exportation of large numbers of "boys" to Fernando Poo would deplete the available labor supply and thus hinder its program, the Firestone Company was largely instrumental in engineering the investigation into charges of slavery and forced labor by the commission whose report shocked the world. I found no evidence bringing into question the accuracy of the International Commission's findings.

Interview's President

Among those most active in propagating the above views is the President of Liberia, Edwin Barclay, former Secretary of State in the Cabinet of C. D. B. King and son of Liberia's most distinguished citizen and former President, Robert Barclay. In an exclusive interview granted to me on February 27, he attempted to throw much of the responsibility for Liberia's present difficulties and evil repu-

(Photo by George S. Schuyler)

HIS EXCELLENCY, PRESIDENT EDWIN BARCLAY. Former Secretary of State and son of former President Robert Barclay, this little brown man rules with an iron hand the destinies of the great Negro Republic.

tation onto the Firestone Company.

"Approached," He Says

"Liberia was first approached by the Firestone Company," he explained, "for a rubber concession, insisting that it would materially aid the development of Liberia into a modern state. To this the Government agreed. The company then pointed out that since it was to invest such large sums of money in the project, the Government should build the roads necessary to get the rubber produced to port.

"Our government pointed to its lack of funds and urged the necessity of a loan for the purpose of carrying out its part of the agreement. The Firestone Company arranged the loan, but the terms stipulated the employment of a large corps of foreign officials to advise the Government as to its expenditure and to reorganize its finances. The Liberian Government refused to agree until the number of such officials was reduced, but even then the cost of this financial commission is prohibitive for a country the size of Liberia."

I then asked the President for some expression or declaration of opinion or fact concerning the connection, if any, of the Firestone Company with the forced labor, concerning which so much had been said and written.

Recruits Own Labor

"At first," he said, "the natives were suspicious of the Firestone Plantations, and refused to enlist in sufficiently large numbers for the necessary work of clearing the ground for planting. At that time labor was recruited by Government labor agents through the Paramount Chiefs. (Note these Paramount Chiefs are appointed by the President instead of by their people.) A request came from the American Legation asking that pressure be exerted to increase the flow of labor to the plantations. As a compromise the Firestone Company was permitted to recruit its own labor."

"Villages Disrupted"

Having heard considerable about the alleged ill effect the withdrawal of large numbers of workers to the Firestone Plantations had had on native village life, I made that my next question. He replied:

"Unquestionably it resulted in some disruption of village life in the interior. One plantation employed as many as 15,000 laborers to clear the ground. When this task was completed all but 5,000 were discharged. Most of these unemployed workers returned to their villages, but a considerable minority stayed around the fringes of the plantations and a large number came to Monrovia.

"Without work of any kind and out from under the authority of their chiefs, they drifted into mendicancy, crime and immorality, thus causing a social problem with which the Republic could not cope because of the absence of social agencies."

Barclay Shows Anger

Realizing that the subject of labor exportation to Fernando Poo and the League of Nations investigation might be a sore point, I left until the last. inquiry about the Firestone Company's activity in that connection. Usually suave, the middle-aged brown man answered with considerable heat and at great length, his little eyes snapping with great anger for the first time.

He insisted that there was no complaint against the sending of labor out of the country until the Firestone Company arrived on the scene and feared that the practice might interfere with the development of the rubber concession. He explained that one of the chief reasons for the exportation of labor was the fact that thousands of young men in the villages found themselves with nothing to do because of the complete development of village life, and were willing to take service on ships or on foreign plantations.

He admitted that certain evils had arisen, but he quite understandably refrained from touching upon the kidnaping and forcible exportation of "boys", accounts of which fill the thick report of the International Commission. The Government, he said, had sought to protect this labor from victimization by regulating its exportation, keeping records of departure and return, and seeing that the "boys" received their proper wages.

Denies "Slavery" in Land

"That," he declared with finality, "was all there ever was to the 'slavery' with which Government officials have been charged. These charges were received with surprise and consternation by the bulk of Liberian citizens, and it will be recalled that the Liberian Government itself requested that the charges be investigated by a commission from the League of Nations. There has never been any slavery in fact in Liberia."

The interview ended, I rose, the President cordially shook my hand and although I had read the report of the International Commission and found out a bit myself during my sojourn in the capital I did not laugh.

I might have refreshed the President's memory on the subject of slavery by recalling the enslavement of the Congoes (slaves taken from prize ships by British warships and landed at Monrovia) by the early colonist almost a century before.

Being discreet I descended the broad red-carpeted, old-fashioned staircase of the Executive Mansion, crossed the veranda with its lolling soldiers and waiting chiefs and so out into the blazing heat of Ashmun Street, planning shortly to get the other side of the charges and stories the President had so willingly related.

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LIBERIAN HEAD HAS OPPONENTS PUT IN JAIL

Afro-American

MONROVIA — (Special) — Acting on orders of President Edwin Barclay, three leaders of the Grebo tribe were arrested and held under $500 bond charged with sedition.

11 Oct 31

The men are Dr. M. Rogers, Chicago University graduate; Charles Sances and Joseph S. Baker.

Their crime consisted of raising funds and attempting to send them to Dr. Morais who represented natives and the anti-government People's party at the League of Nations.

Dr. Morais is now in London, marooned without funds, and is unable to return to his home here.

President Barclay has expressly forbidden that any money be sent him.

The president also turned down all offers of compromise offered by Dr. Morais and his own three delegates at a meeting held at the League headquarters.

The obstinate refusal of President

Barclay to put through reforms undoubtedly makes foreign nations more determined not to recognize the present Liberian regime.

Faulkner Speech

Thomas J. R. Faulkner, in an interview granted the AFRO-AMERICAN, said:

"I have had no craving desire to be president of Liberia, but a determination that those in power shall do better by the masses than they have desired heretofore to do for them.

"There was not a man in Liberia that dared to oppose Ex-President King and his regime, though Harman backed by Howard and supported by me, made a feeble stand in 1923, but as soon as defeated, begged quarter and went into the King Administration and died there.

"Howard, though the organizer of the People's party, has also given in and gone to the ranks of the corrupt Whig party, and thus it is left to my self and one or two strong men, with the entire labouring classes and the natives to fight this corrupt ring.

Will Approach U.S.

"Now that Barclay refuses to meet me, I have only one course and that is to approach the minister of the United States and suggest that he use his good offices to have Barclay decide whether he will ruin Liberia by his insistent attitude to force himself upon the nations or withdraw and show a spirit of patriotism."

Report to Favor People's Party

The League of Nations' experts' report is very largely in favor of the People's party, because when the experts arrived in Monrovia and began their sittings, they requested Barclay to supply them with a copy of his party platform and his administrative plans.

As the Whig party has never operated with a platform for twenty years, and Barclay made no promisss to the people for their votes, he had nothing to submit to the experts.

Dr. Morais presented the People's case. He was then asked by Governor Brunot to have Faulkner present their administrative program they having in the first instance presented the party's platform.

The People's party made a very plain and sensible plan of administration of affairs.

The report will be handed each member of the league and the United States. Liberia will have to make a comprehensive and sane reply to the expert's suggestions and recommendations. This will be the concluding phase of the whole question.

LIBERIA TO TAKE PART IN WASHINGTON BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

Dr. Ottawa J. Saunders, a graduate of Howard University, now practicing oral surgery at the Carry V. Dyer Memorial Hospital, Monrovia, Liberia, West Coast of Africa, has been asked to head the Liberian Commission of the George Washington Bicentennial and to arrange for the celebration in the African Republic, of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the birth of George Washington. Dr. Saunders, who before going to Liberia, practised dentistry in Washington, D. C., has native home, and in Boston, Massachusetts, has made good since going to Africa being at the present time a member of the Kool Tribe of African Natives holding the rank of Chief.

In a letter received at the United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission in Washington, D. C., Dr. Saunders expressed his desire to be of any service he can, asserting, "It will be my pleasure to head the work while here." A full supply of literature, posters and pamphlets have been sent from headquarters acquainting the doctor with the work of the Bicentennial Commission in arranging for the celebration which begins on Feb. 22, and lasts through Thanksgiving Day, 1932.

Dr. Saunders' mother lives at 1837 Vermont Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C., and his wife is a nurse in the Boston City Hospital in Boston, Massachusetts, the latter having been compelled to return to the states because of ill health during her stay in Africa. Aside from his work at the missionary hospital, Dr. Saunders holds the chair of Professor of English and Psychology at the college of West Africa, in Monravia. Upon completing his stay in Liberia, Dr. Saunders is to hold clinic at the Zacharztliches Institute der Hamburgischen Universitat at Hamburg, Germany. He is not expected to return to the states before the latter part of 1934.

LIBERIAN HEAD INVOLVED IN SLAVE TRADE

Letters Made Public which Escaped Eyes of Recent Probers

TRUCE DECLINED

Barclay Declines Faulkner Peace Move.

MONROVIA, Liberia. — That Edwin Barclay, president elect of Liberia, who escaped being branded as one of the slave traders in the report of the International Commission to Investigate Slavery in that republic, was in fact directly connected with the shipment of boys to Fernando Poo, has been revealed in letters brought to light by an AFRO-AMERICAN correspondent.

These letters, which were placed before the commission, but which must have escaped their careful scrutiny, passed between Mr. Barclay and Allen Yancy, former vice-president. Accompanying them also were drafts for various sums of money, said to have part of the commissions received by Barclay for shipments of boys to plantations in Fernando Poo. The commission's report showed that much of the labor shipped to this place was forced labor.

Money Transactions

In one of the letters to Yancey and signed by Mr. Barclay, the latter said:

"Mr. Parker returned and told me what arrangement you had made with him and I took occasion to tell him that I considered that you had been misled. Unless they were advancing any money it seems preposterous that they should get fifty per cent of what you might realize just for their pleasure. You had them on the hip.

"The labor is essential for the working of the plantations at Fernando Poo. They have tried to do without the Liberians and find that they can't. So they are absolutely dependent upon you. I am controlling the question of the recruiting agent and they are in a vise.

"I have sent you 1017 passports at one dollar. When you are transmitting money to cover, please make the cheques out to me personally, as I have had some doubtful things to go on in the office recently and have to take personal control of everything. Do you think that you will be able to ship that number of boys during the year?"

In another letter Mr. Barclay wrote:

"By the way, the shipment of labor from Cape Palmas seems to be falling off. What is the trouble?"

In a letter which seems to have been a reply to the above, Yancy wrote:

"I have cabled Vice Counsul Parker for a ship to call in at the end of the month for a shipment of 70 or 80 boys, which Liberia will receive and on the ship's return you will please pay him the amount of (twenty-two shillings) on which in lieu of twenty-four shillings as have been done formerly. After deducting the fees of the state department from this amount that will accrue from the shipment, you will please forward me the balance by bank draft at this end."

Refuse Compromise

President Barclay also refused an offer of conciliation drawn up by Dr F. W. M. Morias, representative of the natives at the League of Nations investigation of the Liberian situation and Dr. Antoine Sottile, white, Liberia's accredited delegate.

According to the AFRO-AMERICAN correspondent, these two representatives held a conference in which Morias offered that the People's party and others he represented would coperate with the present administration in bringing about a stable condition in the republic. They agreed to cable Barclay and Thomas J. R. Faulkner, the latter head of the People's party, but Sottile is said to have refused to send his cable when he learned that Morias was asking that he be given a post in the government.

Faulkner endeavored to take the matter of conciliation up with Barclay, but the President is reported to have ignored the whole matter.

The Geneva newspapers seem to be of the opinion that the report of the League of Nations' expert will be in favor of the People's party and that the United States will not recognize Barclay until this report makes some recommendations.

Tourist Party

The Liberian people have been expecting the arrival of the tourist party under the direction of a Mr. White of Chicago. They were to have sailed on October 6.

Bishop Matthews of the A.M.E. Zion Church is expected to arrive here on the 18th on the fast German steamer Toledo. He will proceed to the Gold Coast and after his conference there will come to Monrovia about the middle of December.

The salaries of government employees are still unpaid and because of the fall of the English pound, the prices of commodities have gone up.

Race Problem-1931

Liberia.

Africa.

CLAIMS INTERVENTION BY U.S. IS ONLY HOPE FOR LIBERIAN SALVATION

10-3-31

NEW YORK — CNS) — After six months of travel and study of educational conditions in Liberia, Dr. Howard Oxley, United States advisor to the League of Nations Committee on Education in Liberia, has returned to this country with a voluminous report on the conditions with respect to education in the little Negro Republic. Mr. Oxley's travels took him into the darkest part of the interior whtre he studied means of bringing about the education of youth in 3000 Liberian villages, where almost prehistoric native and tribal customs still prevail. The solution of this vast problem is the work of a lifetime according to Dr. Oxlty. He estimates that it will take twenty to twenty-five years of hard work to inaugurate a complete local school system in the Republic.

In his report to the United States Advisory Commission of Education, of which Dr. Thomas J. Jones is chairman, Dr. Oxley recommended that the government of Liberia adhere to the proposal of the League of Nations, which offers temporary foreign control that secure stability in the country. Finances to carry on the running expenses o fthe government he believes could be secured from American philanthropy and from the taxes and other fees collected by Liberia.

Scourged by Discase

It is recommended also that Liberia co-operate with the mission schools and with the Booker Washington Agricultural and Industrial Institute, in which vocational courses are taught the natives, and where, according to Dr. Oxley, a vast amount of faith may be placed for the future of the country. He also recommended that for educational purposes the country be divided into three regions — the northern section a tCape Mount, the central at Monrovia, and the southern at Cape Palmas.

"In order to make the progress of Libtria secure, one of the most important of the innovations that need to be made is proper sanitation," Dr. Oxley said. "Yellow fever and malaria are the two most common diseases there, and it is virually impossible for Liberia to attract foreign capital, since the death rate is so high. Monrovia, the principal city, has only one hospital and two doctors."

"Must Have League Aid"

The primary need, Dr. Oxley asserted, is for an adequate, dependable permanent administration, which, without help from the League of Nations,, it is virtually impossible to secure. There must be an equally adequate administration of the interior, he says, since the "world will no longer tolerate the outrages committed against the helpless natives by Liberian officials."

The reluctance with which President Edwin H. Barclay is viewing the proposal of the League of Nations to send foreign administrations into Liberia, Dr. Oxley believes, is only delaying its progress.

An international loan is seen as absolutely vital in the country's needs Roads must be built, since the seventeen tribes in the interior of the country are isolated by the jungles, and no sweepng changes could be made unless communication were facilitated.

A Primitive Country

Finally, Dr. Oxley calls for the developmetn of agriculture. Agriculture has forced the economic basis of ahe country, and for centuries it has been the sole occupation of the natives. At present ,the lack of modern implements makes agriculture comparatively unprofitable.

Social and culturally, with the exception of American Negroes, and very few natives, the country dates back to primitive man. There are in all seventeen tribes which are divided into three groups, each with its own government. All the ancient witchcraft still flourishes.

The "Devilbush" the only school there, being an organization maintained by the "Poro" *society, a secret fraternity. There* the young boy of six or eight is initiated into the ways of manhood. The young men learn the rudimsnts of husbandry including the growing of rice.

Youth of Both Sexes Apart

The young women are inducted into a similar school, at the time when the boys at the end of their schooling are set loose. Thus both sexes are kept apart during adolescence and only when marriage draws near are they brought ogether.

There are 3,000 vlilages in the country, with an average of fifteen to twenty huts and from one o five living in each. Some commtunities have as high as 400 huts. There are several classes in Liberia. American whites and Europeans numbering about 100. The American Negroes constitute the highest cultural group numbering about 25,000, and of the aborigines there are from 800,000 to 1,500,000.

Liberia constitutes 42,000 *suare miles of ...swamps, ..forests,* rivers and dense jungles. The economic possibilities have not been developed because of the extreme poverty of the country, because of adverse health and because Liberian laws do not give sufficient guarantee to foreign capital, according to Dr. Oxley. The death rate in the country is tremendous, infant mortality forming the major portion of it. It is estimated that approximately one of four children die because of the lacn of proper care and nourishment.

Liberia is rich in land and chea in labor. There are 43,000,-00 acres of land more fertile than anywhere else in Africa The agricultural possibilities are limitless and there are excellent facilities for thriving lumber industries. Rice, oil, coffee, rubber, tobacco, tea, lumber, fruit, and minerals constitute the economic wealth of the country, but their potentialities would prove to be limitless if modern facilities were brought in to develop them, he survey shows.

Race Problem - 1931

Liberia

Africa.

Mr. Schuyler Dismissed!

negro owned 8-8-31

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER has a knack of kidding himself. He thinks that he went to Liberia as a "foreign correspondent" for the Curtis newspapers, although it is not a fact according to himself. If he were to approach, for instance, Julian S. Mason, the stern, "lily-white" editor of the New York Evening Post, Mr. Schuyler will find that he will get a biting rebuke in reply for his audacity in thinking that the highly conservative "Post" would stoop to employ a Negro, however, white-thinking and Nordic-minded he be, as its foreign correspondent.

Mr. Schuyler is a victim of an extraordinary conceit, made worse by white petting. His superficialities have been glorified to such an extent through the grace of the whites that his shallowness will prove itself in time a great menace to the progress of the Negro race everywhere.

Before we dismiss him we wish to bear testimonial to the fact that Mr. Schuyler, who was sent self-confessedly to inspect only sewers in Liberia, has done his job well and in strict conformity with his contract, always keeping his nose eternally in the gutters of stench. Naturally none can blame him for not using his nose for news of other sort since his olfactory nerves became deadened.

Mr. Schuyler protests that he was not hired either by the Curtis Publications or by the Firestone interests and is willing to produce a contract from the publishing house of Brewer, Warren and Putnam. Well, what was behind the keen interest this publishing house took in Liberia? Would that house finance trips to expose conditions in British, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Belgian, Italian Africa?

All we can say in conclusion is that if Mr. Schuyler's protestations are true he behaved like a sucker and at a very cheap price at that.

Exposes Schuyler's Ignorance Of International Politics

negro owned

By S. A. HAYNES

George Schuyler, noted satirist and columnist, has stirred up a hornet's nest with his uncharitable report on conditions in Liberia for which he was recruited and paid by the Curtis syndicate. That the author of "Black No More" did an excellent job for his employer is evidenced by publication. Friends of Liberia, white and colored, feel that Schuyler has unwittingly allowed himself to be used as a pawn by those who, for selfish as well as national reasons, are determined that the United States shall join hands with Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and Portugal in the unfinished rape of Africa, by seizing the only territory open to the Stars and Stripes—Liberia.

8-8-31

Twenty years ago Joseph H. Reading suggested such a procedure. I quote from his book "Newest Africa" (1901):

New York N.Y.

"The Republic of Liberia is a great object-lesson to teach the foolishness of trying to make the black man do the white man's work.

"Liberia is one of the richest countries in natural resources in the world.

"This rich territory should be at once taken possession of by the United States Government and placed under the care of the Naval Department until it be sufficiently developed to admit of a Territorial form of government. It was well enough fifty years ago to form no colonies, but the question before us now is, 'what is best for the present and the future?'

"This is the only portion of Africa that is not already taken possession of by some foreign power. It is the only portion the United States can get without war or purchase. It is always recognized abroad as an American colony, and in taking full possession of it we have no one to deal with but the Liberians, who are just as much our own people as any of the colored race in the South. It would be the greatest blessing that could happen to the country itself; and our influence united to that of the English at Sierra Leone on the one side, and on the Gold Coast on the other, would be a most important factor in the future development of Northern Central Africa, and would do more to advance the cause of Christianity than all the present efforts of the missionary societies combined.

"This appropriation of Liberia by the United States is a most important matter; it should be speedily acted upon, and the development of the country proceeded with in an intelligent and energetic manner."

Britain and France yet hope to rope the United States into the League of Nations; and since one may expect anything from the sanctum of European politics now-a-days, it would not be surprising if negotiations have been completed for the grand entry of the Stars and Stripes into the African treasure house through the exigencies of international law.

In the gradual development of internationalism and the expanse of imperialism, the press and pulpit are the official agencies of government. When a District Attorney wants to get his man he first blackens his record to impress the jury. When a white nation wants more territory for economic exploitation it recru agents and spies to make a strong "case" against the intended victim —which is invariably non-white—as an excuse for intervention. It is significant to note that the Curtis syndicate, in its anxiety to present a picture of true conditions in Liberia to the American people, failed to utilize the services of Mr. Jessie R. Faulkner whose indefatigable efforts to preserve Liberian national honor is responsible for the International Commission appointed by the League of Nations to investigate conditions in the unfortunate Republic. Aside from Mr. Faulkner there are other able Liberians and Afro-Americans competent to report authoritatively on the political intrigues and international cunning against which Liberia has battled singly for several years. Schuyler was selected to do the unsavory job because he knows little about international politics and therefore lacked a proper conception of the sinister motives which prompted his selection.

No true friend of Liberia wants her sins hidden from the world, and there is no enmity against Schuyler on this score. All nations commit the same political sins against their citizens and subjects. Slavery and political chicanery cannot be wholly eliminated from the national life. Magnifying Liberia's sins is a healthy way to win universal sympathy for a group of black men whose experiment in nation building conducted under adverse circumstances received little support from Schuyler, the American Negro, the American government, and Liberia's neighbors, France and Britain. The inside story of Liberia's heroic struggle to safeguard her sovereignty from foreign encroachments will soon be told by her citizens and friends most of whom are now silent, not by force but by choice. When that story is unfolded nations will be shamed; individuals of high standing, black and white, will be disgraced; and one of the most daring plots to deprive black men of national autonomy will be laid bare.

Wage conditions revealed by Schuyler as existing in Liberia are to be found today in Dixie. Slavery in all its grandeur is still rampant in Italy, Rumania, and Russia, in Korea and Manchuria, and especially in those African communities which are integral parts of the British, French, Italian, Belgian and Portuguese dynasties.

There's shame and disgrace in the whole affair. The greater portion goes, not to Liberia, but to those who would wipe her off the face of the map by turning her over to white control—and this goes for Schuyler and Curtis.

(Photo by George S. Schuyler)

HIS EXCELLENCY, PRESIDENT EDWIN BARCLAY. Former Secretary of State and son of former President Robert Barclay this little brown man rules with an iron hand the destinies of the great Negro Republic.

New York Age

SLAVERY IN LIBERIA

10-3-31

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER
(Capital News Service Feature)
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This series of articles was pared by Mr. Schuyler after his visit to Liberia where he was sent by the publishing house of Brewer, Warren and Putnam, Inc., and also acted as special correspondent of the New York Evening Post. Mr. Schuyler is at present at work on a book about Liberia for the publishing house of Brewer, Warren and Putnam, Inc., through whose courtesy this series of articles is republished.

New York

N.Y.

A Country of Beauty

Topographically resembling Virginia, Liberia is perhaps the most beautiful country in Africa. It is a great botanical and zoological garden where every tropical animal, tree flower and fruit is to be found. Its mineral wealth in gold and diamonds is almost as great. But its greatest wealth is its people. The abroigines are as admirable as most of their Americo-Liberian taskmasters are despicable. Everywhere in the hinterland one finds the natives self-supporting in every way, whereas their rulers are not. The native towns are uniformly clean and neat, and their inhabitants are generally honest, truthful and trust-

worthy.

Labor in every native community is divided according to skill and necessity. Work begins usually at daybreak and many trades are followed, such as spinning, weaving, canning, dyeing iron-work, pottery making, and other minor ones. Their farms are located usually an hour's walk or more from town and are grouped around collections of huts called half-towns, where the agricultural workers live. Here is a perfectly organized and functioning society, superior to that of the Americo-Liberian but yet subordinate to him.

It seems a great pity that these quite admirable people should be kept impoverished, virtually enslaved, to support a few suave officials in Monrovia, many of whom though drawing meagre salaries live in regal style, own automobiles maintain large country estates (kept up by serfs) and frequently send their children abroad to school. One does not wonder that the Americo-Liberians are so inordinately proud and jealous of their independence. They want no interference with their plucking of the natives, the only really industrious people in the land.

The Firestone Plantations Company was given a clean bill of health by the International Commission investigating slavery and forced labor in Liberia. Nevertheless, there are many persons there and elsewhere who are, or profess to be, unwilling to concede the firm's entire guiltlessness. One belief is that the Firestone Company greatly in need of large number of native workers to clear off the jungle preparatory to planting, was willing to and did use forced labor supplied by the Liberian Government. On the other hand, it is widely thought that, fearing the exportation of large numbers of "boys" to Fernando Poo would deplete the available labor supply and thus hinder its program, the Firestone Company was largely instrumental in engineering the investigation into charges of slavery and forced labor by the commission whose report shocked the world. I found no evidence bringing into question the accuracy of the International Commission's findings.

Among those most active in propagating the above views is the President of Liberia, Edwin Barclay, former Secretary of State in the cabinet of C. D. B. King and son of Liberia's most distinguished citizen and former President, Robert Barclay. In an exclusive interview granted to me on February 27, he attempted to throw much of the responsibility for Liberia's present difficulties and evil reputation onto the Firestone Company.

"Approached," He Says

"Liberia was first approached by the Firestone Company," he explained, "for a rubber concession, insisting that it would materially aid the development of Liberia into a modern state. To this the government agreed. The company then pointed out that since it was to invest such large sums of money in the project, the government should build the roads necessary to get the rubber produced to port.

"Our government pointed to its lack of funds and urged the necessity of a loan for the purpose of carrying out its part of the agreement. The Firestone Company arranged the loan, but the terms stipulated the employment of a large corps of foreign officials to advise the government as to its expenditure and to reorganize its finances. The Liberian Government refused to agree until the number of such officials was reduced, but even then the cost of this financial commission is porhibitive for a country the size of Liberia."

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Villages Disrupted

Having heard considerable about the alleged ill effect the withdrawal of large numbers of workers to the Firestone Plantations had had on native village life, I made that my next question. He replied:

"Unquestionably it resulted in some disruption of village life in the interior. One plantation employed as many as 15,000 laborers to clear the ground. When this task was completed all but 5,000 were discharged. Most of these unemployed workers returned to their villages, but a considerable minority stayed around the fringes of the plantations and a large number came to Monrovia. Without work of any kind and out from under the authority of their chiefs, they drifted in mendicancy, crime and immorality, thus causing a social problem with which the Republic could not cope because of the absence of social agencies."

Realizing that the subject of labor exportation to Fernando Poo and the League of Nations investigation might be a sore point, I left until the last, inquiry about the Firestone Company's activity in that connection. Usually suave, the middle-aged brown man answered with considerable heat and at great length, his little eyes snapping with anger for the first time.

He insisted that there was no complaint against the sending of labor out of the country until the Firestone Company arrived on the scene and feared that the practice might interfere with the development of the rubber concession. He explained that one of the chief reasons for the exportation of labor was the fact that thousands of young men in the villages found themselves with nothing to do because of the complete development of village life, and were willing to take service on ships or on foreign plantations. He admitted that certain evils had arisen, but he quite understandingly refrained from touching upon the kidnapping and forcible exportation of "boys," accounts of which fill the thick report of the International Commission. The Government, he said, had sought to protect this labor from victimization by regulating its exportation, keeping records of departure and return, and seeing that the "boys" received their proper wages.

Denies "Slavery" in Land

"That," he declared with finality, 'was all there ever was to the slavery' with which Government officials have been charged. These charges were received with surprise and consternation by the bulk of Liberian citizens, and it will be recalled that the Liberian Government itself requested that the charges be investigated by a commission from the League of Nations. There has never been any slavery in fact in Liberia."

The interview ended, I rose, the President cordially shook my hand, and although I had read the report of the International Commission and found out a bit myself during my sojourn in the capital I did not laugh. I might have refreshed the President's memory on the subject of slavery by recalling the enslavement of the Congoes (slaves taken from prize ships by British Warships and landed at Monrovia) by the early colonists almost a century before. Being discreet I descended the broad red-carpeted; old-fashioned staircase of the Executive Mansion, crossed the veranda with its lolling soldiers and waiting chiefs and so out into the blazing heat of Ashmun Street, planning shortly to get the other side of the charges and stories the President had so willingly related.

BEAUMONT, TEX.

Journal

SEP 14 [illegible]

Woes Of A Black Nation

THERE ARE only two negro republics in the world—Haiti and Liberia. Liberia seems to have gone political in a large way, and in the process nobody has been left to grow food for the office-holding population of the west coast. As the result of an international investigation of the republic by the League of Nations in 1929, woeful conditions were found which only now show signs of becoming remedied.

Liberia, a small strip along the west coast of Africa, has an area of 45,000 square miles and a scattered population of some 2,000,000. The interior is still little known, consisting of tribes who do some small farming and stock raising. Among the 50,000 people living on the coast are about 15,000 American negroes, who seem to have introduced politics along with other elements of civilization they carried from the United States since the middle of the last century.

Setting up as their motto, "The love of liberty brought us here," the negroes established a constitutional government with house, senate cabinet and president. As political aspirations spread among the inhabitants, the basic pursuit of agriculture became less and less alluring. Now, with an estimated 90 per cent of the government income going to office holders, there is little money left for highways, public health and telephones. Though the Liberian college has been established since 1863, the education there is primarily literary; only a few thousand pupils attend the government lower schools, which give instruction up to the fourth grade.

After an inquiry as to the presence of slavery in the republic, an inquiry made by the American government, Liberia invited an investigation. The investigation commission appointed by the League of Nations, of which Liberia is a member, found that forms of servitude little short of slavery did exist. One result of the probe was the resignation of the president, the vice president and some other government officials.

Widespread reforms are recommended by the commission, among them the suggestion for inclusion of white officials and encouragement of white immigration. The willingness of the Liberians to assist in the investigation indicates that the natives are anxious for a change from the old conditions. As a proving ground for their race, Liberia offers many opportunities to the American negroes who have the real desire to develop their people's own peculiar genius.

Race Problem – 1931.

Liberia.

Africa.

BALLOT, DESPITE ITS EVILS, MAY REDEEM NATION; LAUD MARTYR

Courier 10-31-31

Previously Published

Schuyler Graphically Tells of Malicious Oppression of Natives—Explains Corrupt Voting System In Final Article.

SLAVERY IN LIBERIA
By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER
(A Capital News Service Feature)

Convicted before the world as a slave state, how long will Liberia be permitted to continue her uncivilized practices? Can she reform from within or must she be reformed from without? When even the report of the recent international commission has not put a stop to pawning, domestic slavery, concubinage, oppression of the natives, forced labor of the less spetacular kind, and merely rendered the "boy" traffic more infrequent and less profitable, can we expect any improvement?

There is a possibility of cleaning house in Liberia through political upheaval at the polls, but it is about as remote as a Republican victory in Mississippi. There are some honest Liberians who are sincerely aroused by the plight in which their country finds itself, but they are few in number. They have tried for thirty years to oust the True Whig Party from office but without avail. Most of them are now discouraged.

Most of this group of Liberians, with many others, one imagines, who are eager for nothing but office, are organized in what is known as the People's Party. In this year's election they chose as their standard bearer for the third consecutive time Thomas J. R. Faulkner, the country's most successful business man. Faulkner is an American born naturalized Liberian, highly respected by the blacks and whites of Monrovia, where he has a large office and private hotel.

Active for Progress

During his thirty years' residence in Liberia, Faulkner has been most active in trying to develop the country. The first electric light plant, the first ice plant and the first telephone system were all introduced by him. Meantime he has been the most persistent foe of government graft, American business, urges the conviction and imprisonment of all government officials guilty of complicity in the Fernando Poo "boy" traffic and the brutalities of the recent forced labor road program, asks the granting of concessions to foreign enterprises that Liberia may become economically developed and advocates the immediate reorganization of the judicial system which is now the laughing stock of Africa.

The platform is the work of Faulkner and the People's Party is largely financed by him. Some people say his is merely an adventurer who loves the presidency of Liberia more than he does Liberia; his friends say he is the only man who can save Liberia; his friends say he is the only man who can save Liberia. It is safe to say that a majority of the Liberians, outside the official class and its satellites, and certainly most of the natives are for him. But the chances are that he made a poor showing at the polls in the recent May elections, the returns of which will not be published until the Legislature sits in December. The machinery of the government has been in the hands of the True Whig Party for so many years and politicians in office are so adept at the art of obtaining majorities on paper if not in reality that their defeat will be a modern miracle.

In the 1928 election, when Faulkner was who was largely instrumental in bringing about the international investigation into slavery and forced labor in Liberia. Others knew what was going on but only Faulkner spoke out and denounced the evil inefficiency, fraud and crime. He it Graduates of foreign universities, clergymen and missionaries maintained a discree silence about it. Faulkner is the biggest thorn in the side of the politicians and they would gladly get rid of him as they have other annoying persons, but he is too popular for that.

The man is a dynamo of energy. In a country where travel must be either by hammock, surf boat or canoe and conducted with the maximum of difficulty, he is ever on the go, rushing back and forth from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, uncovering those in power. Like an avenging angel he appears suddenly in the most out of the way places gathering evidence of fraud and graft which is duly published in the one or two little weekly four-page opposition papers. At one time he journeyed over 300 miles of tropical sea from Capeagain Palmas to Monrovia in a dugout canoe to attend an election, thus surprising his opponents. Some of his feats seem miraculous to Liberians, who are notoriously short on energy.

Party Friendly To U. S.

The platform of the People's Party favors a more friendly policy toward America, American citizens and

polls opened the first hour for Faulkner, but the rest of the day only True Whigs were permitted to vote. The forces of law and order upheld the True Whigs.

Hence, it is difficult to imagine that the election of this year to fill the vacancy made by the resignation of President C. D. B. King over the slavery revelations was any fairer than previous ones.

Filed Charges

Indeed, in an indignant open letter to Acting President Edwin Barclay dated April 11, 1931, Faulkner charged:

"(1) Your Excellency upon application has signed thousands of deeds in blank which have been forwarded to the various counties throughout the republic, and there they have been filled in with names of persons who declare themselves for the Whig Party. If they are suspected to be in favor of the People's Party, they are denied a deed. This is connivance to defraud in the election.

"(2) Further in reference to these deeds, thy are offered for probation in the Monthly and Probate Courts and registered by the Registrar for the county without the usual $1 revenue stamp as required by law, and thus the Republic of Liberia is cheated out of considerable revenue just to win this election. This is fraudulent . . ."

Faulkner then charges that the government (the True Whig Party) "has for twenty-six years enticed the natives with gin, tobacco and force to vote for it and is vented from voting they will receive necessary year's notice that they cannot vote without a deed to land in their own name and fee simple."

"Reg'strars" Recalcitrant

"Registrars," he continues, "have in many cases refused to administer the oath to electors when they apply for registration which is an open violation of the law . . . A large percentage of registrars have entered names from lists handed them, not requiring deeds nor persons to be present, these names to be used to vote any person whom the boosters of the Whig Party present at the polling place on the day of election. These registrars have also refused to allow the inspectors of the People's Party to inspect the deeds and registre so they might be informed if the persons were bona fide electors. This illegal registration of names from lists handed in is done solely for the purpose of swelling the number of voters for the Whig Party, and then fraudulently place the ballots in the box on the day of election to represent the names registered."

Faulkner on the basis of these charges "challenges and protests 99 per cent of the registration throughout the Republic." He especially points out that the deeds in question, without which an elector cannot qualify, are not only without stamps but there is no number of lot or boundaries set out on them. The open letter ends with the statement that if certain native tribes are prevented from voting they will refuse to pay their taxes and "stand to resist the government." President Barclay hadn't replied to the charges in Faulkner's letter at the time of my departure.

From the foregoing it would seem that there is slight change of cleaning up the evils disgracing Liberia and retarding its progress by a political revolution. The old gang has everything sewed up tight. Only an armed revolt could throw it out of power. And while Charles King, former President King's son; Major Harper, the commandant of the frontier force, and Charles Eastman, Controller of the Treasury, are now under indictment for embezzling the soldiers' pay, it is believed that the 367 soldiers in the army are well enough fed to stand by the government with their antiquated Krag Jorgensens and defective ammunition in case of civil strife.

Stumps Foreign Reformers

The bulk of foreign observers in Monrovia see no way to clean up the mess of slavery, forced labor, pawning, bankruptcy and inefficiency except by outside control. They argue that money and technical assistance are necessary to the development of Liberia into a modern state, and that the present government is hardly of such a character to inspire confidence in the hearts of international bankers and concessionnaires.

Few believe that anything is to be hoped for from the League of Nations because Liberia is a member and nothing can be done without its permission and agreement. The chief andprimary need in Liberia is the ousting of the present misgoverning gang, and it is not on record where politicians voted themselves out of office, particularly when they have no other occupation. Beyond sending health experts to clean up Monrovia and fight the yellow fever menace, the League of Nations can do little except dispatch commissions to study conditions and make reports. It might arrange another loan for Liberia but that seems remote.

The United States has always taken such a friendly interest in the affairs of Liberia and as the little republic is already known up and down the West African coast as an American protectorate, there are some who think America should step in and straighten things up as she has in some small states nearer home. But there is no indication as yet that the United States is eager to become so deeply involved. It would perhaps at best be a thankless philanthropy necessitating the unappreciated expenditure of millions of dollars before Liberia became self supporting and developed a superior

Vote By Truckloads

On that election day a high government official excitedly sought to borrow a truck for electioneering from the manager of the Firestone Company. When refused, he remarked wistfully, "Oh, all right. I just voted a bunch of men down here (in Monrovia) and I wanted to rush them up country so I could vote them again before the polls close."

In Grand Cape Mount County, the True Whigs suggested and the People's Party managers agreed, that the polls should be kept open one hour for the Faulkner adherents, then an equal period for the King men, and alternate in this manner through the day in order to avoid clashes between enthusiasts of the two factions. The

class of governing officials.

Ruling Class In Saddle

Meanwhile, the little, haughty, impecunious ruling class, perplexed over the future but getting what can be extracted from the present, sits uneasily astride the backs of a million and a half sullen and dissatisfied aborigines. They can get labor for the grabbing, extra wives for the taking and plenty of food by requisition, they are incapable of developing but, lacking brains and money, the rich natural resources of their beautiful land or even of constructing decent roads to enable others to do so.

Cruel, unmoral, incompetent, they flock devoutly each Sabbath to their numerous churches, praying for salvation—and meaning another loan.

Church Group Gets Forests in Liberia

Harlem Pastor Outlines Plans for Developing 250-Mile Project

Declaring that he has completed plans to develop the 250-square-mile grant of Gola forest land in Liberia which was given to the Tranquility Independent Methodist Episcopal Church by the African republic, the Rev. Rudolph R. Porter, 30 East 131st street, has announced that the first contingent of skilled workers will sail for the project on November 4.

The granting of this 160,000-acre tract of virgin forest land was not imperilled by the recent general elections in that country, and was confirmed by President Edwin Barclay immediately after the elction returns had been counted. The concession is reputed to be rich in natural resources including mahogany, ebony, teak, oil, palm, rubber, gum, copal and minerals.

According to the Rev. Mr. Porter, his plans are to send artisans, scientists, agriculturists and business men from among the American and West Indian Negroes to Liberia and put them to develop Liberian industry and agriculture and exploit the forests and other natural resources scientifically and under disciplined direction. Dr. Porter has the confidence of both the Whig and People's parties, as a man who is genuinely and constructively interested in the welfare of Liberia. The Morais-Faulkner group also wanted to give the Gola Forest concession to Dr. Porter.

In order to carry out this practical side of his church work, he has formed a subsidiary to his church, namely "Liberian Knights of Industry," which is incorporated under the laws of the State of New York to safeguard the financial interests of the American Negroes interested in his Liberian project. It is announced that many Negroes interested in colonization have joined Liberian Knights.

Arrangements have been made to send two boats, sixty feet long, with engines of sixty horse-power each. It is proposed to run them between the Gola forests and Cape Palmas in the south where also Dr. Porter has a concession. They are also taking a speed boat along that can negotiate 35 miles an hour.

The officers of the Liberian Knights of Industry are Dr. Porter, chairman of the executive body; Harold Brown, secretary; Mrs. Emily Porter, treasurer, and Miss Madlyn Jacobs, corresponding secretary; Mrs. L. W. McCartney, chairman of the council of eleven, an advisory body. Joseph Francis is the chairman of the board of building and construction.

COLORED BODY BEHIND LIBERIA HUGE INDUSTRY

President Barclay Allied With Knights Of Industry Which Will Develop 160,000 Acres Of Virgin Forest

10-2-31
St. Louis, Mo.

NEW YORK, Oct. 1.—(ANP)—The Rev. Bishop Dr. Rudolf R. Porter of Tranquility A. M. E. church, Inc., 30 East 131st street, New York City, who secured last May, immediately after the election results were known, a hugh concession of forest land, namely the Gola Forests from the President-elect and now the Acting-President Edwin Barclay, announces to the Associated Negro Press that he has completed plans to develop that concession scientifically, primarily in the interest of Liberia and of the Negroes in general.

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160,000 Acres Involved

The Gola Forests contain approximately 160,000 acres of virgin forest lands. The forests are situated in the northern tip of Liberia and between two rivers, running all the way to the sea. The concession is rich in resources, mahogany, ebony, teak, oak, oil, palm, rubber, gum, copal and such other things being the leading, commercially rich resources.

According to Rev. Porter, his plans are to send artisans, scientists, agriculturists and business men from among the American and West Indian Negroes to Liberia and put them to develop Liberian industry and agriculture and exploit the forests and other natural resources scientifically and under disciplined direction. Dr. Porter has the confidence of both the Whig and Peoples parties, as a man who is genuinely and constructively interested in the welfare of Liberia. The Morais-Faulkner group also wanted to give the Gola Forest concession to Dr. Porter.

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The first contingent of Dr. Porter's industrial knights is going to leave for Liberia within a few weeks. Arrangements have been made to send two boats, sixty feet long, with engines of sixty horsepower each. It is promised to run them between the Gola Forests and Cape Palmas in the south where also Dr. Porter has a concession. They are also taking a speed boat along that can negotiate thirty-five miles an hour.

Race Problem-1931

Liberia

Africa.

NATIVES ZEALOUS DESPITE SLAVE TACTICS OF RULERS

Courier 10-3-31

Pittsburgh Pa.

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER
(A Capital News Service Feature)

A Country of Beauty

Topographically resembling Virginia, Liberia is perhaps the most beautiful country in Africa. It is a great botanical and zoological garden where every tropical animal, tree, flower and fruit is to be found. Its mineral wealth in gold and diamonds is almost as great. But its greatest wealth is its people. The aborigines are as admirable as most of their Americo-Liberian taskmasters are despicable. Everywhere in the hinterland one finds the natives self-supporting in every way, whereas their rulers are not. The native towns are uniformly clean and neat, and their inhabitants are generally honest, truthful and trustworthy.

Labor in every native community is divided according to skill and necessity. Work begins usually at daybreak and many trades are followed, such as spinning, weaving, tanning, dyeing, iron work, pottery making, and other minor ones. Their farms are located usually an hour's walk or more from town and are grouped around collections of huts called half-towns, where the agricultural workers live. Here is a perfectly organized and functioning society, superior to that of the Americo-Liberian but yet subordinate to him.

It seems a great pity that these quite admirable people should be kept impoverished, virtually enslaved, to support a few suave officials in Monrovia, many of whom, though drawing meager salaries, live in regal style, own automobiles, maintain large country estates (kept up by serfs) and frequently send their children abroad to school. One does not wonder that the Americo-Liberians are so inordinately proud and jealous of their independence. They want no interference with their plucking of the natives, the only really industrious people in the land.

The Firestone Plantations Company was given a clean bill of health by the International Commission investigating slavery and forced labor in Liberia. Nevertheless, there are many persons there and elsewhere who are, or profess to be, unwilling to concede the firm's entire guiltlessness. One belief is that the Firestone Company greatly in need of large numbers of native workers to clear off the jungle preparatory to planting, was willing to and did use forced labor supplied by the Liberian Government. On the other hand it is widely thought that, fearing the exportation of l ge numbers of "boys" to Fernando Poo would deplete the availablel abor supply and plete the available labor supply and stone Company was largely instrumental in engineering the investigation into charges of slavery and forced labor by the commission whose reports shocked the world. I found no evidence bringing into question the accuracy of the International Commission's findings.

Among those most active in propagating the above views is the president of Liberia, Edwin Barclay, former Secretary of State in the Cabinet of C. D. B. King and son of Liberia's most distinguished citizen and former President Robert Barclay. In an exclusive interview granted to me on February 27, he attempted to throw much of the responsibility for Liberia's present difficulties and evil reputation onto the Firestone Company.

"Approached," He Says

"Liberia was first approached by the Firestone Company," he explained, "for a rubber concession, insisting that it would materially aid the development of Liberia into a modern state. To this the government agreed. The company then pointed out that since it was to invest such large sums of money in the project, the Government should build the roads necessary to get the rubber produced to port.

"Our government pointed to its lack of funds and urged the necessity of a loan for the purpose of carrying out its part of the agreement. The Firestone Company arranged the loan, but the terms stipulated the employment of a large corps of foreign officials to advise the Government as to its expenditure and to reorganize its finances. The Liberian Government refused to agree until the number of such officials was reduced, but even then the cost of this financial commission is prohibitive for a country the size of Liberia."

I then asked the President for some expression or declaration of opinion or fact concerning the connection, if any, of the Firestone Company with the forced labor, concerning which so much had been said and written.

"At first," he said, "the natives were suspicious of the Firestone Plantations, and refused to enlist in sufficiently large numbers, for the necessary work of clearing the ground for planting. At that time labor was recruited by Government labor agents through the Paramount Chiefs. (Note: these Paramount Chiefs are appointed by the President instead of by their people.) A request came from the American Legation asking that pressure be exerted to increase the flow of labor to the plantations. As a compromise the Firestone Company was permitted to recruit its own labor."

"Villages Disrupted"

Having heard considerable about the alleged ill effect the withdrawal of large numbers of workers to the Firestone Plantations had had on native village life, I made that my next question. He replied:

"Unquestionably it resulted in some disruption of village life in the interior. One plantation employed as many as 15,000 laborers to clear the ground. When this task was completed all but 5,000 were discharged. Most of these unemployed workers returned to their villages, but a considerable minority stayed around the fringes of the plantations and a large number came to Monrovia. Without work of any kind and out from under the authority of their chiefs, they drifted into mendicancy, crime and immorality, thus causing a social problem with which the Republic could not cope because of the absence of social agencies."

Realizing that the subject of labor exportation to Fernando Poo and the League of Nations investigation might be a sore point, I left until the last, inquiry about the Firestone Company's activity in that conection. Usually suave, the middle aged brown man answered with considerable heat and at great length his little eyes snapping with angef for the first time.

He insisted that there was no complaint against the sending of labor out of the country until the Firestone Company arrived on the scene and feared that the practice might interfere with the development of the rubber concession. He explained that one of the chief reasons for the exportation of labor was the fact that thousands of young men in the villages found themselves with nothing to do because of the complete development of village life, and were willing to take service on ships or on foreign plantations. He admitted that certain evils had arisen, but he quite understandably refrained from touching upon the kidnapping and forcible exportation of "boys," accounts of which fill the thick report of the International Commission. The Government, he said, had sought to protect this labor from victimization by regulating its exportation, keeping records of departure and return, and seeing that the "boys" received their proper wages.

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(Copyright, 1931)

In his next articles Mr. Schuyler tells us of the great adventure of the Firestone Rubber Company in hottest Liberia. His story of how things are run on one of the largest rubber plantations in the world is one that no reader can afford to miss.

Reports Of Liberian Slavery Discovered "Well-Founded"

This series of articles was prepared by Mr. Schuyler after his visit to Liberia where he was sent by the publishing house of Brewer, Warren & Putnam, Inc., and also acted as special correspondent of the New York Evening Post. Mr. Schuyler is at present at work on a book about Liberia for the publishing house of Brewer, Warren & Putnam, Inc., through whose courtesy this series of articles is re-published.

By
George S. Schuyler
Capital News Service

(Photo by George S. Schuyler)
HIS EXCELLENCY, PRESIDENT EDWIN BARCLAY. Former Secretary of State and son of former President Robert Barclay, this little brown man rules with an iron hand the destinies of the great Negro Republic.

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Race Problem- 1931

Liberia.

Africa.

MISSIONARIES AIDED LIBERIA IN SLAVE EXPOSE

Afro-American

7-21-31

Baltimore, Md

Bishop W. W. Matthews Replies to Schuyler's Criticism.

SPAIN INVOLVED

Bishop also Recalls U. S. Graft, Peonage.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — That he and other missionaries aided those who exposed conditions of slavery in Liberia and that this condition was fought by these missionaries, was stated by Bishop W. W. Matthews, resident bishop of the A.M.E. Zion Church in Liberia, this week.

The bishop's statement was in reply to articles which have appeared from the pen of George S. Schuyler. Said the Bishop:

Lent Aid

"It so happened that I was not present in Liberia at the time of Mr. Schuyler's visit there. I wish I had been, that I might, with others, have assisted him in getting the true facts concerning not only the attitude of the missionary forces at work in Liberia, but some of the good work that has been accomplished by them, even in assisting T. J. R. Faulkner in the laudable task that he has done toward unearthing much of the rascality and wickedness perpetrated by officials of the government.

"Mr. Schuyler charges the missionaries with having 'pooh-poohed' Government officials in their immoral acts by playing the 'hush mouth' role. Nothing could be further from the truth than such an indictment. I am in position to call the name of a certain missionary who went to the president of the republic and made personal complaint to him about slavery conditions, such as pawning and forced labor, that were being practiced in the district where this missionary was at work.

Money, Men Insufficient

"The president expressed himself as being in sympathy with that missionary's plea, and he made the declaration that he would at the opportune time issue an edict against all such practices. The president did not fail, however, to exhort the missionary to possess himself with patience and allow the officials of the Government ample time, and that he (the president) would assure him all wrongs would be righted. We did not 'pooh-pooh' the president, we remonstrated with him with positive denunciations of all the evils that were going on in the country.

"But all the sins of Liberia, if we are to believe Mr. Schuyler, must fall primarily upon the shoulders of the missionaries. Mr. Schuyler has shown himself to be a better hand at gathering facts than he has to analyze and extract from them their true value."

The Bishop, however, admits that some native students trained in American Missionary schools become grafters, but he says sarcastically:

"Of course such a thing could not happen with students coming out from other schools in our own and other countries. That could only happen where students had been trained in a mission school in the little black republic.

"Students who have received their instructions in this and in other countries never turn out to be grafters, they never become shiftless and untrustworthy. Only Liberians trained in American missionary schools in that country, are competent to become such low degenerates.

"Men in official positions, such as rulers of the State and judges of the court and cabinet officers are incompetent to become grafters, to practice peonage, to stuff ballot boxes, to steal elections, to repudiate the amendments to the Federal Constitution unless they happen to be associated with the little black republic on the West Coast of Africa. Such scandals as the 'Teapot Dome' are only possible in places like the little republic on the West Coast of Africa."

Hits Spain

Bishop Matthews said that the Spanish Government is particeps criminis with Liberia in the slave trafficking business. Mr. Schuyler, he said, had said nothing about that.

SCHUYLER TOO SEVERE ON THE MISSIONARIES IN HIS LIBERIA REPORTS

Courier

Bishop W. H. Matthews Says Many of the Churchmen Aided President Faulkner Fight Slavery Evils In the Black Republic—Claims Schuyler's Reports Place Church In Bad Light.

Pittsburgh, Pa

By REV. W. W. MATTHEWS, Resident Bishop of Liberia

Mr. George S. Schuyler has just completed a series of very strong articles in the Washington Post about conditions in Liberia, West Africa. 7-25-31

I have been following his articles with considerable interest and care. I have been deeply interested in Africa and the African people for quite some time, and, as resident bishop of West Africa, with headquarters at Monrovia, Liberia, I would certainly have to take note of such expressions as have been heralded to the world from Mr. Schuyler's pen.

The writer gave a very striking story concerning conditions in the little black republic on the West Coast. He has not minced his words in the portrayal of observations with reference to the political, social, moral, economic, educational and religious conditions existing in Liberia. One can not help but appreciate Mr. Schuyler's efforts in getting at the facts which he has given to the world. My only regret in reference to Mr. Schuyler's writeup is on that part of his letter relating to the missionaries who are working in Liberia. If Mr Schuyler gave the facts concerning what appears to have been his observation with reference to the missionaries' part in the drama, I am forced to charge him with having placed those facts upside down, which, of course, destroys their beauty and gives to the missionaries an unfair and also an unjust rating.

Missionaries Lent Aid

It so happened that I was not present in Liberia at the time of Mr. Schuyler's visit there. I wish I had been, that I might, with others, have assisted him in getting the true facts concerning not only the attitude of the missionary forces at work in Liberia, but some of the good work that has been accomplished by them, even in assisting T. J. R. Faulkner in the laudable task that he has done toward unearthing much of the rascality and wickedness perpetrated by officials of the government.

Mr. Faulkner was not left alone, however, to fight the battle without the aid of some of the missionaries, and other good citizens who are not missionaries, in the direct sense of that term. Mr. Faulkner would tell you today that he was greatly aided and assisted by some of the missionaries. And I venture further to say that the international commissioners would not refuse to admit that they, too, were aided and assisted by the co-operation of the missionaries in securing evidence in making their investigations concerning the slave conditions which could not have been secured except by the unstinted and courageous support given them by the missionaries and others who deplored and condemned the guilty ones.

President Asked Time

It may not be generally known, although it is true, that the charges made against the officials of the government with reference to that Fernando Po "boy racket" and other forms of slave debaucheries, such as pawning, etc., got its inception from the pulpits and church altars right there in Monrovia. Certainly we do not mean to take from Mr. Faulkner the major key of that note, for he was the leader and master of the situation. We all recognize Mr. Faulkner as being a true, courageous and fearless leader.

That there were some weak-kneed, spineless ones among the missionaries, who were either fearful or indifferent as touching such matters, I would not attempt to deny. But there were those who backed Mr. Faulkner with all the moral courage and material support that could be mustered.

Mr. Schuyler further charges the missionaries with having "pooh-poohed" with government officials in their immoral acts by playing the "hush mouth" role. Nothing could be further from the truth than such an indictment. I am in position to call the name of a certain missionary who went to the president of the republic and made personal complaint to him about slavery conditions, such as pawning and forced labor, that were being practiced in the district where this missionary was at work.

Money and Men Insufficient

The president expressed himself as being in sympathy with that missionary's plea, and he made the declaration that he would at the opportune time issue an edict against all such practices. The president did not fail, however, to exhort the missionary to possess himself with patience and allow the officials of the government ample time, and that he (the president) would assure him all wrongs would be righted. We did not "pooh-pooh" the president; we remonstrated with him with positive denuniations of all the evils that were going on in the country.

Mr. Schuyler has followed in the wake of many another, taking an unkind fling at Liberia's benefactors and friends. The missionaries have not done as much as they should have done toward Liberia's development even from a moral, religious, social and educational standpoint, I frankly admit. But they have done some good along those lines, and even along the lines toward assisting in the economic and industrial development of the country. I make this criticism against our missionaries, or rather against our church in America who sends the missionaries to Africa for being so stingy and faint-hearted about making liberal contributions both of men and of money with which to help that field.

But all the sins of Liberia, if we are to believe Mr. Schuyler, must fall primarily upon the shoulders of the missionaries. Mr. Schuyler has shown himself to be a better hand at gathering facts than he has to analyze and extract from them their true values.

Permit me to quote a paragraph from one of his graphic series, which follows:

"Thus whatever be the character and training of the Americo-Liberian the missionaries are largely responsible. After 70 years of this excessively Christian education, which begins and ends today with hymn singing and long prayers, we find products of the system to be the most shiftless and untrustworthy, incompetent and grafting ruling class to be found today anywhere."

Great guns! And that is how Mr. Schuyler talks and writes about the missionaries. And that is what he sees, and the only thing he sees in the character and worth of the students who have received their training in our mission schools. A sweeping indictment. I do not say that the writer has not told some truth in the paragraph as quoted in the foregoing; but he has placed it upside down. It would not be unreasonable to find a student here and there who has come out from one of the mission schools that has been working in that country for several years answering to some of the descriptions portrayed by the writer. Yes, it would not be impossible to find that there are some who might be found as untrustworthy and shiftless and incompetent, a we have seen elsewhere. And there are some who have learned to be grafters and all that sort of thing. Of course such a thing could not happen with students coming out from other schools in our own and other countries. That could only happen where students had been trained in a mission school in the little black republic.

Students who have received their instructions in this and in other countries never turn out to be grafters, they never become shiftless and untrustworthy. Only Liberians, trained in American missionary schools in that country, are competent to become such low degenerates.

Men in official positions, such as rulers of the state and judges of the court and cabinet officers, are incompetent to become grafters, to practice peonage, to stuff ballot boxes, to steal elections, to repudiate the amendments to the Federal constitution, unless they happen to be associated with the little black republic on the West Coast of Africa. Such scandals as the "Teapot Dome" are only possible in places like the little republic on the West Coast of Africa.

I wish not to mislead those who may chance to read this article. I do not wish to create an impression in their minds that I would excuse any of the immoral sinners in Liberia or elsewhere for the unpardonable sins that have been and are being committed against the defenseless inhabitants of that country. Every last one of the guilty gang ought to and must be put out of business.

Spanish Government Hit

Those are the kind of Liberians that block the way of every other black man in the world. Other sins perpetrated by others elsewhere cannot and will not excuse Liberia's sins. I cannot tolerate hypocrisy. The Spanish government is particeps criminis with Liberia in this slave trafficking business. I have not heard but very little, if any, denunciation coming from anybody; not even from Mr. Schuyler, about that part which the Spanish government has played in this diabolical episode, except a mere mentioning of the fact as such.

But I do not care to go further with this sort of thing, and so I shall desist from further sayings except this one word which I should like to impress upon the minds of all thoughtful American Negroes in the United States. If we are wise in our generation, we are not going to sit off in idleness and see Liberia destroy itself, or be destroyed by outside forces. Of course, Mr. Schuyler intimated the possibility and the probability of outside forces going in to Liberia to adjust her wrongs. I have refrained from loud talking about Liberia, with the hope, among other things, of avoiding the possibility of that country losing its autonomy. It would be a grave blunder and a backward step from which black men might never recover between now and the general resurrection morning, if Liberia should lose her autonomy.

American black men are too docile. We love to follow the line of least resistance. We follow beaten paths. We follow the footsteps made by other racial groups. We disdain the idea of becoming pioneers.

DELAY ON LIBERIA

RECOGNITION WITHHELD FOR LEAGUE OF NATIONS REPORT ON NEW PRESIDENT

Monrovia, Liberia, July 23, 1931—Whether Edwin J. Barclay will keep his place as president of the Liberian Republic or whether the League of Nations' commission investigating the election will recommend a supervised election is being anxiously awaited here.

Up to the present time, none of the nations have formally recognized the incumbent as the legally elected head of the government.

The commissioners arrived here in June and it is assumed that they have been at work on their investigation. Officials of the People's party charge that Barclay used the fraudulent method by which former President King held himself in office.

In the meantime, the government is marking time. Barclay has issued no program nor divulged any plans for his administration. Natives from Cape Palmas, where the polls were all against him, are charging that he dispatched a troop of soldiers to the country and is now exploiting and robbing them. One chief, said to have been deposed by President King before the commission, is still being kept in prison, it is charged.

LIBERIA'S REAL PROBLEMS.

The minutes of the Council of the League of Nations, and of the committee appointed to study the problems raised by the request of the Liberian Government for assistance, will relieve the minds of many Liberians, for it shows that the League has no desire to usurp political control of the Republic. As a self-governing member of the League, Liberia has always been safe from such interference, but her history has been so full of attempts, real or fancied, upon her independence that she may well be excused insistence upon her rights. The formulation of terms of reference for the experts on administration, finance, and health was beset with the same difficulty of avoiding suspicion of interference in matters of policy, but it was finally settled that the experts were to suggest how the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry were to be put into practice. In advising on the general lines of reform, they are to state in what order changes should be made, and how many specialists will be needed, and for how long. Finally, they are to estimate the expenditure required, and to survey the resources available.

The inclusion of the last item postpones discussion of the awkward point raised by the Liberian representatives, namely, the degree of financial strangulation suffered by the country. The Republic has not applied for the full covenanted amounts from the Foreign Finance Corporation, it is true, but the terms of the loan are considered too onerous. It is difficult for the League of Nations to intervene between a member and a private corporation, but unless the experts find some at present unseen solution of the financial problem, it will be impossible to initiate reforms on the scale and at the rate that public opinion expects.

The basic problem of Liberia is no new one. It is that of the development of natural resources by a people accustomed to labour chiefly to satisfy their immediate needs only. Thus far all West Africa has known it in turn, but Liberia is unfortunate in that her backwardness has—only temporarily, we hope—made her miss the market for her most easily-obtained commodities. With low prices for produce, and with difficulty in obtaining labour for public works, the creation of the necessary communications is a problem calling for the utmost ingenuity of the experts, who will probably award it priority of attention.

Except in Monrovia, Liberian health conditions are normal, as West African standards go. This does not mean that they are good, but at least it simplifies one task. In the capital the problems can be solved by a competent health officer, and if he can obtain the requisite financial support the medical man in charge may be relied upon to effect a rapid improvement. In regard to education the position is more difficult. The relatively rich British West African possessions find themselves unable to meet the needs of their peoples, and Liberia is in the position, as regards teachers and schools, that they occupied many years ago. Even were funds available, money could not create teachers at short notice, and undoubtedly the best step would be to enlist the support of the missions, as fully as possible.

The whole task of Liberian evolution demands an application of an advanced form of indirect rule. In this case, however, no one country may seek to mould the destinies of the Republic, but by international support the development of her government may be furthered on lines sanctioned by world opinion. But that Government must not be merely Americo-Liberian. "The love of freedom brought us here" will never be the motto of a nation until "us" means all Liberians, and "here" means a stage of advancement, and not a strange land harbouring a group of colonists.

Race Problem - 1931

Africa

NEW YORK EVE POST

JUN 30 1931

Freed From Bondage in U. S., Ex-Slave Is 'Master' in Liberia

Descendants of U. S. Negroes 'Buy' and 'Sell' Natives —Concubinage Wide, Tolerated by Missions— Well-to-do 'Own' Entire Household Staffs

Is Liberia a slave state, despite the reforms ordered last year by the League of Nations? The EVENING POST *sent George S. Schuyler to Liberia to find out. He has set forth his conclusions in a series of six articles, of which this is the second.*

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

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When is a slave not a slave? This is one of the questions the visitor to Liberia begins asking himself not long after he arrives in the country. Landing at the dock at Monrovia, pushing through the cluster of nondescript natives and officials, wending one's way through weeds, rocks and rubbish that clutter the streets and past the grotesque residences of galvanized iron and concrete, many half completed, there are no slave blocks to be observed. True, there has been, and may still be, the traffic in "boys" to Fernando Poo, though weighty minds have hastened to declare it not to be slavery in the "classic" sense.

But who are these ragged little children carrying school books for well-dressed little Americo-Liberians? Who are these servants clad in discarded odds and ends of clothing who march behind aristocratic Liberians carrying purchases, a task the latter would not dream of performing? Who are these equally ill-clad house servants who have been trained to reply, "Yassah, massa, I comin' " whenever called? Who are these women, many of them young and comely, that one sees around Liberian residences but who do not seem to be members of the family? Look beneath most of the ramshackle Liberian houses and even some of the "mansions" and wonder who lives in the close, windowless sheds that seem fit only for animal habitation.

Upon investigation it will be found, as I found, that these servitors, young and old, male and female, are certainly slaves or at best serfs. Most of them one sees receive no wages, only a comic collection of cast-off clothing and their food, which is none too plentiful. The little children in many cases are either the offspring of slave concubines, are pawns or youngsters who were handed over to Liberian families by trusting natives for the purpose of being educated, "learning book." Generally, these latter, instead of receiving some schooling, are made the servants of their guardians' children and put to work around the house. They usually receive no reward, monetary or otherwise, for their years of service. Like the rest of the servants, they live in the sheds, under the houses or in some corner not in use.

The other retainers may have come into the service of their black masters in numerous ways. Perhaps they were in trouble of some kind and their masters got them off, claiming their services thereafter, or they were pawned to their masters by debtors, or they themselves started paying off a money debt to their masters with their services and can never seem to finish paying. The point is that they all are unpaid. Most of them have no other homes, are semi-civilized, detribalized and perhaps their relation with their masters might be termed a feudal one. They are supposed to be free and yet actually they are slaves.

President Barclay of Liberia. Photograph by George S. Schulyer.

Native Concubines

As for the sometimes young and comely females one sees around many of the Liberian houses, it would not be correct to say that "they toil not neither do they spin." They do have their chores, but they are rather light ones. The real duty of these women is to act as supplementary wives to their masters. In brief, they are concubines. Mostly they are native women, either semi-civilized or just from the hinterland. Sometimes they have been bought, often they are pawns in payment of a debt and sometimes they have just grown up in the household. If there is any objection to them on the part of the Liberian wives, there is no audible complaint. It is just an old Liberian custom flourishing not only in the "metropolis," but in all of the counties and towns.

Notable men of the country have these slave-wives and are esteemed no less highly for it. The President has had one of these concubines for years and so have many of the highest government officials. If the custom is considered immoral by the orthodox Liberian churchgoers (which means almost everybody) there has been no pronouncement against it from the pulpits of the land. Indeed, numbers of the clergy could not well denounce others for what they themselves are practicing. When former President C. D. B. King went to France and was met at the pier by an official welcoming committee, he was considerably embarrassed because the officer in charge found conveyance for every member of his party except his concubine, whom he had thoughtfully brought along. She was left standing on the wharf.

Some Go "Cave Man"

Sometimes rough and ready officials adopt cruder methods of getting slave-wives than the elite in Monrovia. Especially is this true back in the hinterland where the natives are cowed and helpless and the outer world cannot know what is going on. Despite native customs, tabus, and so forth, a Liberian official will sometimes see a pretty young girl and just simply take her. Former District Commissioner David Carter, accused as the worst of the interior officials and now sitting in jail in Monrovia awaiting trial for murder and several other offenses, made it is charged, a specialty of collecting native women and sometimes had scores in his entourage. In at least one case, it is alleged, he seized a native man's wife, carried her off, installed her in his harem, later quarreled with her, beat her unmercifully and threw her out reeking with disease onto the public road to die. Former Director of Public Works John L. Morris had perhaps the largest collection of these slave-wives in Liberia and still has a considerable number of them.

The little slave children the Monrovians have running around their houses and carrying their children's school books, do not by any means live an entirely carefree and happy existence. The Americo-Liberians do not believe in sparing the rod and spoiling the child. They are hard task-masters and if the little pawn does not do his or her chores then a whipping inevitably follows.

"Annoyed" by Screams

I was sitting one evening early in March on the veranda of the American Legation conversing with Mrs. C. E. Mitchell, wife of the American Minister. Suddenly from a house across the street came the most heartrending childish screams. Again and again they rose, punctuated by quite audible buffets and curses. Unable to stand it any longer, Mrs. Mitchell sent a Legation messenger over to ask the family to please stop whipping the children as their screams were getting on her nerves. The messenger delivered his message and the screams ceased. I learned later that there were several children domiciled in the house, none of them the offspring of the family.

A few nights after this, Peter Davidson, manager of the banking department of the United States Trading Company (a Firestone subsidiary), was awakened by childish screams which grew to such volume that he was forced to get out of bed and go to a near-by Liberian house and try to stop the punishment of the little children. When he arrived on the scene two of the young pawns were insensible from the beating they had received and a third was wailing pitifully in a corner. The whip-wielding Liberian was highly incensed at what he termed "this unwarranted intrusion."

"Ah!" explain high Liberian officials with charming naivete when these things have been brought to their attention, "former President King issued an emancipation proclamation in September, 1930, therefore pawning and domestic slavery are now illegal. The pawn has only to appear before a public officer and make a complaint that he is being held against his will and he is free."

Argument Is "Dry"

Hence, the evils reported above do not exist because officially outlawed. Your Liberian official is extremely legalistic and will argue for hours in this vein like an American Prohibitionist contending that the United States is dry because the Eighteenth Amendment and Volstead law are in operation.

The Solicitor General of Liberia, Edward Summerville, hastens to explain with a certain note of satisfaction that the effect of the emancipation proclamation has not been exactly what reformers anticipated. He claims that many children who were in civilized persons' homes have taken advantage of the new law to leave and lead irresponsible lives. Women, too, says he, eager to rid themselves of unsatisfactory husbands, have availed themselves of this opportunity, and there are instances where such women have become public prostitutes. (Native wives are bought and sold.)

To those who know, these are merely crocodile tears and backhand praise of the good old customs now illegal but thriving right under the Solicitor General's nose and of which he should certainly be aware. The new evils he and other Liberian officials pretend so to fear loom less large than the old ones which are still so widespread.

Edict Hit Mohammedans

There is but one place in Liberia where the King Emancipation Proclamation seems to have wrought havoc and that is in the Vai country. The Vais are the most highly cultured of the Liberian aborigines. They are one of the two nations in West Africa having their own written language, the other group being in Nigeria. The Vais are chiefly Mohammedans and the work of the Christian missionaries has had little influence on them, as is true of the natives elsewhere in Liberia.

For centuries the Vais, who inhabit Grand Cape Mount County, have been agriculturists and reputedly wealthy, but their economic system has been based on chattel slavery. Naturally, when the emanicipation proclamation was issued last September hundreds and thousands of their slaves took advantage of it and left. I have talked with some of these former Vai slaves and from what I could learn from them through interpreters, many of the Vai masters could have taken the laurels for cruelty from Simon Legree of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" fame.

Several weeks ago when I started on my tour of the hinterland. I first visited the Vai country and there saw concrete evidence that the loss of their

slaves had seriously hurt them. They are not finding it at all easy to get out and do their own farm work. In many cases, large estates are going back to the bush for lack of labor to cultivate them. I noted that on several of these big clearings were thatch-roofed platforms on ten-foot stilts where the Vai overseers had formerly sat watching their slaves at work in the broiling sun and seeing that none sought to escape. It was with considerable amusement that I noticed the similarity of the laments of these black ex-slaveholders with those of their white brethren in our Southern States following the Civil War.

"Pawning" Undisturbed

The Vais seem to be about the only ones in Liberia who have been hit by the new law. Beyond the county line, into what is called the hinterland, the form of servitude called pawning is general and undisturbed. I have already shown that on the coast conditions exist much as of yore.

To sum up: Whereas hundreds of "boys" have been and may still be sent to Fernando Poo against their will and for a sizable consideration which falls in the palms of Liberian officials and their associates, there are thousands of pawns and domestic slaves, toiling away in households and on farms, who get nothing but food and some castoff clothing for their labor, all along the coast in the so-called civilized section. Despite laws, nothing adequate is being done about it. Poorly paid Liberian officials live in fine, if slightly nondescript, style, with troops of servants and concubines, whom they do not pay, to do their every bidding. The less fortunate of the ruling class, ever hoping for a political job, but marking time at farming, live similarly.

With the Liberian Constitution firmly forbidding slavery and with pawning outlawed, one is constrained, in view of the facts to again ask, "When is a slave not a slave?"

NEW YORK EVE POST

JUN 27 1931

Liberian Slavery Charges Sifted by Post Investigator; Story Will Begin on Monday

George S. Schuyler, Noted Negro Editor, Writes Series on Findings Made for This Paper at First Hand and at Risk of Life in Wilds

Is Liberia a slave state? Has the West African Negro republic, founded in 1821 by the American Colonization Society as a haven for the American freedman, become a slave pen?

On Monday, the EVENING POST will begin a series of six articles that tell the story of Liberia as found by an EVENING POST investigator.

For years there have been afloat rumors and tales of slave dealings in and through Liberia. Recently these have multiplied and strengthened until —last September—the League of Nations ordered an inquiry into conditions in Liberia. Irregular practices were reported and Liberian officials gave promises of immediate reforms.

In many circles, however, it was felt that the whole story of the Liberian situation might not have been told, that—as is so often the case—many phases of the situation might not have been uncovered.

Accordingly, the EVENING POST commissioned George S. Schuyler to get the story of things as they really exist in the little republic that lies along the coast of northern Guinea. Mr. Schuyler visited Liberia, penetrated the back country where the native tribes live, saw conditions, and brought back to America with him an amazing story. Photographs taken in Liberia will also be published.

In his series Mr. Schuyler minces no words as he portrays conditions in Liberia, nor does he hesitate to lay blame at the doorsteps of those to whom he considers blame is due.

George S. Schuyler was reared and educated in Syracuse, N. Y. In 1912 he enlisted in the regular United States Army, serving in the Northwest and Hawaii. Discharged in 1915, he shipped on a freighter, visiting China, Japan and the Philippines. Returning to San Francisco, he re-enlisted and returned to his old regiment in Hawaii. During the war he was commissioned a First Lieutenant.

In 1923 he became assistant editor of the Messenger, then a leading Negro magazine of radical bent. Soon he became a columnist on the Pittsburgh Courier, a leading Negro newspaper, a position he has held for seven years. In November, 1924, he toured the South, visiting 200 Negro communities to comment upon the conditions existing therein. Later he became in succession managing editor of the Messenger and editor of a weekly magazine syndicate edited from Chicago for forty Negro newspapers.

In January 1931, he was sent to the West Coast of Africa to get the story to appear next week in the POST. It was no easy task. Perhaps the hardest part of it was traversing some 500 miles through jungle, swamp and mountains, visiting native towns and interviewing chiefs.

Hardships at times became intolerable. His water filter was broken and much of his food destroyed by the carelessness of the carriers; he was nearly sucked under in a swamp near the Sierra Leone border; he met gorillas and elephants face to face, and he was near death a score of times climbing mountains and fording swift and treacherous streams.

But there were compensations. He got his story. He feasted with native chiefs, listened to the magnificent female choruses and participated in the dances under the moonlight.

At last the combination of unfamiliar food, arduous travel and bad water brought on jungle fever. Spurning a hammock, he walked 175 miles further to get to Monrovia from which he returned to America.

Mr. Schuyler is the author of "Black No More," a satirical novel, and of a chapter in "Behold America," a symposium. He has contributed to such magazines as the Nation, the World Tomorrow, the Debunker, the New Masses and the American Mercury.

Liberian Pictures in Gravure Section

Two full pages of pictures from Liberia, showing conditions in the West Africa Negro republic, appear in the Gravure Section of the EVENING POST today.

These pictures are part of the scores that George S. Schuyler brought back to America substantiating his series of articles "Is Liberia a Slave State?" This series of articles is to appear in the EVENING POST, beginning on Monday.

Liberia's New President

ENTERPRISING, indeed, was the staff of *The Negro World* in relaying to America the news of Liberian elections nearly two weeks earlier than anybody else in America. Even the State Department at Washington did not know about it until a few days ago.

The Negro World congratulates Mr. Edwin Barclay upon his election as president of Liberia for the next four years. We also extend our cooperation in full in making his regime a successful one and an upright one, a regime which should pull Liberia out of the depth Mr. Barclay's predecessors had plunged it in. The new president is a courageous man, and if he takes proper steps and secures proper personnel he can set Liberia on its feet squarely and set it on the high road to modern progress. Negro World 6-13-31

It is stupid, in our opinion, of the American government in withholding its recognition of the new president on the ground that he was a cabinet member of the now discredited regime of Mr. King. Mr. Barclay was the Secretary of State under King, it is true; but he might not have had personal knowledge or enough power to forestall the corruption under King. New York, N. Y.

We are not apologizing for Mr. Barclay, but the action of the State Department, coming as it does under the regime of Mr. Hoover, seems to us to be very ironical. Was not Mr. Hoover, was not Mr. Mellon, the present Secretary of the Treasury, a member of the Cabinet of Mr. Harding under whom the Teapot Dome scandal was hatched and carried out? And still these gentlemen have been presumed to be innocent and even ignorant of that deal. Knowing this, why should Mr. Stimson assume such an impossibly righteous attitude in the case of Mr. Barclay?

We know that the entire civilized world expects Mr. Barclay to blot out the wrongs that have been done to his blood-brothers, the natives, and we are sure that he will not fail the expectations of the anxious outside world. And the American government should facilitate the work of rehabilitation in Liberia by recognizing the new regime as early as possible. Withholding of recognition will not mend matters. On the contrary, the unwarranted interference of the American government may divert the energies of the Liberian people to protest against this new menace, instead of trying to efface the old scars. In any event, the action of the American government is unjustified. It is contrary even to the usages of sound international law.

Race Problem - 1931

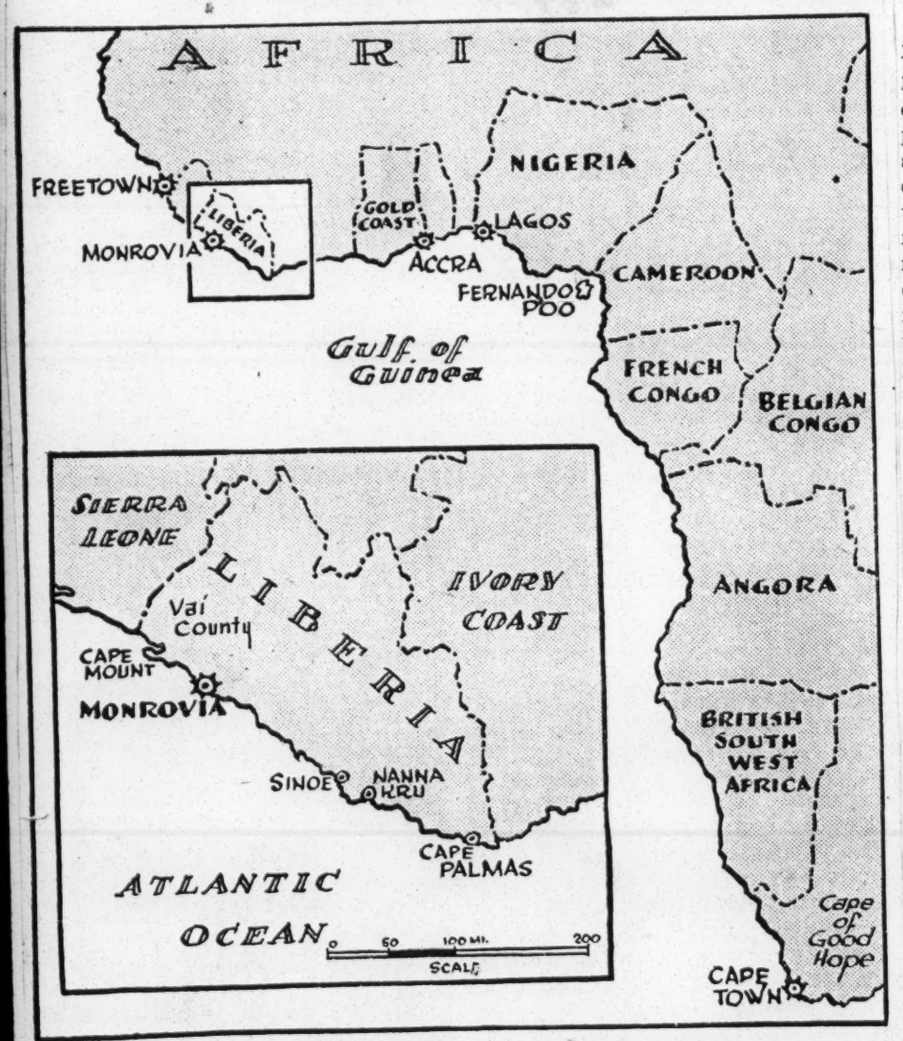
Liberia

Africa

NEW YORK EVE POST

JUN 29 193

Wide "Slavery" Persisting In Liberia, Post Reveals



Map of Liberia, established in 1821 as a haven for freed slaves.

Survey Shows Conditions Change Little Despite Reforms Promised in Geneva—"Poo" Boys Shipped, Children Pawned

Is Liberia a slave state, despite the reforms ordered last year by the League of Nations? The EVENING POST *sent George S. Schuyler to Liberia to find out.*

Mr. Schuyler, Negro journalist and contributor to many magazines, penetrated the jungle for five hundred miles, making the journey afoot with fifteen native carriers, in order to interview chiefs of the various tribes. He faced death several times, finally returning to the coast with jungle fever, from which he is recovering only now.

Mr. Schuyler has set forth his conclusions in a series of six articles, of which this is the first.

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

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For nearly a year the world has been shocked by various well-authenticated and official reports of the existence of slavery and forced labor in Liberia, the West African Negro republic. It seemed incredible that this State, founded in

(Continued on Page Two)

1821 by the American Colonization Society as a haven for American freedman, should have become a slavepen.

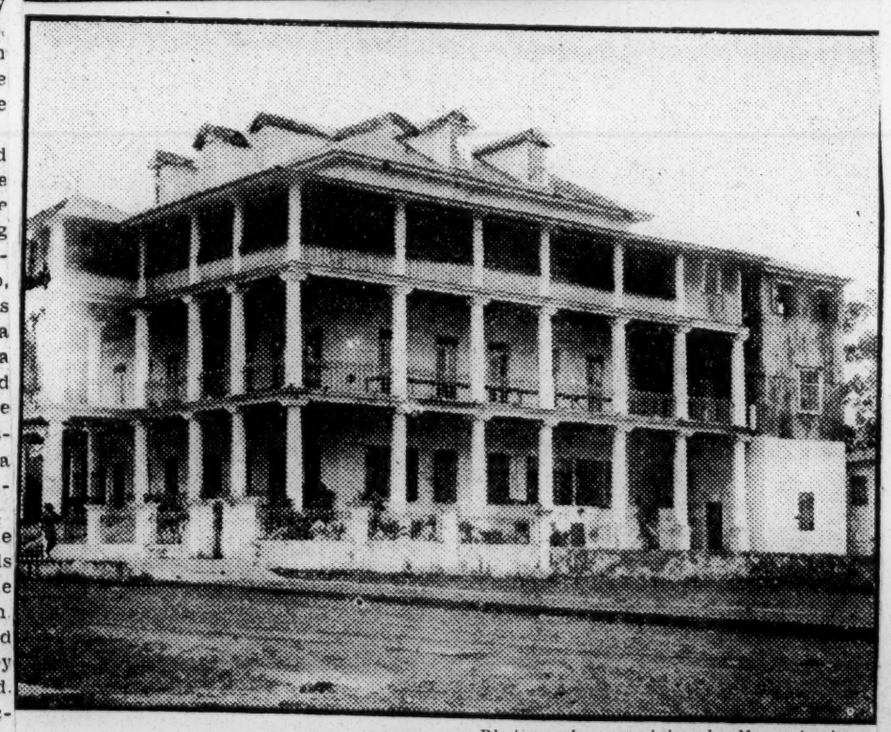
"The Love of Liberty Brought Us Here" is the legend gracing the republic's seal and for the century of its existence, during which time the Negro pioneers with difficulty held their own against slavers and hostile tribes, the outer world has thought of Liberia as the one place where blackmen were free. And then in September, 1930, the report of the International Commission of Inquiry revealed the sordid truth in detail. Charged with guilt before the civilized world, Liberia eagerly promised to remedy the reported evils and set her house in order.

That there has been little improvement in Liberian conditions and that many of the evils complained of still exist is indicated by the fact that as late as May 21 the League of Nations adopted the plan of the Polish member, August Zaleski, to send social, sanitary and financial commissions to the republic in an effort to straighten out its affairs.

Dr. Melville McKenzie, yellow fever expert, has been sent to the country to do his best, while Dr. W. M. Howells, Deputy Director of Public Health on the Gold Coast, began cleaning up the filth of Monrovia, Liberia's capital, the latter part of March.

On February 12 of this year I arrived in Monrovia for the express purpose of determining to what extent the Liberian Government was remedying the evils which the International Commission had reported. Myself a Negro, I had in common with countless others of the race in this country felt a sentimental attachment for Liberia, a sympathetic interest in its trials and tribulations and a firm belief in the classical notion that, aside from Abyssinia, it was the sole spot in Africa where the black man was free, unfettered and master of his destiny.

It was no simple matter to get the truth. Most of the Liberian officials are suspicious and evasive and little that they say can be depended upon. Though bound by ties of blood and tradition to American Negroes, they have no affection for them. Indeed, some seem to almost take pride in fleecing black American immigrants. One Liberian customs official greeted the



Photographs were taken by Mr. Schuyler.

Above, native girl of Liberia. Below, the executive mansion in Monrovia.

captain of an American steamer with: "Well, how many have you got this time?" referring to Negro immigrants. Upon being told, he would reply: "All right, send 'em ashore, we'll pluck 'em."

Saw Little Change of Heart

After having interviewed Government officials, foreign merchants, diplomats, natives, missionaries and chiefs, and covered over 500 miles of the hinterland afoot, visiting numerous native towns, I left Liberia on April 21, convinced that there has been little change of heart on the part of the bulk of the governing class. These officials are merely being more cautious because of the widespread publicity their actions have received. The same political party that has maintained itself in power, sometimes by fraud, for more than thirty years is still running the country, while most of the officials who were in office before and during the League of Nations investigation are still on the Government payroll. The exportation of "boys" to work outside the country has been officially forbidden, an emancipation proclamation freeing "pawns" and domestic slaves has been issued, district commissioners have been replaced with others of their ilk and the notorious Department of Public Works which directed most of the forced labor on roads has been closed down.

To the unknowing outside world this would suggest that the Liberian Government is acting in good faith, if only in an effort to get another loan, but behind the scenes, back in the hinterland and elsewhere unseen by strangers, many of the evils complained of still flourish. In this series of articles I intend to draw aside the draperies of official camouflage and expose conditions in Liberia as they are.

Boys Shipped in "Slavery"

In connection with the shipping of "boys" to the Spanish cocoa-producing island of Fernando Poo, notorious for its unhealthful climate and the prevalence of sleeping sickness, several high Liberian officials were implicated. What has happened to them? On December 2, 1930, the House of Representatives expelled two members, P. F. Simpson and W. J. McBorrough, who were immediately indicted on charges of trafficking in slavery and forced labor. Since then former President C. D. B. King, former Vice-President Allen R. Yancey, Senator W. V. S. Tubman, Captain J. C. Philips of the Frontier Force, former Director of Public Works John L. Morris and former County Superintendent D. C. Watson have all been indicted on similar charges.

At first glance this would seem to indicate that Liberia is determined to punish those whose reported acts have brought disgrace upon her, but indictment in Liberia means next to nothing. It is usually the end of the matter, unless the offending individual is persona non grata with the governing clique. Not one of the men indicted has ever been arrested or brought to trial although ample time has elapsed. Nor does any one here think they ever will be tried. One man, former District Commissioner David Carter, is actually in jail accused of numerous revolting crimes, but even he, it is rumored, may not be brought to trial.

Doubts Halt on Traffic

As for the shipment of "boys" to Fernando Poo, the traffic described by the international commission as scarcely indistinguishable from slavery, the Government has prohibited it. But whether it has been actually stopped is something else again. A Government official franker than the rest confessed that he had no way of knowing whether it had been stopped or not, what with a coast line of 400 miles, land communications only by trail, sea communications either by surf boat or infrequent steamers, with a consequent lack of information about affairs in distant ports.

The Spanish steamships do not call at Liberian ports with the frequency that they did before the slave scandal broke, but I note that they do call at Monrovia once a month. Whether they call at other Liberian ports I cannot say. Certainly, it is no more difficult now to crowd a score of "boys" into a Kru surf boat and carry them out to a waiting steamer than it was before the traffic was outlawed.

Unsatisfied by the assurances of Liberian officials that the "boy" traffic had actually stopped, I rounded up several "boys" recently returned from Fernando Poo after two years' service on the Spanish plantations and questioned them about the arrival there of additional laborers from Liberia since the official outlawing of the traffic. There are dozens of such "boys" in Monrovia and each northbound Spanish steamer brings a few more. Sometimes they return in good health, but not often. At times a victim of sleeping sickness or elephantiasis has to be carried ashore like a child.

"Boy" Answers Questions

Each "boy's" testimony was similar, so I shall report that of Joe Ages, the most intelligent one of the lot, at the time a laundry employee at the American Legation:

Q. When you come from Fernando Poo?

A. Right now; two week.

Q. Who send you?

A. Sammy Ross (former Postmaster General, deceased).

Q. Did you want to go?

A. No!

Q. Where you send from?

A. Monrovia (a supposedly prohibited area even then).

Q. How long stay Fernando Poo?

A. Two year.

Q. How much pay?

A. Spanish Consul, (P. C. Parker, a Liberian) he pay five pounds.

Q. Many boy down Fernando Poo now?

A. Yes, yes, plenty much Liberian boy.

Q. When last boys come Fernando Poo? Since Christmas?

A. Yes, since Christmas. Some boy come last year; other boy come January.

Q. This January? Last month?

A. Yes, last month.

Q. Many boy sick—sleep, sleep all time? (Referring to sleeping sickness.)

A. Yes, too much boy plenty sick.

Q. Spanish beat much?

A. Yes, beat boy too much. Give two, three month jail all time.

Q. How much chop (food) for week?

A. Seven pound rice; one pound salt fish.

Q. Boys go Fernando Poo with you they come back?

A. Most no come back, some do. Lots sleep. Spanish mans kill boy—beat him. Other boys come town and tell. Spanish put boys in jail for one year for tell, so they no come back with me.

Q. What work boys do in jail?

A. Same work other boy do.

Jail Solves Pay Problem

This concluding answer indicates that some Spanish authorities are jailing "boys" about the time their period of service is to expire and thus utilizing their services without any pay at all.

The other "boys" agreed with Joe, the Bassa man, but added that in addition to the weekly rice-and-fish ration, they received also a kilo of coffee and a cup of palm oil. They revealed that on Fernando Poo they were put to work at 6 A. M., worked until 11 A. M., went to work again at 1 P. M. and quit at six. Their duties consisted of cutting jungle, picking six kerosene cans full of cocoa pods daily, washing and drying them, building Government motor roads, loading steamers, carrying firewood to cook the cocoa, planting coffee—digging fifty four-foot holes a day.

They lived in warehouses, fifty "boys" being packed close together on beds of cocoa staves and banana leaves. Women were difficult to get and those available were diseased. If the "boys" contract sleeping sickness, venereal disease or any of the other numerous maladies to be caught there the Spanish sent them to th hospital, but they received no pay during their illness, whether or not they were at fault. These conditions prevail in Fernando Poo today.

It is significant that after the post had been vacant for some time the Liberian Government sent a Consul to Fernando Poo, presumably to look out for the interests of its nationals there. This Consul, it is reported, takes $3 of the $6 monthly salary of the "boys," which they never see again, and is also actively engaged in endeavoring to persuade those who have served their two-year term to sign up for another. If they agree the Consul gets $12 from them, which is very nearly half of the £5 they receive on discharge. Hence the position of Liberian Consul at Fernando Poo is not altogether undesirable.

Officials Evasive

The international commission had the greatest difficulty obtaining information about the slave traffic from the evasive Liberian officials. Most of the testimony was given by natives, many of whom are now living in fear of reprisals. They expected the League of Nations or some other outside power to protect them, or they would never have testified. Now they feel they have been callously left to their fate.

In December 1930, a detachment of the Frontier Force paid a visit to Nanna Kru and Sinoe, two coast towns above Cape Palmas. They fired upon and looted both communities and terrorized and assaulted men, women and children. The Government claims the soldiers went down there to collect unpaid taxes and were attacked by the citizenry, but the victims swear their taxes were already paid. The truth of the matter is that residents of the two towns gave damaging testimony against the Government in the slavery investigation and were being punished for it.

Just recently in Monrovia I met the son of a chief, a slender, sadfaced lad who was loudly bemoaning his father's fate. Questioned, he explained that his father had been deported by the Government from his town to a distant section of the republic. He and several other chiefs had told the International Commission what they knew about slavery and forced labor. When it was safe to strike back, the Government had done so and the young man's father was one of the first victims. The others are marked men.

When is a slave not a slave? Tomorrow's article contrasts the lot of the Americo-Liberians with that of the natives.

Liberia and Schuyler

Editor, The Negro World:

From all indications the "hireling" journalist, Geo. S. Schuyler, was sent to procure damaging information concerning the little republic of Liberia, on the western coast of Africa. And of course, "hirelings" are expected to perform the tasks for which they were employed.

There is no denying the fact that Liberia has suffered immeasurably from the conniving of her official representatives, and the exposure of other incompetence should not dampen the ardor of those sincerely interested in her political reconstruction. Such information should stimulate our willingness to assist in the remedying of such wrongs.

Let us not be astonished at the attitude of Schuyler or any other person who has no sentimental interest in Liberia's welfare. In many instances, Schuyler has assumed the attitude of the "defeatist" regarding matters of a "racial" nature. He enjoys the reputation of an iconoclast par excellence.

"High-hatted" Capitalism is deep-rooted in the industrial affairs of Liberia, the working classes are subjected to the most humiliating conditions and treatment by the privileged few who control the wealth over there.

To compare labor conditions in this country with similar conditions in Liberia does not affect the suffering of the native Africans in any respect. Schuyler was sent because the publishers that engaged him wanted a "close-up' 'of conditions in that country, for it was Liberia that they wished to portray to their readers.

But Mr. Schuyler should be more circumspect in his use of the term, "trash" in criticising other newspaper columnists. Remember the saying: "Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones." And he should further ask himself, if the Pittsburgh Courier has always owned its own newspaper plant? Such attacks as he made on the Negro World publishers were unwarranted and unethical.

The supporters of the Negro World, would I daresay, be more pleased if in the future, the distinguished editor participate in journalistic controversies with his peers and refrain from recognizing such notorious spurts as the party in question; particularly so when the writer so frequently indicts himself with "PEN-Prostitution."

ARTHUR S. GRAY.

Race Problem - 1931

Africa

Liberia

SLAVERY IN LIBERIA.

APPALLING CONDITIONS REVEALED BY COMMISSION'S REPORT—LIBERIAN GOVERNMENT ACCEPTS RECOMMENDATIONS.

GENEVA, January 11.

The report of the International Commission of Inquiry into the existence of slavery and forced labour in the Republic of Liberia has been received by the League from the Liberian Government, and has been circulated by the League among its State-members. It reveals conditions, as has already been indicated, which are of a very damning character, involving many officials of the Liberian Government.

Early in the report the Commission deals with the system of "pawning."

"Pawning," says the report, "is recognised by the Government of Liberia as an old native custom. In substance it is an arrangement by which in return for money a human being, usually a child relative, may be given in servitude for an indefinite period without compensation to the person held, and without privilege. . . . In practice persons may be held under the guise of pawning by the simple secret agreement that the pawn will never be redeemed." Among other examples of pawning and its effects is that of a head-man, fined £18 0s. 2d. for road delinquencies, who "pawned his wife and child for £7. They have been in pawn five years without prospect of redemption." "Pawning" is an example of the toleration of primitive customs.

1-17-31

"Recruiting" Methods.

In a chapter dealing with practices akin to slavery it is shown that there has been forcible recruiting and shipping of labour to the island of Fernando Po.

Of the manner in which labourers were collected for Fernando Po there is remarkable evidence.

In one case the "recruiter," not satisfied with the number of young men he had obtained, "caught two of the elders, the town chief, tying and flogging them, called for three bags of rice, one goat, £5, and departed with the hostages, stopping next at Jalatuen. Here they demanded young men, and went flogging men, women, and children indiscriminately. The people ran into the bush. . . . Soldiers surprised the chief and the town people of Gbanken, dragging them from their huts, throwing them to the ground and flogging them with whips. . . . ."

In another case a witness deposed that the men "recruited" "were so severely flogged by the soldiers on the two-day journey from out town to Harper that one of them, Kohkoh Jehleh by name, died from the effects of the beatings two days after they reached the prison house at the Vice-President's farm.

It is significant, says the report, that the fear and the sadness which filled the chiefs and their subjects, from whom these drafts have been made for Fernando Po and Libreville, were registered in the songs of the people.

Of the meagreness of payments made to labourers transported to Fernando Po there is much evidence, and evidence also that in some cases even that payment was denied. In the only case where the Commission was able to see the slip of a returned labourer before it was presented for payment the slip was for £1 12s. 3d.—the result of fourteen months' absence at Fernando. The Commission reported that it was stated that when a boy changed masters, or when the masters were changed in any way, only the last was responsible for the man's pay, and only for that time which he remained with him.

Forced Labour.

The chapters dealing with forced labour show perhaps the treatment of the native at its worst.

The report cites how the whole of the Barrobo barracks in No. 5 district, Maryland, a considerable collection of houses and soldiers' quarters, were built by compulsory male and female labour.

Of the treatment of the men the report cites witnesses who said that some of the workers had incurred the special displeasure of the soldiers. The soldiers then "tied ropes round them and hauled them up to beams above. Then they lighted fires beneath them in which they threw pepper. This punishment appears to be well known in Liberia, and modifications of it were frequently mentioned during depositions before the Commission. It is known as 'Putting in the kitchen' or 'Over the fire.'"

The Report of the Commission exposes a maladministration so cruel and so corrupt and an exploitation of native workers by their negro masters so callous and so shameless that the civilised world will not be satisfied until effective measures have been taken to substitute a system of justice for a reign of brute force and to establish decent conditions of labour.

The attempt to establish a civilised negro State in West Africa has so far proved a failure; and it can never become a success unless the process of reorganisation is placed under the supervision of white men. The Americo-Liberians, as the ruling caste is called, have established a Government that will pass in Monrovia and the district immediately surrounding the capital. But its writ runs no farther; and the dealings of its officials with the natives of the interior are a disgrace to the modern world. It is the deliberate opinion of the Commissioners, two of whom are themselves negroes, that the population of Liberia does not contain adequate human material for providing capable substitutes in the higher places. Many other recommendations are made by the Commissioners, but it is clearly their opinion that none is likely to be carried out in practice unless first of all the central Government is strengthened and its authority is extended to the hinterland.—"The Times," January 12.

Firestone Co.'s Operations.

In a chapter on forced labour for private companies, the Commission pays special attention to the Firestone Plantations Company, the only large private enterprise in Liberia—a vast experiment in rubber growing.

According to the report, this company issued a memorandum to the Government pointing out "that the success of our development in Liberia is largely dependent upon the organisation of a permanent and contented labour force. This can only be done through 'free and unrestricted employment and upon terms and conditions which are agreeable to the labourers themselves.'" The company, however, "offered that whenever the Government secured labour for it at its own request the company would pay one cent to the Government, one half cent to the paramount chief, and one half cent to the chief for each day's work performed by each of the men so supplied."

The report adds that "Whatever the effect of this interpretation it is evident that there developed, in the course of the first years of operation, numbers of occasions for misunderstanding, and, similarly, numbers of instances of confusion, on the part of the natives, of company work and Government requirements." Examples of what followed are given. Here are two:—"(a) In December, 1929, the District Commissioner of No. 4 sent word to the company that there were 300 labourers who wanted to come to Firestone to work, but that unless he received some money personally he would not give them permission and would send them to Fernando Po"; "(b) In districts 4 and 5 particularly the hinterland labour has been practically locked in, and this labour in no instances offered to the highest bidder. If it were a matter of wages for the labourer the situation would not be regarded as so serious. The benefits, however, appear to accrue almost entirely to the interior officials."

The Commissioners point out that there is no evidence that the Firestone Company forcibly impresses labour or consciously employs labour which has been forcibly impressed.

Recommendations.

Two paragraphs in the chapter of the Commission's report headed "Suggestions and Recommendations" give a summary of the present situation as seen by the investigators. They are:—

"In order to suppress the native, prevent his education, prevent him from realising his powers and his limitations, and prevent him from asserting himself in any way whatever for the benefit of the dominant and colonising race, although originally the same African stock as themselves, a policy of gross intimidation and suppression has for years been systematically fostered and encouraged. The chiefs themselves, men whom the people not so many years ago looked up to, were glad to serve, and relied upon for protection, harsh though it sometimes was, have been so systematically humiliated, degraded and robbed of their power that now they are mere go-betweens, paid by the Government to coerce and rob the people. The words development, social progress, are unknown, servitude and slavery have taken their place."

The main body of the report concludes with the following remark:—"The Commission cannot too strongly express its conviction that, as regards most officials, mere advice to greater efficiency and honesty will not be sufficient. The tolerance given to gross dishonesty in office, the general ignorance of the interior and its people, the lack of means of education in the provinces and its total absence in the Hinterland, except where a few missionaries are installed; the powerful influence of family connections between the executive officials of the Government, few of whom have ever left the country; and the general insularity of outlook, render futile any hope of improvement in the present conditions without the introduction of outside specialist assistance, the reduction of superfluous offices and other drastic internal provisions made."

RECOMMENDATIONS ADOPTED.

Liberian Government's Assurance.

GENEVA, January 12.

The Liberian Chargé d'Affaires at Geneva, Mr. Antoine Sottile, has written to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations stating that his Government, being desirous of giving evidence of its sincerity by definite acts at the earliest possible moment, has instructed him to make the following declaration:—

The Government of the Liberian Republic accepts in principle the recommendations made by the International Commission of Inquiry in its report on slavery and forced labour in Liberia, and adopts the recommendations as a basis for regulating any improvement that may be made in the social policy of the Republic to the whole extent of its resources.

Mr. Sottile adds that it will be observed that his Government, again acting in the frank and loyal spirit in which it set up the International Commission of Inquiry, is firmly resolved, so far as its resources will permit, to adopt the recommendations of the Commission. It states "so far as its resources will permit" because the Commission, in making its recommendations, seems to have ignored the world economic crisis, which is particularly severe in Liberia, and the very precarious financial position of the country.—"The Times."

REBER WILL ACT IN LIBERIA INQUIRY

Charge d'Affaires at Monrovia Selected by Washington for League Committee.

2-5-31

OFF TO GENEVA SATURDAY

State Department Publishes Note Accepting Bid to Help Consider Means of Ending Slavery.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4.—Samuel Reber Jr., American Chargé d'Affaires at Monrovia, has been selected as the representative of the United States on the international committee appointed by the League of Nations to consider means of assisting Liberia to institute reforms for abolishing slavery and eliminating unsanitary conditions in accordance with the recommendations of the international commission which investigated both questions in Liberia last year.

Mr. Reber will leave Monrovia on Saturday for Geneva, where the committee will meet. He was selected because of his intimate knowledge of conditions. He has been in daily contact with Liberian officials for months and has obtained from them an acceptance in principle of the recommendations of the international commission.

In announcing his selection today, the State Department gave out the text of its note to the League of Nations accepting its invitation to be represented on the committee, which will consist of representatives of the British Empire, France, Germany, Italy, Liberia, Poland, Spain and Venezuela, in addition to the United States.

"While it would not accord with the established policy of the United States to assume any exclusive responsibilities on the African continent, in view of the social and humanitarian principles involved, the American Government has been considering with Liberia and with other governments the most practical manner in which it could be of service in bringing about improvements in the condition of the Liberian people," the State Department said.

"The American Government has recently received an invitation to participate through the appointment of a representative upon an international committee which will meet at Geneva in the near future for the purpose of examining various questions relating to recommended Liberian social and administrative reforms. It has accepted in the following terms:

"'The American Government is hopeful that the work of this committee, having to do with subjects regarding which the cooperation of the American Government has already been indicated through its adherence to international slavery, sanitary and other conventions, may contribute in a practical way toward the execution of highly desirable reforms destined to improve the condition of the Liberian people, for whose welfare the people of the United States have always maintained a sympathetic interest.

"'The American Government accordingly takes pleasure in accepting the above invitation, and is appointing as its representative upon the committee Samuel Reber Jr., an American diplomatic officer who is at present Chargé d'Affaires ad interim at Monrovia. Mr. Reber has been instructed to leave Monrovia this week and may be expected shortly in Geneva.'"

No Slavery In Liberia 20 Years Ago

2-14-31

Says Former Minister to Liberia, 1903-11, Dr. Ernest Lyon

SICK DIE ANYWHERE!

Defends Climate; Reported Slavery Development Due to Concessions?

Slavery of the type described by the international commission did not exist when he was United States Minister to Liberia, 1903-11, Dr. Ernest Lyon, said in an interview.

Dr. Lyon, who is now Liberian Cossul General, and has served that country as chief diplomatic representative in Washington for nineteen years, is now in his 53rd year but has the physical and mental alertness of a man many years younger.

"No one condones slavery," he declared, "but it is a Liberian development of recent years. You must remember that the Liberian government is not the Liberian people.

"The American government sometimes get to the place where it is not representative of the people. Congress gets in bad and Presidents get in bad. Look at the public reaction to the Wickersham report on prohibition."

Americo-Liberians

Asked about the inferences in the public press that Americo-Liberians, sons of ex-slaves, were exploiting and enslaving natives, Dr. Lyon said:

"The so-called Americo-Liberians are all mixed up. Forbears of President Barclay are from Barbados, and ancestors of ex-President King came from Sierra Leone."

Why British Bank Left

Dr. Lyon vehemently denied that the British West African Bank closed its Liberian branch because of unsanitary conditions which the government refused to remedy.

"They left," he said, "because big business is in the hands of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, a United States concern. British trade has declined in Liberia since Firestone arrived and since American financial interests are directed by the National City Bank of New York. (It also has a branch in Haiti.—Editor).

"Firestone employs 10,000 men. In prosperous times he may employ 300,000. A United States concession as large as this is not profitable for a British bank."

Asked Naval Station

Dr. Lyon recalled that he spent eight years in Liberia and suffered no ill effects from the climate. Liberian climate is not unhealthy. "A change of climate is not good for everybody," he said, "and some people die anyhow, whether they stay in America or go abroad."

2-14-31

In an effort to secure a larger United States governmental interest in Liberia, Dr. Lyon recalled that when serving as minister there he urged Uncle Sam to purchase sufficient Liberian territory to locate there a naval station. In all Africa, Dr. Lyon said, the United States hasn't a single coaling station.

A commission was sent out to investigate in 1909. Dr. Emmett J. Scott of Washington, was a member. The project fell through when it was discovered that the cost would be two million dollars.

Lots for Emigrants

Under the grant transferring the Liberian territory from the American Colonization Society to the Liberian government, Dr. Lyon declared, every other lot was set aside for emigrants from the United States.

Many of these lots were snatched by France when it arbitrarily annexed a large slice of Liberian borderland. To "maintain its prestige," England, Liberia's other neighbor, annexed a second slice.

Negotiations were once begun by Dr. Lyon to have their territory restored or Liberia properly recompensed.

The State Department looked favorably upon the proposition which was halted by the death of the former president of the Colonization Society.

Sell Boys to School

Heads of mission schools have been compelled to pay (dark) chiefs before children were permitted to attend classes. Africans' theory is: missionaries are paid by their home country to establish schools for education of the natives.

But they cannot have schools without scholars. If a chief is to give up his boys, whom education does not fit to return and give service to his tribe, the chief feels he ought to be paid for it.

Says the chief: "No boy, no school; no money, no boy."

WISE MAN URGED KING TO QUIT 3 YEARS AGO

afro-american

Fortune Teller Warned Liberian Prexy of Disaster Ahead.

2-7-31

Baltimore, Md

3 TERMS A JINX

First Prexy Served Six 2-Year Terms.

By W. F. WALKER
18 Years a Resident in Liberia

NEW YORK. — Ex-President C. D. B. King's downfall in Liberia was foretold by a wise man (fortune teller) three years ago.

Just a while before his second term expired, pressure was brought upon him not to run again for the presidency. When this happened, he closed his presidential desk and went on a tour of the inland counties. From afar, he boldly threw his hat into the ring.

Sentiment in Liberia, as in the U.S., is against a President serving more than two terms. This has been true since 1906, when the presidential term was changed from two to four years.

However, King's announcement that he would seek a third term caused friends and enemies to become vocal and express themselves ly. When he returned from the ..., the position of every prominent politician was known to him, and he proceeded to chastise all his enemies who stood in his path. He forced resignatinos of several hostile office holders, including a cabinet secretary, dismissed the chairman and the secretary of his party, scowled at lesser lights, after which quiet reigned.

Underground rumors persisted and tales of "medicine" making, poison making and tribal sacrifices against him moved the then president to consult a soothsayer.

The wise man he consulted was somewhat noted for his knowledge of materia medica, was learned in native medical lore and potions, and was steeped in the occult sciences and rites of the "bush." He was a man to inspire confidence in his mysterious powers.

This seer assured the President that he would be overwhelmingly elected, but warned him that he would not serve out his term. No no! he would not die in office nor be killed; he would merely be forced to step down out of his office in disgrace and his administration would be covered with opprobrium.

King didn't heed the warning, nor did he laugh it off. He surrounded himself with three men skilled in poison and "medicine" and went ahead.

The blow fell several weeks ago when the slavery report was published and he was forced to resign.

As a result, the stock of native "medicine" men and prophets has gone up considerably in Monrovia.

First President Served 6 Terms

Mr. King is not the first to serve as president of Liberia for three continuous terms. James Jenkins Roberts, the first chief executive of the republic, served four successive terms from 1848 to 1856, and two terms from 1872 to 1876.

Stephen Allen Benson was president for four terms running, from 1856 to 1864; Anthony W. Gardner served three terms; Hilary R. W. Johnson, four terms; Joseph J. Cheeseman, who was the last of the three and four termers, died in office in 1890.

During this perior of Liberia's history, and up to 1906, the presidential term was for a period of only two years.

Race Problem-1931

Liberia

Africa

Liberia To Have New Wave of Reform

Tri-State Tidings

Special—(CNA)—The report comes that the Republic of Liberia is in for a violent period of reform. Drastic recommendations are to be made according to the statement of George W. Harley of the international inquiry on slavery and other conditions in the country. Under the last President King slavery conditions existed in an open form and the natives were brutally oppressed and in many instances shot down. It was pointed out that people who gave, came from free countries and have accepted from the natives an age old system of domestic slavery. The American people are partly to blame for the existence of such a system as they sent many colonizers to tre republic. The situation will receive careful study by the new administration, but little can be expected to come to any good for the new betterment of economic conditions as long as American capitalist continue to rob thenatives of their lands and force them to [illegible] for 25c a day, a little more and sometimes less. Heads of corporations like Firestone have swindled the natives out of millions of acres. To oust these robbers and return the land to the peasants is the only reform that will bring liberty to the oppressed masses in Liberia.

STIMSON CASTIGATES LIBERIA ON SLAVERY

Times

1-7-31

New York,

In Scathing Note to Black Republic, He Demands League Reforms Be Effected.

GOOD RELATIONS IMPERILED

Monrovia Delegate at Geneva Defends Country, Telling of Selfdom Elsewhere.

Special to The New York Times.

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"International public opinion will no longer tolerate these twin scourges of slavery and forced labor. Unless they are abolished and unless there is instituted by the Liberian Government a comprehensive system of reforms loyally and sincerely put into effect, it will result in the final alienation of the friendly feelings which the American Government and people have entertained for Liberia since its establishment nearly a century ago."

Points Made by the Secretary.

The points which Secretary Stimson makes against Liberia in his note may be summarized as follows:

1—That Liberia consented to a slavery investigation with "extreme reluctance."

2—That "nearly all the high official of Liberia, including the Vice President," were found guilty.

3—That Liberia has failed to submit definite plans for wiping out slavery, and that although the American Charge d'Affaires has made "frequent inquiries," no plan has been received from the Liberian Government.

4—That all "the officials whose guilt was established * * * continued to hold office.

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Both President King and Vice President Yancey resigned a short time ago, and Edwin Barclay, Secretary of State, has become Provisional President. It is believed that either this note or a warning that it was coming was responsible for their resignations. The League of Nations and the State Department expect to make public the slavery report simultaneously on Jan. 10.

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"This report is a shocking indictment of the Liberian Government's policy of suppression of natives, permitted, if not actually indulged in, by nearly all the high officials of Liberia, including the Vice President of the republic. The conclusions are drawn from over 260 depositions. Many suspicious criminal practices and torture are cited.

"While direct criminal participation in the shipment of forced labor to the Spanish colony of Fernando Poo, under conditions characterized by the report as 'scarcely distinguishable from slave raising and slave trading,' is established against Vice President Yancy, several district commissioners, county superintendents and many other officials, the President of Liberia and members of his Cabinet were aware of these and other abuses, having received recorded complaints from the natives.

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"High officials of the Liberian Government made use on their private farms of forced labor, often brutally and ruthlessly, under the guise of government work. The report established the existence of domestic and tribal slavery as well as 'pawn of natives.'

"Since the submission of the report on September 8, 1930, the Government of Liberia has made numerous promises of reform, but insofar as the American Government is aware, the Government of Liberia has failed to submit definite plans for their execution.

"On November 30, the President of Liberia informed the American Government that Liberia 'Accepted the recommendations of the International Commission' and agree to carry them out. In its reply of October 3, the American Government sated that when the details of the reform program were received, the American Government would study them with a view of rendering assistance.

"Two months have no elapsed since the formal submission of the report to the Liberian Government. The American Government understands that not only have no actions been taken against the officials whose guilt was established therein, but apparently all of these officials continued to hold office.

"It was brought to the attention of the American government during the course of investigations that the government of Liberia was endeavoring through its threats and intimidation to prevent the submission of testimony. The natives of Liberia came forward, nevertheless, and made their depositions before the members of the international commission. It has now been reported that instead of correcting its abuses, the government of Liberia has encouraged measures of retaliation against these helpless people.

"Should this be true, the American government is convinced that it will irreparably damage the good name of Liberia, and that it will banish from the world its belief in the sincerity of Liberia's intention to institute reforms."

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"It is notorious that in a region of about 10,000,000 inhabitants, domestic slavery exists. Moreover, Lord Cecil, the British representative, told the last Assembly of the League that there are not less than 5,000,000 slaves still in the world.

"I add that according to reliable information there exists in a single country signatory to the slavery convention not less than 2,000,000 slaves, in a classic sense of word. Some newspapers estimated at 400,000 the number of domestic slaves in Liberia, up to September, 1930. Even if one admitted this paradoxical and arbitrary statement, need he surprised, prised, after what I've just said, especially if one considers that the population of Liberia is 2,500,000, and if one knows that the absence of railroads makes governmental control difficult?"

None of the regions mentioned were specified, but some persons assume that they include Abyssinia.

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WHIPS AND CHAINS FORCE SLAVES IN LIBERIA TO PERFORM DUTIES, COMMISSIONERS REPORT TO U. S.

Practice of "Pawning" Women as Security for Loans Made to Relatives Also Flourishes; Piteous Appeals From Natives Listed in Findings

NEW YORK TIMES

JAN 7 1931

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10 (AP)—Liberia, founded as refuge for freed men upon whom the scars of bondage still were fresh, was pictured to the world today as a nation in which slavery was imposed by whip and chains.

Piteous appeals from ignorant black natives ran through the pages of a report of an investigating commission sent there at the request of the state department.

The department made the report public tonight. The commission consisted of Cuthbert Christy, chairman, appointed by the League of Nations; Charles Spurgeon Johnson, appointed by the United States, and Arthur Barclay, appointed by Liberia.

Seeks Radical Changes

The commission recommended radical changes in various government institutions to bring to an end the conditions.

Severe pressure has been brought to bear by the United States upon Liberia to meet the commission's recommendations, but so far the department considers the steps taken inappropriate and inadequate.

President King and Vice President Yancy, both of whom were mentioned in the testimony, resigned early in December when the state department first insisted that action be taken to meet the commission's findings.

Going beyond slave conditions, the commission investigated the practice of "pawning," under which relatives and particularly women, were given as security for loans or indebtedness.

Termed Social Economy

"The commission finds that although classic slavery carrying the idea of slave markets and slave dealers no longer exists as such in the republic of Liberia, slavery as defined in the 1926 anti-slavery convention does exist insofar as inter and intra tribal domestic slavery exists. Pawning is also recognized in the social economy of the republic."

The commission found no evidence that leading citizens participated in domestic slavery but that there was evidence that some Americo-Liberians took natives as pawns and abused the system by taking women to attract laborers to their land.

Liberia was established a little more than a hundred years ago by a colonization corporation formed by Americans. The first citizens were slaves who had been freed in this country and one of the first articles of its constitution provided that no slavery should exist there.

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Race Problem - 1931.

Africa

Liberia

BRONX HOME NEWS

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These natives told of raids on their villages by armed officials, who gathered up hundreds of "boys" to ship to the Spanish Island of Fernando Po whence few returned; or forced to work on jungle roads; of children being "pawned" for the debts of their elders; of extortion by officials; of torture by fire; of whippings; of native necks broken by huge baskets of stone hoisted on their heads by road masters; and of the forced isolation of parents from their educated children.

The commission made 18 recommendations to improve conditions in Liberia, the chief of which were:

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Liberia has accepted these recommendations "in principle," but the State Department has insisted on more adequate and concrete guarantees. The only definite action observed by American officials so far has been the resignations of Pres. King and Vice-Pres. Yancy against whom the report makes serious charges.

Firestone Plantation Absolved

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Liberia's extensive road program is being carried out by forced labor, the investigators found. These workers were found to be subjected to brutal masters. They work without pay, are forced to supply their own tools and fined for tardiness. Many of the laborers seen on the roads were under 16 years old.

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Many American

1-17-31

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Shortly before the report of the commission was issued for publication, the State Department made public a memorandum from Secretary Stimson to the Liberian government demanding a comprehensive system of reforms.

Liberia replied to this memorandum, it was learned at the State Department, and there was further exchange of communications through Samuel Reber, charge d'affaires at Monrovia, but these proved unsatisfactory.

The memorandum of Secretary Stimson was handed to the Liberian Counsul General on November 17. A copy was delivered to the Liberian Secretary of State by Mr. Reber in Monrovia and was submitted to the Liberian Congress by President C. D. B. King on December 3 with his and Vice-President Allen N. Yancy's resignations. Two days later the Liberian government replied with a note thanking Mr. Stimson for his frank and "friendly" memorandum.

On December 8 the State Department stated through Mr. Reber that this reply did not meet the demands of the situation. Liberia replied on December 24, enumerating certain measures which it was taking to meet the situation. On December 27 the United States answered that these steps did not meet the recommendations of the commission. Liberia replied on January 9 accepting in principle the recommendations of the commission but was told by Mr. Reber that this did not meet the requirements.

HAVERHILL, MASS.
EVE. GAZETTE

JAN 16 1931

Slavery in Liberia

Ironical is it that Liberia, a nation established as a haven for freed slaves, should today be a land in which slavery is a part of the economic system.

The existence of slavery, long alleged, is confirmed by the report of an investigating commission sent to the African republic after the Liberian government had complained to the League of Nations that the League's study of Liberian conditions had been biased by "a systematically organized campaign to persuade public opinion . . . that slavery and forced labor are still rife in Liberia."

Slavery, in the traditional sense of the term, does not actually exist in Liberia; that is, domestic servants are not owned nor are slaves disposed of on the auction block. Forced labor does exist, however, in its worst forms.

Victims of the system are the native tribes. Liberia is a land of about 40,000 square miles on the African coast and has a population of about 1,500,000. The number of Americo-Liberians (Aframericans from the United States and descendants of freed American slaves) is small, only about 20,000, half of whom live in the capital city of Monrovia. Americo-Liberians first went to the land in 1821; they were American freed Negroes. Since that date freed slaves or their descendants have crossed the Atlantic to make their home in Liberia.

Liberia was proclaimed a republic in 1847. Great difficulty in governing the land always has been experienced by the Americo-Liberians. They were not in the beginning skilled in self-government and the native tribes have always caused a serious problem of control. Foreign governments made the task of government harder by ignoring it to deal directly with the native chiefs. From time to time the United States has intervened in Liberian affairs, finally assuming control of Liberian finances and keeping expenditures within the limits of the revenue.

In 1904, Arthur Barclay, a man of pure Negro blood, became president and he initiated a policy of cooperation with the native tribes. This policy either was not successful or was abandoned, because today force rather than cooperation is the policy of the government toward the native tribes.

The commission, of which Barclay was a member, found a tragic state of affairs in Liberia. They found systematic intimidation and ill treatment by officials and soldiers in recruiting labor to work on public projects. They found the practise of pawning relatives, particularly women, as security for loans. They found town after town where happy native populations had been reduced to handfuls by the procedure for forced recruiting of labor and instances in which native chiefs had been beaten because they tried to protect their people from the evils of the system.

Obviously, unless Liberia is to be scorned among nations, the system must be changed.

Race Problem - 1931.

Africa

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Liberia replied to this memorandum, it was learned at the State Department, and there was further exchange of communications through Samuel Reber, charge d'affaires at Monrovia, but these proved unsatisfactory.

The memorandum of Secretary Stimson was handed to the Liberian Counsul General on November 17. A copy was delivered to the Liberian Secretary of State by Mr. Reber in Monrovia and was submitted to the Liberian Congress by President C. D. B. King on December 3 with his and Vice-President Allen N. Yancy's resignations. Two days later the Liberian government replied with a note thanking Mr. Stimson for his frank and "friendly" memorandum.

On December 8 the State Department staed through Mr. Reber that this reply did not meet the demands of the situation. Liberia replied on December 24, enumerating certain measures which it was taking to meet the situation. On December 27 the United States answered that these steps did not meet the recommendations of the commission. Liberia replied on January 9 accepting in principle the recommendations of the commission but was told by Mr. Reber that this did not meet the requirements.

Slavery in Liberia

Ironical is it that Liberia, a nation established as a haven for freed slaves, should today be a land in which slavery is a part of the economic system.

The existence of slavery, long alleged, is confirmed by the report of an investigating commission sent to the African republic after the Liberian government had complained to the League of Nations that the League's study of Liberian conditions had been biased by "a systematically organized campaign to persuade public opinion . . . that slavery and forced labor are still rife in Liberia."

Slavery, in the traditional sense of the term, does not actually exist in Liberia; that is, domestic servants are not owned nor are slaves disposed of on the auction block. Forced labor does exist, however, in its worst forms.

Victims of the system are the native tribes. Liberia is a land of about 40,000 square miles on the African coast and has a population of about 1,500,000. The number of Americo-Liberians (Aframericans from the United States and descendants of freed American slaves) is small, only about 20,000, half of whom live in the capital city of Monrovia. Americo-Liberians first went to the land in 1821; they were American freed Negroes. Since that date freed slaves or their descendants have crossed the Atlantic to make their home in Liberia.

Liberia was proclaimed a republic in 1847. Great difficulty in governing the land always has been experienced by the Americo-Liberians. They were not in the beginning skilled in self-government and the native tribes have always caused a serious problem of control. Foreign governments made the task of government harder by ignoring it to deal directly with the native chiefs. From time to time the United States has intervened in Liberian affairs, finally assuming control of Liberian finances and keeping expenditures within the limits of the revenue.

In 1904, Arthur Barclay, a man of pure Negro blood, became president and he initiated a policy of cooperation with the native tribes. This policy either was not successful or was abandoned, because today force rather than cooperation is the policy of the government toward the native tribes.

The commission, of which Barclay was a member, found a tragic state of affairs in Liberia. They found systematic intimidation and ill treatment by officials and soldiers in recruiting labor to work on public projects. They found the practise of pawning relatives, particularly women, as security for loans. They found town after town where happy native populations had been forced to recruiting of labor by the procedure for labor and instances in had been beaten because their people from the

s Liberia is to be scorned system must be changed.

RALEIGH, N. C
NEWS OBSERVER

JAN 9 - 1931

THE WORLD MOVES

In the fifties there were not a few Southerners who, desiring to free their slaves, arranged to have them sent to Liberia. Some North Carolinians did that very thing, believing they were doing the best thing for the Negroes.

That condition before the War Between the States contrasts strangely with the scathing note sent by Secretary Stimson threatening a diplomatic break with Liberia unless it makes a move to abolish slavery.

In 1856 Liberia was lecturing the United States because it did not free slaves. In 1931 we are lecturing Liberia because it persists in putting Negroes into slavery.

The world moves.

NOTE HANDED TO CONSUL LYON NOVEMBER 17

Quick Action by Liberian Legislature Came in Fifteen Days

KING RESIGNED

But House had Begun Impeachment

Sensational U. S. Note which caused Liberian action on Page Sixteen.

MONROVIA, Liberia. — Resignation of President C. B. D. King and other officials connected with the slavery scandal was forced by the United States government..

A U.S. memorandum handed to Dr. Ernest Lyon, the Liberian consul in Baltimore on the 17th of November by the Secretary of State and transmitted to the Liberian government, called the revelations in the report of the commission "shocking" and expressed its disappointment that two months after it had been submitted to the government, there had been no action taken against the officials whose guilt was established and nothing done to right the wrong perpetrated upon natives.

Intimidation.

The Department of State document also called attention to the fact that not only had the Liberian government officials endeavored through threats and intimidation to prevent the submission of testimony during the investigation, but that it was learned that officials were encouraging measures of retaliation against some of the helpless people who had come forward to testify.

"Should this be true,' the memorandum said, "the American government is convinced that it will irreparably damage the good name of Liberia and that it will banish from the world its belief in the sincerity of Liberia's intention to institute reforms. International public opinion will no longer tolerate these twin scourges of slavery and froced labor."

Threatens Alienation.

Unless they are abolished and unless there is instituted by the Liberian government a comprehensive system of reforms loyally and sincerely put into effect, it will result in the final alienation of the friendly feelings which the American government and people have entertained for Liberia since its establishment nearly a century ago."

Committee Acts.

It was following this, that on December 2, the special committee of the Liberia House of Representatives met and recommended that not only should a number of the officials be impeached or expelled, but that legal proceedings be taken against some of them.

The next day President King resigned and Secretary of State Barclay was selected to take his place.

Not Recognized.

Up to the date this is written, none of the foreign powers have officially recognized him. From some sources it is reported that they are acting cautiously.

Economic conditions in the Republic continue bad. Firestone has opened a bank, but cannot give the people any financial relief.

The report of the special committee which recommended the impeachment of President King and others follow:

[Copy of Legislature's Report (in part) which was adopted.]

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ROOM
Monrovia
December 2nd, 1930.

Mr. Speaker:

Your Special Committee appointed to investigate the Report, Recommendations and Suggestions of the International Commission of Inquiry (on Slavery) beg leave to report.—

The Committee feels that it becomes their bounden duty, and it cannot too strongly emphasize that the continuous restiveness of the people at this time, the differentiation of ambitious political subtility of presidential aspirants from genuine patriotism and unfeigned loyalty, the hurling of unawarranted criticism and rebuke have contributed no little to mar the good feeling and the calm deliberation that should characterize that body upon whose decision hangs the perpetuity of the Nation, the blasting of characters of renown and even the destruction of property and life. However, the Committee under Divine guidance is pleased to submit a partial report as follows:

1. Upon the sitting of the Committee the first item of business that claimed its attention was as to the names of the Members of the House.

viz:—Honourables: P. F. Simpson, W. J. McBorrough, D. B. Cooper, and J. S. Dunham.

Two Representatives Expelled

The name of Hon. P. F. Simpson was first taken up; pages 27, 44 and 85 of the Report were read which mentioned his name together with such other documents filed by him for the purpose of exhonorating his guilt. The Committee having taken into consideration the facts pro et con finds it its painful duty to recommend the immediate expulsion of the Hon. P. F. Simpson, from the House of Representatives for acts unbecoming the dignity of this Honourable Body as found in said Report.

Hon. D. B. Cooper and J. S. Dunham were found not sufficiently implicated to warrant action.

In. re. Hon. W. J. McBorrough. The following pages mentioning his name in the Report read. Viz:—43, 149, 232 together with such documents filed by him for the purpose of exonerating his guilt.

Considering the facts on both sides, the Committee concluded that Hon. W. J. McBorrough, is sufficiently charged and that the charges are sufficiently clear to the minds of the Committee to warrant his immediate expulsion and it is therefore recommended.

Ask for Prosecution

The Committee proceeded to the various districts. Ex and Coast Commissioners who are implicated in the Report. It recommends the names of J. B. Watson, J. B. Delaney, S. D. Carter, F. W. Prout, and M. J. Scott, to be immediately removed from office and subject to judicial prosecution by the Department of Justice; and where in such cases moneys have been exacted or illegally fines have been collected and not deposited into the Government custody to make immediate restitution if the Department shall so deem fit.

Superintendents Fined

The several County Superintendents were next considered. In this connection only the name of Supt. Brooks is sufficiently mentioned to warrant the consideration of the Committee. Pages 43, 48, 44, 51, 68, 120 149, 152, 205, 200, 230, 232 were read. In connection with the facts these pages contained the Committee recommends his immediate removal from office by the President, and subject him to judicial prosecution and restitution of property where it can be shown that same has been extorted.

Army Involved

The Committee further recommend the immediate prosecution of Capt. J. C. Phillips, Mr. Alhai Massaquoi, Thomas E. Pelham. R. W. Draper, and W. C. Cummings. Ex-Supt. G. T. Brewer, for judicial prosecution immediately by the Department of Justice.

Yancy Impeached

The Committee now considers the name of Vice-President Allen N. Yancy. In viewing the Report, the name of this gentleman appears throughout its entirety. The Committee therefore recommends that charges of impeachment be drawn up against him

Recommend Protection for King

Lastly the Committee takes into consideration the name of His Excellency C. D. B King, President of the Republic of Liberia They recommend the resignafion of President King, and his retirement from office principally upon the repeated request of the people of all political parties which if not in words in substance have avalled themselves of their constitutional privilege and have asked the Legislature to retire the President. The Committee feels that to deny them of this request would be a breach of the constitution and may likely result disastrously to the perpetuity of the Nation.

In connection to the President retiring the Com... recommends that sufficient protection be given him by the Government until such time as public sentiment would have subsided.

Barclay Suggested

That in order to fill the unexpired term of President King, the Committee availing itself of a constitutional privilege given the Legislature as found in the Revised Statute under the head of the Vice President "Inability to act as President," and also in confirmation of the Act of 1901 as also found on page 816 of the Revised Statue Vol. (1) one, do recommend the name of the present Secretary of State, Edwin J. Barclay.

Senators Left to Senate

1. In view of the maxim which says that equals do not review equals and the Constitutional provision that each House shall be the sole judge of the qualification of its own members, the committee has not reviewed the conduct of any members of the Senate, as they feel it would be a breach of the fraternal courtesy, hence they have left it to themselves to take such actions that are necessary in the premises, such as Senators Tubman and Dossen.

Probe Commissioners Acts

2. The name of Commissioner Carney Johnson, was also considered by the Committee and the facts not being sufficiently clear the Committee request that the Department of Justice make further investigaion and act accordingly.

[SIGNED]

Montserrado County:
R. S. Wiles, Chr.; J. E. Sims.
Grand Bassa County:
A. D. J. King, D. A. B. Worrell, Edwin Morgan.
Sione County:
A. Chris Monger, Sec'y, to Committee.
Cape Mount:
J. Agea-Himie Jones.
Maryland:
F. W. M. Morais.
Territory of Marshall:
M. C. Smith.

SANITARY CONDITIONS IN LIBERIA DEPLORED

NEW YORK, Jan. 26— The Advisory Committee on Education in Liberia has sent to the U. S. Secretary of State resolutions urging the appointment of an International Commission for the purpose of seeing that the recommendations of the recent Slavery Commission are carried out and that the Government of Liberia may function effectively for the welfare of the Liberian people and thus enable the Republic of Liberia to take its proper place among the Sovereign Nations of the world. The State Department has evidenced willingness to cooperate with other nations in order to assist the Liberian Government to improve conditions with respect to slavery, forced labor and sanitation.

The suppression of slavery is not the only momentous question to give America and the other powers serious concern. Sanitation is a vital problem. The constantly-increasing number of Americans and Europeans to die of yellow fever in the little republic has reached alarming proportions. Failure of Liberian officials to cooperate with Dr. Howard F. Smith of the U. S. Public Health Service in putting over a comprehensive sanitary program was primarily responsible for the withdrawal of the Biritish Bank of West Africa. If the Liberian conditions should become so serious as to compel the American Mission Boards and the Colonization Societies to close their schools, the result would be a complete breakdown of the country's largest and most effective educational system.

Reports from reliable sources show that after Dr. Smith was sent to Liberia by the United States upon the invitation of high officials of the Republic, little cooperation was given him to eliminate yellow fever; that prominent Liberians refused to remove cans and barrels of stale water from their premises. Representatives of the Liberian Government have scouted the idea that yellow fever exists in Monrovia, even though certain diagnosis has been made representatives of the Rockefeller Institute and other medical authorities. This indifferent attitude has been stubbornly adhered to despite the fatal illness with yellow fever in 1929 of W. T. Francis, U. S. Minister to Liberia, and James L. Sibley, Educational Adviser Committee on Education in Liberia. Unable to bring about necessary changes in sanitation, Dr. Smith has been recalled and is on his way to America.

The resolutions of the Advisory Committee pledging to the U. S. Government, through the Secretary of State, full support in the efforts which may be taken to assist the Liberian Government to improve conditions with respect to slavery, forced labor and sanitation, are signed by the following representatives of colonization, missionary and educational societies.

Jackson Davis, New York State Colonization Society; Thomas S. Donohugh, Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church; J. E. East, Foreign Mission Board of the National Convention; Thomas Jesse Jones, Phelps-Stokes Fund; A. B. Parson, Department of Missions, Protestant Episcopal Church; M. Edwin Thomas, Board of Missions of the United Lutheran Church; Henry Litchfield West, American Colonization Society, and George G. Wolkins, Trustees of Donations for Education in Liberia.

Race Problem – 1931

Liberia

Africa.

LIBERIA AND AN OPPORTUNITY.

IT is an ill wind that blows nobody good. If the situation in Liberia is dealt with in a truly African spirit by the League of Nations committee which has it in hand, great good may come of it, to Liberia and to the British Colonies of the West Coast. It is appropriate that this aspect should be considered this week, which sees installed as Under-Secretary for the Colonies in the new French Cabinet M. Diagne, a Senegalese, the first African, it is stated, to hold responsible office in a European Government. How long he will hold it depends upon the life of the Ministry in a country which changes Ministries rather frequently; and, of course, upon the merits of M. Diagne. But if he holds office only for a week the appointment is a sign of the times; as was the appointment of a Native Burmese as Acting-Governor the other week; as was the appointment of a New Zealander of part-Maori descent to a responsible post (the Acting-Premiership, if we remember correctly) some time earlier.

The British-West African connection is based upon certain great principles; pillars of the building. One pillar is the right of the African to fill such public offices in his own country as his qualifications warrant. And this represents one of the greatest difficulties with which West African Governments are faced. The more conscientious the Executive and the Heads of Departments the greater the difficulty, because the first duty must always be to appoint the best man for the work, regardless of race. In dealing with it the European cannot avoid the invidious position of being judge in his own cause. He has to decide whether, with due regard to the public interest, he can appoint or promote an African to this or that responsible post. Recognising our common human limitations and the truth of Lincoln's saying that no race can be good enough to rule another, we need not be surprised that individual hard cases arise. In West Africa at the moment the most conspicuous of these is at the Gold Coast, that of Mr. Woolhouse-Bannerman, who has been on five occasions an acting puisne judge and yet is not a member of the Bench. This is most questionable, because, leaving aside the question of his personal claims, it is clear that if he is not fit to be a judge the persons who appeared before him while he was an acting-judge were deprived of their rights. We know of no other case just like that, but we may be sure that if Governments and Heads of Departments in the four Colonies knew of machinery whereby such cases could be so dealt with as to leave disappointed aspirants without grievance against an individual Government or Departmental Head, such machinery would be used with profound relief.

Some such machinery may present itself through the medium of Liberia. (That country should be encouraged in co-operation with the League of Nations, when it reflects that one of the oldest and in some matters most advanced countries of the world, China, has also just sought the co-operation of the League.) In re-staffing Liberia in higher posts the League committee, of course, will give first place to Liberians. The Report shows that there is good human material available in the Republic. But it will also be necessary to go outside the country for men, and it would be excellent if in doing so the committee called for applications from the four British Colonies, by African officials lately gone on retired pay and by Africans for whom so far places in the public service have not offered themselves. Naturally, the committee would insist upon qualifications as high as the British Coast Governments require. The judges of the work of men so appointed would be, not Governors or Departmental Heads of their individual Colonies, but an outside tribunal which could not be accused of local prejudice. If the work of such Africans so appointed to Liberia earned the approval of the League that fact would encourage the four neighbouring Colonial Governments to add substantially to their percentages of African officials in the higher posts. Apart from the permanent political issue, the importance of this from the point of view of finance will be realised when we remember that Nigeria's pension bill is not far short of half a million a year. An ex-Nigerian wrote to us recently: *Nigeria, at the beginning of its career, is sending to another country a proportion of its revenue larger than the proportion of British revenue Great Britain sends to the United States!*

This statement needs to be checked, and, obviously, whatever is paid in pensions in Nigeria itself is not deducted, as it should be. But there is enough truth in it to leave us all thoughtful. And Nigeria, unlike Great Britain, receives no set-off from other countries. Alike, therefore, on political and financial grounds, this question of the ever-increasing employment of Africans in the Public Services of their own countries is of the first importance. It is to be hoped that the League committee will decline to adopt the European level of expense and pensions, but insist on the minimum of Europeanisation—or United Statesism—and the maximum of Africanisation. If that failed—which we do not believe it would—Africans would have the reasons for failure stated by an international body whose views they would accept in a spirit quite different from that with which they more or less resentfully accept the views of their individual Governments; and with the determination to overcome any defects. Both would be great points gained.

NEW AMERICAN MINISTER TO LIBERIA.

MR. CHARLES E. MITCHELL IN LONDON.

An interesting visitor to London this week is Mr. Charles E. Mitchell, American Minister Plenipotentiary to Liberia. He sails from Liverpool on Wednesday in the Adda, to take up his new post.

Born in Maryland, Mr. Mitchell looks in the prime of life. He was educated in the District of Columbia and Massachusetts. Mr. Mitchell is a nephew of Frederick Douglass, the great Afro-American leader in the Abolitionist cause, and grew up in his uncle's house. When Douglass became American Minister in Haiti Mr. Mitchell accompanied him as secretary, thus early obtaining an insight into tropical conditions and the ways of the public service.

Returning to the United States, Mr. Mitchell took up accountancy, and was the first certified Afro-American public accountant there. He has taken part in the Presidential elections in New York City as chairman or vice-chairman of committee, and was on the Commission formed to look into the economic conditions of the inhabitants of the Virgin Islands.

For 12 years Mr. Mitchell was president of the West Virginia Bank. After service on the teaching staff of the West Virginia State College he became business manager of the college, retaining that position for 26 years, resigning only in order to accept his present new post.

He is the first Afro-American to be appointed a Minister under the present Administration, though there are some five Consuls.

This is Mr. Mitchell's first visit to London, and he would gladly extend his stay, so impressed and charmed is he. Many parts of the Continent and Egypt he knows.

His headquarters will be, of course, in Monrovia, and he is taking a Cadillac seven-passenger motor-car, with every intention of exploring the hinterland as opportunity occurs. There are at present some 10,000 Afro-Americans in Liberia, and many more in the United States. Some, of high mental calibre, would like to live in Liberia. Mr. Mitchell's hope is to serve the interests of his countrymen in every way and to promote the general good of the country. He hopes to co-operate with the handful of white Americans, many of them missionaries, already in the country. In personal practice he is "dry," as regards alcoholic liquor, and hopes to fulfil, so far as possible, the law of the United States in that respect.

Mrs. Mitchell, who accompanies her husband, hails from Virginia and was educated in Massachusetts and at Munich. Her hobby is music and she is an accomplished pianist.

Speaking of the Afro-Americans in the United States, Mr. Mitchell says they have much to be thankful for. Progress, educational and economic, is maintained. The race shows no signs of being pushed out of existence, like the Red Indians. "They are steadily going forward with their eyes fixed on the rising, not the setting, sun."

Mr. Mitchell thinks that the African race owes much to the European. Booker Washington taught the Africans of the South to work with their hands as well as to learn from books, but 95 per cent. of the money to found his schools was given by Whites. Nor must one forget White women, who suffered all kinds of privation in order to educate the African.

Mr. Mitchell, while holding that the African has gone further in music than in any other art, is impressed by the recent books of some African writers. He greatly admires the play "Green Pastures," which, while written by a White man, was produced by Mr. R. B. Harrison, an Afro-American, a friend of his, lately awarded the Springaron medal, annually given for the most notable achievement in the Afro-American community during the year. On the whole, he concludes that to-day there is better feeling than ever before between White and Black in America. "There are," he said, "good and bad of both races. Sometimes the two bad elements get together, and outstanding incidents occur. It is not fair, however, to allege general bad treatment on the score of isolated happenings. The relationship between the best of the two races is consistently good."

Mr. Mitchell conversed with the President of the United States shortly before his departure, and says Mr. Hoover, despite the toils of office, looks remarkably well. The President maintains his close interest in everything pertaining to Africa, where he spent active years in earlier life.

With Mr. Stimson, the Secretary of State, Mr. Mitchell had a prolonged conference, and it was evident that the problems and difficulties of Liberia were near the heart of that high official.

Mr. Mitchell looks forward to seeing something of British West Africa, and is particularly interested in

knowing what has been done to advance the cause of public health in Nigeria and the Gold Coast.

Tactful and courteous to a degree, he is sure to make many friends in any territory he visits.

Mr. Mitchell has exchanged visits with Mr. C. W. Dresselhuys, Minister for Liberia in London. He has been much interested in the School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and would like to have attended a

[West Africa hopes to reproduce in next week's number a photograph of Mr. Mitchell.]

Liberia Described As Trade Reservoir

2-18-31

New York Amsterdam News

Speakers Vision Future for Trained Men in African Nation

Liberia was described as a fertile spot for trained Americans who will tap its commercial and industrial possibilities when the West 135th street branch Y. M. C. A. observed Negro History Week with a public meeting Thursday.

Calling Liberia "the gateway to Africa," William H. Walker, the chairman, told the audience that exploitation of cocoa and other palm products, hides and assorted commodities in West Africa awaits enterprising men who will go to Liberia. Mr. Walker spoke with the authority born of sixteen years in the republic as Secretary of the Treasury under President Howard and as Secretary of Public Instruction under President King.

"It is not so much a question of Liberia's needing you as it is of your needing Liberia," declared Aubrey Lyles of the vaudeville team of Miller and Lyles, who recently returned from an eight months' visit to the little republic. 'The Negro is being squeezed out economically in this country and yet he does not realize the possibilities that await him in Liberia."

Other speakers on the program were Mrs. M. A. R. Camphor, wife of the late Bishop A. P. Camphor of the M. E. Church, who served for several years as president of the College of West Africa, and Howard E. Young, secretary to Bishop W. Sampson Brooks of the A. M. E. Church during the prelate's stay in Liberia.

All of the speakers agreed that Liberia needs scientific agriculturists, engineers and mechanics. These, the gathering was told, would be welcomed by the Liberian authorities from the ranks of trained American Negroes.

A permanent organization for the study of African problems which could become a body of reference and opinion on matters pertaining to economic opportunities on the dark continent is planned by the sponsors of the meetings, William H. Wortham announced in opening the discussion.

STIMSON NAMES WHITE MAN FOR LIBERIAN STUDY

Journal and Guide

This Country To Assist League Of Nations' Reform

2-14-31

TO END SLAVERY

Norfolk Va.

May Break Firestone's Hold On Liberia Thru Finances

Special To Journal and Guide

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Appointment of Samuel Reber, Jr., white, former American Charge d'Affaires at Monrovia, Liberia, as the representative of the United States on the international committee appointed by the League of Nations to consider means of assisting the Liberian Government in putting into effect the recommendations of the investigated slavery in Liberia last year was announced at the State Department last Wednesday.

It was thought that Dr. Charles S. Johnson, brilliant Fisk University professor, who was a member of the international slavery investigation committee, might have been named to the new group because of the intimate knowledge of Liberian conditions which he gained during the probe and because white men by their unsympathetic attitudes demonstrated toward the Negro republic of Haiti and Liberia have not been very successful emissaries.

Mr. Reber left Monrovia on Saturday for Geneva, where the committee will meet. No date has yet been set for the first meeting. The committee will consist of representatives of Liberia, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Spain and Venezuela, in addition to the United States. It was proposed at the recent session of the council of the League after the Liberian Government had accepted the recommendation of the slavery commission in principle and had invited the appointment of a supervising committee.

Wants Real Powers

The United States was opposed to any committee which would amount merely to another investigating body without real powers. The committee now authorized is satisfactory to this government.

In announcing the selection of Mr. Reber. the State Department made public the text of its note to the League of Nations accepting its invitation to be represented on the committee the League has appointed. It is as follows:

"While it would not accord with the established policy of the United States to assume any exclusive responsibilities on the African continent, in view of the social and humanitarian principles involved, the American Government has been considering with Liberia and with other Governments the most practical manner in which it would be of service in bringing about improvements in the condition of the Liberian people.

"The American Government has recently received an invitation to participate through the appointment of a representative upon an international committee which will meet at Geneva in the near future for the purpose of examining various questions relating to recommended Liberian social and administrative reforms. It has accepted in the following terms:

"'The American Government is hopeful that the work of this committee, having to do with subjects regarding which the cooperation of the American Government has already been indicated through its adherence to international slavery, sanitary and other conventions, may contribute in a practical way toward the execution of highly desirable reforms destined to improve the condition of the Liberian people, for whose welfare the people of the United States have always maintained a sympathetic interest.

"'The American Government accordingly takes pleasure in accepting the above invitation and is appointing as its representative upon the committee Samuel Reber, Jr., an American diplomatic officer who is at present Charge d'Affaires ad interim at Monrovia. Mr. Reber has been instructed to leave Monrovia this week and may be expected shortly in Geneva.'"

Liberia Likely to Accept

As yet, however, the Negro republic, which was founded as a colonization movement for freed American slaves early in the last century, has given no guarantees to the League of Nations. It has also made no moves satisfactory to this government to curb the system of virtual slavery and forced labor found within its borders. With the formation of the international commission, however the necessary sanction of the commissioners' work will probably be arranged amicably with Liberian officials. Word was received here to the effect that the latter had already accepted the inevitability of some sort of outside intervention.

The conference of international representatives appointed to the League commission is expected to decide on the necessity of some administrative as well as investigatory functions. One part of the investigation stage of the proceedings was passed when another international committee published on January 10 a survey of its findings on slavery in Liberia. Some further inquiry into economic conditions is likely to be scheduled now, but the United States will insist that action take place of further examination in connection with slavery.

Proposals for the rehabilitation of the country economically and socially are expected to be forthcoming from the international commission after a preliminary survey and it is likely that it will ask the Liberian government in advance to gurantee a willingness to put the reorganization recommendations into effect.

Some of the corrective measures urged by Dr. Johnson and his colleagues call for a radical revision of the administration of the interior of Liberia and a reconstruction of its policy toward natives. A curtailment of the road program on which forced labor has been utilized and the importation of a trained European or American personnel of subordinate administrators also are likely objectives of the new commission on the basis of the findings of the older group.

Firestone Company Has Contract

Financial arrangements may call for changes in the relations between the Firestone Company and the Liberian government, although the company was given a clean slate in the report of the slavery cocmmittee. On acount of financing a loan for the government a contract with the company now controls the disposition of certain taxes to meet interest and amortization needs. The contract also provides for an American financial adviser to the republic.

The league invitation is the result of a meeting of the League's council ten days ago at which plans for international action were discussed. Before the council met the State Department had declared it wanted no "exclusive responsibilities" in Africa and would welcome "affirmative international cooperation."

Liberia Is Willing

Liberia, it was learned, has acceded already to the League's suggestions and will have a representative on the commission. It is also prepared to bow to any reasonable recommendations upon the part of the international group.

The primary function of the commission will be to draw up the detailed plan for rehabilitating the Liberian government. The State Department made clear that there is no present intention to have the commission exercise actual administrative duties in Liberia, even should the officials of that country be agreeable. Outside administrative intervention, however, will be one of the matters to be considered by the commission and possibly a subcommittee may aid in or supervise the carrying out of recommendations.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR LIBERIA.

Chicago Defender

U.S. Representative on League Sub-Committee.

2-7-31

WASHINGTON, February 3.

The United States has decided to accept the invitation to send a representative to attend the meetings of the sub-committee appointed on January 24 by the League Council to supervise the granting of assistance to Liberia. An American Commissioner will be nominated this week. Loveland

The appointment of the sub-committee arose out of an application from the Liberian Government for administrative and financial assistance in carrying out the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry of slavery in its territory. Mr. Henderson was appointed chairman of the committee, which includes representatives of France, Germany and Liberia.—Reuter.

U. S. Withholds Recognition of Liberia

Afro-American

2-6-31

New York

Washington, D. C.—Although the United States is represented by officially appointed Minister at Monrovia, the captial of Liberia, it has not yet recognized the new government in the African Negro republic and will withhold recognition until reforms are permanently assured, the State Department disclosed today.

No action will now be taken by this government until the international commission on Liberia concludes its investigation, which will begin this month. The commission will report on what progress has been made in eliminating slavery and improving sanitary conditions. The State Department has been reluctant to give support to the Liberian government ever since a preceding international commission attacked slave practices in a report last fall.

The attitude of the State Department is maintained despite elections last month confirming Edwin Barclay as President. He was Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Charles D. B. King, who resigned in December under attacks for alleged condoning of slavery.

Race Problem - 1931

Liberia

Africa

Liberia Warned to Clean Out Slavery

WOMEN AND CHILDREN SLAVES to creditors.

A woman held in pawn six years for the sum of one pound; repawned by the holder, and unable to secure her release.

Literary Digest 1-24-31

A man of forty pawned as a child, the pawner dead, no hope of redemption remaining.

Villages terrorized and depopulated to recruit forced labor.

Torture of compulsory labor gangs.

Forced labor for public works diverted to officials' private plantations.

Vol 108. No. 4 Whole No. 427

Rounded-up native laborers shipped to French and Spanish colonies.

Such findings of conditions in the Negro Republic of Liberia by an International Commission of Inquiry lead our Secretary of State Stimson to issue peremptory notes of warning and dissatisfaction with anything less than a prompt clean-up by the Liberian Government. He declares:

New York, N.Y.

"International public opinion will no longer tolerate these twin scourges of slavery and forced labor.

"Unless they are abolished, and unless there is instituted by the Liberian Government a comprehensive system of reforms loyally and sincerely put into effect, it will result in the final alienation of the friendly feelings which the American Government and people have entertained for Liberia since its establishment nearly a century ago."

International

Under International Fire

Charles D. B. King, now ex-President of Liberia.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Negro president of Fisk University, nominated by the United States; Cuthbert Christy of England, nominated by the League of Nations, and Arthur Barclay of Liberia, made up the Commission of Inquiry. Their scathing report of five months' investigation finally becomes a press sensation four months later, after Liberia's President, C. D. B. King, and Vice-President Allen W. Yancy have resigned, Secretary of State Barclay becomes acting President, and correspondents at Washington report preparations to send a new American Minister, Charles E. Mitchell, to Liberia. Control of customs, it will be remembered, is vested in a General Receiver and Financial Adviser designated by the United States, by reason of loans to the Liberian Government.

The Commission's report, as Secretary Stimson says, "is a shocking indictment of the Liberian Government's policy of suppression of natives—permitted, if not actually indulged in—by nearly all the high officials of Liberia, including the Vice-President of the Republic."

THE report was made to Liberia early in September of 1930, but held in diplomatic channels until simultaneous publication by the League of Nations and our State Department, January 9.

Meantime Secretary Stimson's second note calls on Liberia for action, instead of promises without definite plans for executing the recommended reforms. He declares that Liberia had consented to the investigation "with extreme reluctance," had denied that either slavery or forced labor existed, and he intimates that threats of intimidation and retaliation had been used against witnesses before the Commission.

Yet Liberia's delegate to the League of Nations, Antoine Sottilo, tells Geneva correspondents that Liberia showed the unprecedented courage of "asking for the investigation," whereas among other countries, signatories of the antislavery convention of 1926, at least one (correspondents assume he means Abyssinia) has 2,000,000 slaves, compared to possibly only 400,000 out of a total population of 2,500,000 in Liberia.

He repeats this claim of initiative when submitting Liberia's official note to the League, accepting the Commission's recommendations in principle, and promising improvement "to the full extent of its resources." He asks the League Council to consider Liberia's fair spirit, her particularly severe economic crisis and limited financial resources, adding a request for publicity for Liberia's claims. At the same time Secretary Stimson files his notes and documents with the League Secretariat for circulation and information to all parties concerned with the slavery convention.

"If Secretary of State Stimson never does anything else to be proud of, he has earned the lasting gratitude of all civilized peoples and of the black slaves of Africa by his ultimatum to the American Protectorate of Liberia," says the New York *Telegram*, of the Scripps-Howard chain. Our press in general backs Secretary Stimson more or less vigorously than *The Telegram*, which hails action "at last" regarding "our slave colony." We read:

"Perhaps the most tragic aspect of these disclosures is that Negro descendants of American slaves have been the vicious enslavers of their own race in Liberia, and that black is enslaved by black in Abyssinia.

"The cruelty of white men exploiting Negroes in backward countries is somehow less surprizing.

"Certainly this scandal should be a warning to all American interests operating in Abyssinia and other slave countries.

"As for the hypocrisy which has allowed the United States Government to wink at Liberian slavery all these years, no condemnation can be too strong."

It is only fair to remark, says the Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot*, "that forced-labor systems comparable to that flourishing in Liberia exist also in some districts of British East Africa, in the Belgian Kongo, in Madagascar and French West Africa, and in the Dutch East Indies." Further:

"But Great Britain, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands are not to be addrest with scathing notes.

"Liberia, being, so to speak, a protégé of ours, and insignificant to boot, can be upbraided without serious embarrassment."

THE Commission's report finds that domestic slavery among the tribes does exist and includes the pawning system, in some instances abused for personal ends by taking women as pawns, and using them to attract male laborers to the land. But government law permits individual appeals to courts for freedom on writ of habeas corpus or by direct proceedings against master or owner.

Press summaries of the report inform us that the Firestone Tire and Rubber Plantations Company has a clean record of operations. Other important findings include:

"Forced labor for motor-road construction, building, and public works, wastefully recruited, frequently ill-treated, in many instances diverted for official private use on farms and plantations without pay.

"Contract laborers shipped to the Spanish island of Fernando Po and French Gabun, recruited under conditions of criminal compulsion scarcely distinguishable from slave-raiding and slave-trading.

"Vice-President Yancy and other high government officials sanctioned and condoned the forced-labor system with attendant cruelties, and the use of the frontier force to convoy captured natives for shipment at the coast.

"Raided villages, burning, beating, torturing, and other outrages practised."

THE SHAME OF LIBERIA

Pause and letter thy name, L-I-B-E-R-I-A. Negro World

Art thou immuned from shame in Africa? 1-31-31

A hundred years the broadcast of thy birth New York, N.Y.

Of Statehood split the trumpets of the earth

To give emancipated slaves heart-ease

And sanctuary cross the thundering seas.

But thou? with bleeding whip and cruel lash,

Make Black Men slaves to stuff thy maw with cash.

Why—why no shades of thy ancestors come

To torment thee before the Day of Doom?

The League of Nations had to get thee told

To cease thy trafficking in Slaves for gold.

What niggard space divides thy Right from Wrong?

To what monstrosity dost thou belong?

Did not thy forebears conquer the Sea

With might to build a state for Liberty?

Canst thou claim kinship with the pioneers

In Freedom's volunteers of by-gone years?

How could the modern heirs of ancient braves

Make their less favored brothers chattel slaves?

How canst thou view them paralyzed with pains?

Do not these challenge thee in their slave chains

And terrorizing pillories of shame?

Liberia, pause and inspect thy name.

Where are thy hands with which to
hide thy face
In shame before the millions of thy
race?
What cat has caught thy spellbound
tongue, forsooth,
That makes thee stand there deaf
and dumb to Truth?
Wouldst thou escape heartache, cen-
sure and frown,
Set thy dark brothers free for hon-
or's crown.

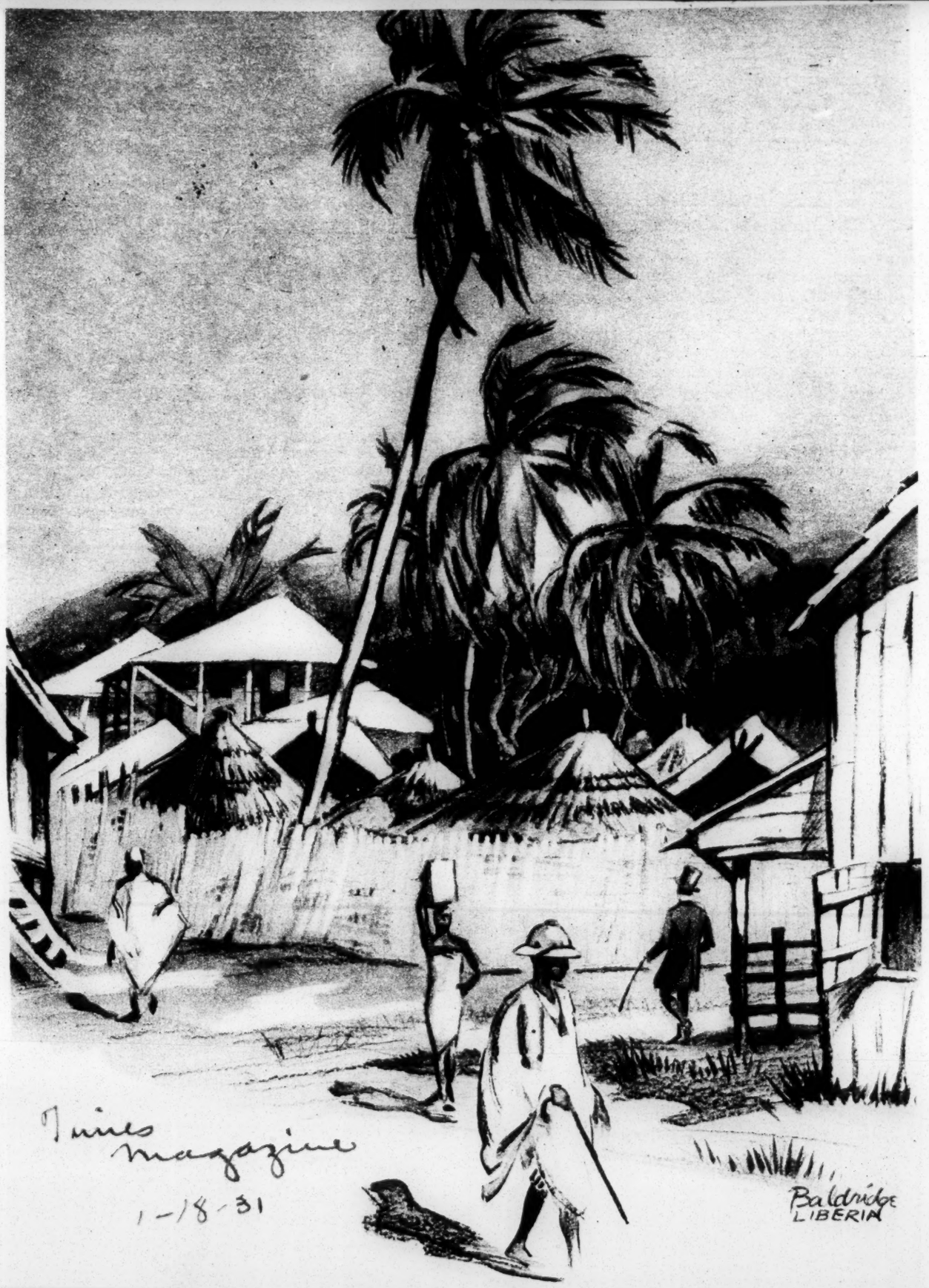
I wonder what the Witch of Time
has said
To thee about thy new Official Head.
Let him look forward to a better day
Of progress in statecraft, another
way,
Dispatch, each day, thy messenger
the sun
To tell what free Liberia hath done.

As proteges of those who sought
their graves
Rather than burdens and the yokes
of slaves,
An even-handed Justice speaks to
thee
Weighed in the Balances of Destiny.
Inspect and clear thy name, L-I-B-E-
R-I-A,
Wholly immuned from shame in
Africa.

—E. D. C.
(In St. Luke's Herald)

LIBERIA AND SLAVERY. 1-10-31

The report of the International Commission appointed last year to inquire into allegations of slavery and forced labour in the Republic of Liberia, which is being presented to the League of Nations Assembly at Geneva this week-end, has received strong endorsement from the United States. Readers of THE AFRICAN WORLD have already been supplied with an accurate forecast of the International Commission's report, and in the light of these disclosures they will scarcely be surprised to learn of the American Secretary of State's (Mr. Henry Stimson's) ultimatum contained in the State Department's note issued this week, to the effect that unless the twin evils of slavery and forced labour are speedily terminated, the result will be " the alienation of the friendly feelings which the American Government and people have entertained towards Liberia since its establishment nearly a century ago." While it is impossible not to recognise a close connection between the publication of the International Commission's findings and the resignation of President King and Vice-President Yancy a month ago, it is an unfortunate fact that a number of high Liberian officials who are closely involved in these unsavoury slavery allegations are still in office, and the reply of the Liberian delegate at Geneva to British Press comments has so far done little to dispel public uneasiness as to his Government's intentions.



'Monrovia Is a Lolling, Overgrown Village With Grassy Streets Which Trickle Into the Jungle."

Race Problem - 1931

Liberia

Africa.

Firestone Approves Of Checking Slave Trade

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13 (AP)—Harvey S. Firestone today urged Secretary Stimson to take whatever steps are necessary to end slavery in Liberia.

In a letter to the Secretary of State the Firestone Rubber Company executive expressed appreciation for the recent demand that slavery be abolished.

Firestone said his company, which holds vast rubber plant concessions in Liberia, had experienced difficulty in obtaining free labor upon which it always has insisted.

MEN COST $15 WOMEN $30 IN LIBERIA

Afro-American

Pawn System Used to Circumvent Anti-Slavery Laws

Baltimore, Md.

REPORT 227 PAGES

Col. Davis, U.S. Army Officer, Involved

Forced labor amounting to virtual enslavement was discovered by the International Commission of Inquiry into the existence of forced labor and slavery in Liberia, West Africa.

The commission's report, a document of 227 pages with an index by Dr. Charles S. Johnson, the American member, was made public officially by the U.S. State Department on January 10.

Its findings are based upon a three-months' stay in Liberia, and questioning of 414 witnesses.

Pawning

It uncovered a system of "pawning," a native custom developed to circumvent the first article of the Liberian constitution, which forbids slavery or slave trading.

Pawning is a system by which in return for money, a human being, usually a child relative, may be given in servitude for an indefinite period without compensation to the person held, and without privileges.

No person pawned can redeem himself, a third person has to do it.

The average redemption price for men since 1920 has been $15; for women, $30. Slaves may be sold from one owner to another.

Natives, and even chiefs in debt for goods or because of fines, pawn their children or their wives.

Pawned women were used to entice young men itno intimate relations. These men were then seized, fined and made to work out the fine on the farms.

Slave Shopping

The commission estimates that between 1919 and 1927 some 7268 natives were enticed by gin, tobacco and rice or conscripted by force and shipped to Spanish Fernando Poo.

Interior districts were ordered to furnish a quota of laborers for shipment abroad. If chiefs refused, they were whipped and fined $50 for each laborer short.

Old people in the villages were captured and tortured until their youthful relatives gave themselves up to the government slave raiders.

For each man recruited the late Postmaster General Ross received $50 from the Spanish consul. This fee was divided with others including President King, according to witnesses.

U.S. Officer Involved

Col. T. Elwood Davis, U.S. military aide to President King, was named by witnesses as assisting in conscripting laborers and in transporting money therefor to President King.

Work on Roads

Witnesses testified that they were compelled to work on public roads without pay. Chiefs were compelled to feed these workers and provide them with tools, including pots and buckets. A native late for work was fined 50 cents. "A whip was the only pay we got," one laborer testified.

Chiefs who declined to furnish road workers were fined, beaten, and deposed.

Village Women Testify

Village women in the Barrobo district testified that barracks for soldiers were built by them, working in relays of 200. "The soldiers used us as theri wives, we who had husbands and children at home. Our men could not protect us for the soldiers all had guns.

"Our custom, a law of adultery, is that when a woman bears a child she must prove that her husband is the father of it. We at the barracks could not do this. We have had to kill our children, and we pray the commission to put a stop to it."

Resort to Poison

Eventually things got so bad that in retaliation native women resorted to a poison "Sallicoco" (sasswood). In one place ten soldiers were poisoned.

President King himself used soldiers to catch women and compelled them to build large estates for himself and other high government officials in the interior.

Preacher Mentioned

Among others who made use of such forced labor were Secretary Morris. Rev. Cummings. Vice-President Yancy. Senator MacBorough, Secretary Harris. District Commissioner Carter and Governor Brooks.

Liberian officials always travel in the interior in hammocks toted by natives whom the chief is compelled to furnish without pay.

Firestone

The Liberian government not only collected one cent a head for laborers recruited for the "Firestone Rubber Plantation, but according to testimony, Liberian officials collected the pay of the laborers and used it for their own purposes.

Firestone was given a clean bill of health by the slavery commission, which asserted that the U.S. company employs 10,000 at 25 cents a day.

Barclay Mentioned

Even Secretary of State, now President, Barclay was involved in October, 1927. The commission cites a radiogram from him to S. A. Ross, late Postmaster General: "German steamer calling for 300 boys for Fernando Poo. This is last permisable shipment as a favor to you"—Barclay.

Later when he found that the natives had been recruted by force he rescinded the order.

The Spanish vice-consul. Parker, compelled to return home without his laborers. radioed: "Cannot understand Barclay."

"Book" People

An effort is made to keep interior people in ignorance, the commission found, and cited a case of a chief who was fined $50 for employing a boy to write a letter for him.

Civilized people are those who can read and write (know book); all others are regarded as uncivilized (natives). Uncivilized parents are advised not to associate with their children who have been educated.

RECOMMENDATION

The following are the recommendations of the commission (summarized):

The policy of the "open door."

Extension of education to all alike.

Native policy to be radically reconstructed.

Barrier between civilized and uncivilized to be broken.

Policy of suppression to be abandoned.

Humiliation and degradation of chiefs to cease.

Re-establishment of tribal authority of chiefs.

Complete reorganization of administration of the interior.

Removal of present district commissioners.

Substitution of European or American commissioners with assistant commissioners.

Institution of some form of civil service.

Rearrangement of the political divisions of the country.

Pawning and domestic slavery to be made illegal as preliminary to total abolition.

Shipment of laborers to Fernando Poo to cease.

Road program to be curtailed.

Much stricter control of Frontier Force soldiers.

Reconsideration of duties of Frontier Force soldiers.

American immigration to be encouraged.

$5,000 INCREASE FOR LIBERIAN MINISTER O.K'D

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Senate last Thursday passed the bill to increase the salary of the United States minister to Liberia from $5,000 to $10,000 a year. The bill passed the House April 17, last and now goes to the President for his signature.

The bill was reported from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Senator Guy D. Goff, Republican, of West Virginia, who obtained unanimous consent for its immediate consideration out of order. 1-24-31

Senator Goff explained that the salary of $5,000 paid the minister to Liberia was inadequate and is less that that received by any other foreign representative in Monrovia, none of whom has a higher grade than charge d'affaires. Those who do not have salaries equal to that of the United States minister have the benefit of allotments and perquisites.

Foreigners Better Paid

In 1925-26, the British consul general and the German consul at Monrovia each received a salary of $7,500 a year and in addition entertainment and household allowances. In 1926-27, the British consul general received $9,272 salary and $2,196 local allowance, amounting to $11,468, and in addition a house is provided for him.

The British legation, owned and furnished by the British government, is an elaborate 2-story concrete building with 14 rooms and appurtenances. Germany, France, and Spain also provide quarters for their representatives.

CHARGES FIRESTONE BURDENS LIBERIA

Buell of Foreign Policy Group Says Rubber Concession Terms Black Reforms.

1-14-31

OUR 'RECEIVERSHIP' SCORED

New York, N.Y.

Cooperation With the League Is Urged In Statement—Firestone Backs Stimson's Stand.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13. — Condemning as "onerous" the terms of the 1927 Firestone rubber concession in Liberia, R. L. Buell of the Foreign Policy Association, declared today that Liberia could not be reconstructed internally unless Mr. Firestone agreed to modify these terms extensively.

He asserted in a statement that to clear the ground for reforms it would be necessary for Mr. Firestone to waive his right of veto over a new refunding loan for Liberia, and to keep down his rubber plantations from the projected 1,000,000 acres to their present scope of about 55,000 acres with 10,000 workers.

Abandonment of the American "receivership" of Liberia for an international system also was declared essential by Mr. Buell, who investigated conditions there two years ago and wrote a report which contributed to the decision of the State Department that Liberia should consent to an investigation by an international commission.

The proposed refunding loan, Mr. Buell held, is "necessary to relieve Liberia of its present onerous interest burden."

Concerning the rubber development, he said:

"If he attempts to develop his million acres, employing 300,000 men, the native life and general economic development of the country will inevitably suffer. Inasmuch as the price of rubber has declined from $1.40 to less than 16 cents a pound, there is good reason to believe that Mr. Firestone will not attempt to develop his full concession, regardless of this international reconstruction plan."

"Protection" Plan Is Scored.

As to American "protection" of the republic, he said:

"Do we intend to continue to shield Liberia from the outside world in return for certain exclusive privileges but without doing anything funda-

nental to secure Liberia's regeneration, or are we willing to cooperate in an international plan for the reconstruction of the country, which will safeguard its independence and at the same time promote the humanitarian and material interests of the world as a whole?"

Mr. Buell charged that State Department policy toward Liberia "has proved a failure."

"No treaty," he continued, "has been concluded authorizing the President to designate officials for the Liberian Government. Such a provision rests upon a contract between Mr. Firestone and the Liberian Government—a procedure which is probably unconstitutional. Neither the American Congress nor the American people have been informed of State Department policy toward Liberia."

Sweeping Reforms Urged.

He went on:

"What Liberia needs is some well-organized and responsibly executed scheme, not only for financial reorganization, but also for educational, health, public works and native agricultural development. The United States and the League of Nations have cooperated in making an investigation into the affairs of Liberia. Why should not the United States and the League now cooperate in working out a plan for genuine reform?"

Exparessing opposition to any idea of an American protectorate, he continued:

"If its independence should now be terminated, imperialists will assert more vigorously than ever that the Negro race is incapable of self-government. he Negro in Liberia has not had a fair chance to prove his capacity. Foreign governments, bankers and business men have taken advantage of the country, immeasurably increasing its difficulties."

The State Department made no comment upon Mr. Buell's charges or suggesttions. It is continuing, however, to exert pressure upon Liberia—through Samuel Reber, Charge d'Affaires at Monrovia, and is awaiting the reaction of the Council of the League of Nations to the report of the International Commission.

Harry L. Firestone, in a letter received by Secretary Stimson today, reiterated his approval of the "firm stand" the United States had taken for the abolition of forced labor in Liberia.

LEAGUE PREPAPRES TO REFORM LIBERIA

Times
1-23-31

Supervision by an Internationa Commission Is Planned by Council at Geneva.

new york.

UNITED STATES WILL HELP

Countries With Possessions in Africa Embarrassed by Call for Inquiry Into Rule.

LIBERIAN ASSAILS AMERICA

Delegate Tells of 'Financial Slavery,' Paralyzing Nation and Preventing Change in Conditions.

By CLARENCE K. STREIT.
Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

GENEVA, Jan. 22.—In the words of its president, Arthur Henderson, the League Council this morning was "convinced there is a real, urgent need of taking immediate steps to remedy the most deplorable state of affairs" revealed by the report of the international commission of inquiry on slavery and forced labor in Liberia. What these steps will be remains undecided and will be the subject of conversations now going on among the League Council members and between Washington and the great powers. It is possible they will be left to a committee to decide before the Council again meets.

The plan which is the basis of private discussions is understood to be to arrange a temporary supervision of Liberia by an international commission composed of representatives of the five great League powers and the United States. Washington, it is reliably reported here, has expressed its sympathy with such a plan in conversations with the Ambassadors of the League powers, and Great Britain through her legation in Monrovia has suggested that Liberia request such a commission.

Difficulties have arisen because of the delicacy of working out such supervision over a sovereign State. Some believe it wiser to trust the mission to a small European power in the Council instead of the greater ones which have interests in Africa, with the exception of Germany, to whom some favor giving this rôle in Liberia in the hope that it will be a solace to her and improve the European atmosphere. The plan is understood to include financial aid.

Great Powers Embarrassed.

The great powers with African possessions were put in an embarrassing position by Dr. Antoine Sottile, an Italian who is Liberia's permanent delegate to the League, in his comments on the slavery report when it came before the Council.

"Basing myself on the spirit of the League and for specific reasons which I do not need to recall here," he said, "I venture very respectfully to ask the eminent representatives of the British and French Governments to say in all frankness if they have any observations, reproaches or criticisms to make in regard to the attitude of my government."

Foreign Minister Briand remained silent and Mr. Henderson, whose speech was much milder than had been expected, balanced between lauding the loyalty which Liberia has shown in asking for investigation and instituting reforms and deploring the "very serious state of affairs" which the report showed required even greater reforms.

Implying that the hands of others were not clean, Dr. Sottile said he hoped the "courageous example" Liberia had given in asking for an investigation would be followed by "other members of the League on whose territory there are cases of slavery and forced labor," saying he could prove its existence outside Liberia.

"Liberia has been called a land of niggers and barbarians," he said. "Well, let the white countries, let civilized peoples have the courage to follow the example of this barbarian country. Then we can say the League is fulfilling its mission."

So far none has volunteered to follow the example. Comment also was aroused by the silence of France and Spain, to whose colonies the report showed Liberian laborers had been forced to go.

Attack on America Seen.

Though Dr. Sottile did not mention the United States he made several allusions which were generally interpreted to refer to America. Declaring the Liberian financial position was the worst in the world, he urged that the slavery investigation ought to be completed with a financial investigation of Liberia, predicting it would result in "surprising revelations" and show "perhaps a financial slavery which is paralyzing the whole country."

This financial situtaion, which he said prevented slavery reforms, was "not due to my government nor the people of Liberia nor the world crisis" though he did not say to whom it was due. He declared Liberia had already asked the government of a country which "is very powerful financially" to name two commissioners in accordance with the report's recommendations, but that this government had demanded that it name not only "five commissioners but many more" and that Liberia accept all the report's recommendations.

"If the League of Nations in acceptable conditions offers us financial assistance, it being understood the sovereignty and independence of Liberia would be respected, and if the Council makes us a concrete proposition to facilitate the application of certain suggestions and recommendations, my government will gratefully examine these propositions," Dr. Sottile concluded.

The likelihood of such financial aid was increased when Dr. Cuthbert Christy, chairman of the international inquiry commission, told the Council that Liberia probably was unable to find material means for carrying out reforms, and Mr. Henderson, though stressing that this was not the kind of problem in which financial factors dominated, said he hoped the financial difficulties would be overcome.

United States Ready to Aid.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22. — The readiness of the United States to cooperate with other powers in internal supervision of Liberia for the institution of slavery and sanitary reforms was announced by the State Department shortly before the Council of the League of Nations met at Geneva.

The department communicated its attitude to the Ambassadors of Great Britain, France, Germany Italy and Japan here, and before it moves further in the study it will await the result of the present discussions at Geneva. No reports were received by the department today concerning the League Council meeting at Geneva.

Should a commission of five powers and the United States be constituted for supervision of Liberia it presumably could consist of the five gorevnments whose Ambassadors were notified of the American Government's attitude. Whether this plan would be desirable, rather than one calling for supervision by smaller nations, as suggested by some at Geneva today, is a question the State Department would not discuss tonight, pending the reaching of an agreement by members of the League Council as to the wisest procedure. When esuch an agreement is reached the State Department will be prepared to consider the problem further.

Although the necessity of a loan to Liberia to carry out needed reforms is recognized, it was stated officially tonight that no definite sum had been suggested.

LIBERIA.

Times
1-23-31
New York.

That the little republic whose very name boasts of liberty and whose existence was due to the efforts a century ago to provide a sanctuary for those escaping from bondage in our own country should now become a seat of slavery is a tragic irony of fate. What mocks the good intentions of the friends of Negro advancement, who hoped not only to benefit those who were transported to Liberia but also to contribute toward the civilizing of Africa, is the sad fact that their descendants have been treating the natives much as their ancestors were treated in the days of their enslavement.

The situation calls for censure, but one that is tempered by the consciousness that they are, after all, like children in political experience and that they have not had the guidance which people of their race have had here in America since coming into freedom. The Americo-Liberians, about 10,000 in number, who dwell chiefly in the capital, Monrovia, have held themselves superior to their primitive brothers of the bush and to manual labor. They do not employ the traditional forms of slavery with slave markets, but there is ample evidence that slavery does in effect exist in the form of forced labor at home on the construction of roads and other public works and of contract labor shipped to a near-by Spanish colony and to the French Congo. The compulsory nature of the recruiting for both has been such as to constitute virtual slavery. Happily, there is no evidence that the American companies with large interests in Liberia, in the development of rubber plantations, "consciously employed any but voluntary labor."

Attention should now be centred upon the remedial recommendations: extension of education to all alike (which, incidentally, should include such institutions for training in agriculture and industry as Hampton and Tuskegee); breaking down the barrier between the civilized and uncivilized; recognizing tribal authority; outlawing domestic slavery and stopping the shipment of laborers and encouraging business operations from the outside world, and especially the immigration of Negroes of education and character from America. Monrovia, named in honor of President MONROE, looks too far back for its models in political administration, in education, in democratic practice and in sanitation. We have a real moral obligation to help these descendants of Negroes whom we once held in slavery to do their duty by the two million natives whom the Americo-Liberians are governing. Liberia should become what its name imports.

Race Problem - 1931

Liberia

Africa.

Reports Of Liberian Slavery Discovered Well-Founded

Capital News Service

This series of articles was prepared by Mr. Schuyler after his visit to Liberia where he was sent by the publishing house of Brewer, Warren & Putnam, Inc., and also acted as special correspondent of the New York Evening Post. Mr. Schuyler is at present at work on a book about Liberia for the publishing house of Brewer, Warren & Putnam, Inc., through whose courtesy this series of articles is re-published.

In the Gola Country

When I entered the Gola town of Genne, just above the line of Grand Cape Mount County, the place seemed deserted save for a group of old men eyeing my party suspiciously from the veranda of the chief's house. No women, children or young folk were to be seen. It looked queer because the town is marked prominently on the maps. I called my Buzi headman to engage the chief in conversation and tell him who I was. Meanwhile, my stewards got out bags of gleaming salts and stalks of trade tobacco for presents or "dash."

American "Open Sesame"

When the chief heard the magical word "America" and noted that I was actually about to give him something, his whole manner and that of his advisers changed. They became quite cordial, hut doors began to open and people appeared from everywhere. Soon my little party was completely surrounded by curious Golas of all ages, and I learned to my surprise that the chief, whom I had first to address through an interpreter, spoke fairly good Engllish.

Later, over excellent palm wine the chief, a short, mustached fellow clad in a combination of civilized and native clothes, explained it all. The Liberians came so often, it seemed, demanding large quantities of produce for which they never paid, and whipping the chief and others if their demands were not satisfied; that the people of the town had taken to running off into the bush whenever a large party of strangers approached the village. It is the custom of the Liberians to go up country empty handed and return laden down not only with food, but furniture, ornaments and native cloth. Americans and other foreigners, the Gola chief assured me, are the only ones who pay their way in the back country. In addition to these unannounced visits, the chief continued, he ised forced to send monthly requisitions of rice and palm oil to the nearest Government post.

Two weeks later I sat in the palaver kitchen of the beautiful town of Voni Jessu in the Buzi nation and heard a similar tale from the lips of the very dignified chief through the medium of my headman-interpreter.

This chief was much more specific. He must furnish to the district commissioner, several days' walk from his town, eleven forty-pound hampers of cleaned rice and five gallons of palm oil every month. In the bargain, he must pay his taxes of four shillings and six pence per hut, two or three times a year instead of once. Failure to comply with these orders of the Liberian officials means that he will be seized, tied and beaten before his own people, who are taught to reverence and respect him.

Another Tale of Tribute

Two days later I sat in the palaver kitchen of the equally beautiful Buzi town of Sublema and listened to the chief through my interpreter tell an almost identical tale. His taxes are also collected two or three times a year but as he rules a slightly smaller district than his colleague at Voni Jessu, he must furnish to the district commissioner only eight forty-pound hampers of rice and five gallons of palm oil every moon.

Two weeks later I sat in front of the guest house in the newly built town of Goh in the Kpwessi country, while the funny little chief with braided hair, a skirt-like garment and a large native sword swung to his side, complained of having to twice pay hut taxes of five shillings in the space of one year besides sending to the authorities each month three forty-pound hampers of rice and four gallons of palm oil.

(Photo by George S. Schuyler)

VAI FARM, GRAND CAPE MOUNT COUNTY, LIBERIA.
From such farms as these the corrupt Liberian officials exact a heavy tribute in grain and cattle.

It is a mighty long distance from Genne to Goh and there are scores of towns between, but everywhere I found the story much the same. Those in America who buy their rice in neat packages from the corner grocer and pay hundreds of dollars, perhaps, in taxes every year can hardly appreciate what these exactions mean to the poor native in the Liberian hinterland.

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Let us take those neighboring towns of Voni Jessu and Sublema and total their tribute to their masters. Together they send in nineteen hampers, or approximately 760 pounds, of rice monthly, the total for the year being the enormous quantity of 9,120 pounds, or nearly five tons! The ten gallons of palm oil furnished by these two villages grow in a year's time to 120 gallons, or approximately four barrels! In addition, they must pay their hut taxes in British silver (there being no Liberian coin larger than a copper two-cent piece). This means that Voni Jessu, which has around 120 houses must pay taxes of 540 shillings, or $129.60, not once, but two or three times a year, according to the caprice of the Liberian officials.

The Liberian system of communications is terrible. Only trails are available and where the government sought during the halcyon days of the notorious Department of Public Works to build roads with forced native labor using sticks (and surveyed by the blowing of a horn), ignorance of engineering, coupled with rapid erosion and encroachment of jungle, has made them impassible for anything but foot travel. As the natives are forced to sell their produce on the coast if they are to get the British silver with which to pay their hut taxes, they must undergo a tremendous loss in sending carriers over the trails with rice and palm oil, the standard commodities. From a fairly central point it takes a carrier from five to six days to get to Monrovia and perhaps ten days for the round trip. His forty-pound hamper of rice will perhaps bring $1.50 if the market is high.

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What is true of the villages I have named is true of hundreds I have not named. They must all make their requisitions and pay their taxes in British silver, once and perhaps three or four times a year. Of course, there are few towns that can do it, with the result that the Government in most districts cannot collect more than one-third of the taxes. Generally the revenue collector or his messenger gets what he can and threatens about the rest.

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The carriers who take the monthly requisitions of rice and palm oil to the Liberian officials are seldom, if ever, paid, and villages en route have to feed them. Sometimes the round trip requires six or more days. Also, whenever the district commissioner or any of his staff travels abroad the porters whom they requisition to carry them from village to village are given nothing for their labor except occasional curses and buffets. The district commissioners have a travel allowance, but it is a standing joke that they never use it. They can always get plenty of strong young natives free to carry their hammocks.

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(Copyright 1931)

DAYTON, O.

NEWS

SEP 17 1931

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Liberia

Race Problem - 1931

Africa.

Reports Of Liberian Slavery Discovered Well-Founded

Tribune 1-25-31

Washington D.C.

Capital News Service

This series of articles was prepared by Mr. Schuyler after his visit to Liberia where he was sent by the publishing house of Brewer, Warren & Putnam, Inc., and also acted as special correspondent of the New York Evening Post. Mr. Schuyler is at present at work on a book about Liberia for the publishing house of Brewer, Warren & Putnam, Inc., through whose courtesy this series of articles is re-published.

(Photo by George S. Schuyler)

VAI FARM, GRAND CAPE MOUNT COUNTY, LIBERIA.

From such farms as these the corrupt Liberian officials exact a heavy tribute in grain and cattle.

In the Gola Country

When I entered the Gola town of Genne, just above the line of Grand Cape Mount County, the place seemed deserted save for a group of old men eyeing my party suspiciously from the veranda of the chief's house. No women, children or young folk were to be seen. It looked queer because the town is marked prominently on the maps. I called my Buzi headman to engage the chief in conversation and tell him who I was. Meanwhile, my stewards got out bags of gleaming salts and stalks of trade tobacco for presents or "dash."

American "Open Sesame"

When the chief heard the magical word "America" and noted that I was actually about to give him something, his whole manner and that of his advisers changed. They became quite cordial, hut doors began to open and people appeared from everywhere. Soon my little party was completely surrounded by curious Golas of all ages, and I learned to my surprise that the chief, whom I had first to address through an interpreter, spoke fairly good Engllish.

Later, over excellent palm wine the chief, a short, mustached fellow clad in a combination of civilized and native clothes, explained it all. The Liberians came so often, it seemed, demanding large quantities of produce for which they never paid, and whipping the chief and others if their demands were not satisfied; that the people of the town had taken to running off into the bush whenever a large party of strangers approached the village. It is the custom of the Liberians to go up country empty handed and return laden down not only with food, but furniture, ornaments and native cloth. Americans and other foreigners, the Gola chief assured me, are the only ones who pay their way in the back country. In addition to these unannounced visits, the chief continued, he is forced to send monthly requisitions of rice and palm oil to the nearest Government post.

Two weeks later I sat in the palaver kitchen of the beautiful town of Voni Jessu in the Buzi nation and heard a similar tale from the lips of the very dignified chief through the medium of my headman-interpreter.

This chief was much more specific. He must furnish to the district commissioner, several days' walk from his town, eleven forty-pound hampers of cleaned rice and five gallons of palm oil every month. In the bargain, he must pay his taxes of four shillings and six pence per hut, two or three times a year instead of once. Failure to comply with these orders of the Liberian officials means that he will be seized, tied and beaten before his own people, who are taught to reverence and respect him.

Another Tale of Tribute

Two days later I sat in the palaver kitchen of the equally beautiful Buzi town of Sublema and listened to the chief through my interpreter tell an almost identical tale. His taxes are also collected two or three times a year but as he rules a slightly smaller district than his colleague at Voni Jessu, he must furnish to the district commissioner only eight forty-pound hampers of rice and five gallons of palm oil every moon.

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DAYTON, O.

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SEP 17 1931

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NEW YORK HERALD-TRIBUNE

SEP 20 1931

Little Liberia Faces Foreign Intervention

Dr. Oxley, After a Survey, Advises League Plan of Outside Control Be Used

Co-operation Is Urged

Scourged by Fever, Its Tribes Illiterate, Land Is Riddle

By Hannah Dorner

Founded for the liberated Negro, where he might come into his own in his original environment, with the heritage of centuries undisturbed by the white man's progress, Liberia, the free Negro republic on the West Coast of Africa, has become within the last few months the object of international criticism.

With reports of slavery from the jungle interiors, of economic and social deterioration, of political corruption, of deep ignorance, the searching light of criticism was focussed earlier in the year upon the tiny republic by the League of Nations. Today it faces the prospect of foreign intervention which will bring its government up to the standards of modern democracies.

Work of Lifetime

Dr. Howard Oxley, United States adviser to the Committee on Education of Liberia, has passed six months in that country in an attempt to bring modern educational methods into the darkest interiors.

Back from Liberia recently, Dr. Oxley, in an interview, called the task of educating the tribes, whose culture he says is on a level with that of early paleolithic man, one of a lifetime. With proper funds and proper co-operation by the present Liberian government, Dr. Oxley estimates that in ten years schools could be established in each of the 3,000 villages that make up the country.

In his report to the United States Advisory Commission of Education, of which Dr. Thomas J. Jones is chairman, Dr. Oxley recommended that the government of Liberia adhere to the proposal of the League of Nations, which offers temporary foreign control that secure stability in the country. Finances to carry on the running expenses of the government, he believes, could be secured from American philanthropy and from the taxes and other fees collected by Liberia.

Scourged by Disease

It is recommended also that Liberia co-operate with the mission schools, and with the Booker-Washington Agricultural and Industrial Institute, in which vocational courses are taught the natives, and where, according to Dr. Oxley, a vast amount of faith may be placed for the future of the country. He also recommended that for educational purposes the country be divided into three regions—the northern section at Cape Mount, the central at Monrovia, and the southern at Cape Palmas.

"In order to make the progress of Liberia secure, one of the most important of the innovations that need to be made is proper sanitation," Dr. Oxley said. "Yellow fever and malaria are the two most common diseases there, and it is virtually impossible for Liberia to attract foreign capital, since the death rate is so high. Monrovia, the principal city, has only one hospital and two doctors."

"Must Have League Aid"

The primary need, Dr. Oxley asserted, is for an adequate, dependable permanent administration, which, without help from the League of Nations, it is virtually impossible to secure. There must be an equally adequate administration of the interior, he says, since the "world will no longer tolerate the outrages committed against the helpless natives by Liberian officials."

The reluctance with which President Edwin H. Barclay is viewing the proposal of the League of Nations to send foreign administrators into Liberia, Dr. Oxley believes, is only delaying its progress.

An international loan is seen as absolutely vital in ths country's needs. Roads must be built, since the seventeen tribes in the interior of the country are isolated by the jungles, and no sweeping changes could be made unless communication were facilitated.

A Primitive Country

Finally, Dr. Oxley calls for the development of agriculture. Agriculture has formed the economic basis of the country, and for centuries it has been the sole occupation of the natives. At present, the lack of modern implements makes agriculture comparatively unprofitable.

Socially and culturally, with the exception of American Negroes, and very few natives, the country dates back to primitive man. There are in all seventeen tribes which are divided into three groups, each with its own government All the ancient witchcraft still flourishes.

The "Devilbush" the only school there being an organization maintained by the "Poro" Society, a secret fraternity. There the young boy of six or eight is initiated into the ways of manhood. The young men learn the rudiments of husbandry, including the growing of rice.

Youth of Both Sexes Apart

The young women are inducted into a similar school, at the time when the boys at the end of their schooling are set loose. Thus both sexes are kept apart during adolescence and only when the marriage age draws near are they brought together.

There are 3,000 villages in the country, with an average of fifteen to twenty huts and from one to five living in each. Some communities have as high as 400 huts. There are several classes in Liberia, American whites and Europeans numbering about 100. The American Negroes constitute the highest cultural group, numbering approximately from 5,000 to 15,000; the civilized natives number about 25,000, and of the aborigines there are from 800,000 to 1,500,000.

Tells Liberia's Needs

Dr. Howard Oxley

Liberia constitutes 42,000 square miles of swamps, forests, rivers and dense jungles. The economic possibilities have not been developed because of the extreme poverty of the country, because of adverse health and because Liberian laws do not give sufficient guarantee to foreign capital, according to Dr. Oxley. The death rate in the country is tremendous, infant mortality forming the major portion of it. It is estimated that approximately one of four children die because of the lack of proper care and nourishment.

Land Is Fertile

Liberia is rich in land and cheap in abor. There are 43,000,000 acres of and more fertile than anywhere else n Africa. The agricultural possibilities are limitless and there are excellent facilities for thriving lumber industries. Rice, oil, coffee, rubber, tobacco, tea, lumber, fruit and minerals constitute the economic wealth of the country, but their potentialities would prove to be limitless if modern facilities were brought in to develop them, the survey shows.

The center of educational activities in Liberia is in the Booker-Washington Institute at Monrovia. There the chieftains of the tribes send their boys. The entering age is approixmately ten. The institute has seven grades, and one instructor for the academic work, J. B. Bar Rolle, whose father was a West Indian merchant, and whose mother is a Gallinean princess.

Use "Pidgin English"

The school year begins in February and runs until November with short vacations. English is the language taught, since the bulk of the business of the government is carried on in that tongue. Dr. Oxley said that not one boy in fifty knows his own age, and the best kind of English one can get from the natives is the so-called "pidgin-English," where only nouns and verbs are used.

Classes at the institute begin at 8 o'clock and are of approximately forty minutes' duration, with frequent rest periods in between. Courses are given in good manners, in hygiene and sanitation, in obedience and punctuality The ages of the students run from 11 to 25, with the majority of the students sixteen.

The method of teaching English, Dr Oxley explains, is through practical application. For example, students will learn the words "sit and stand" through a practical demonstration of their meaning. The prepositions, conjunctions, phrases, adjectives and adverbs are taught them much later.

Seek Professions

"The ready-money jobs appeal just as much to the African mind as they do to the American mind," he said "They all wanted to be lawyers, doctors, mechanics, one boy from the Mandingo tribe preferring not to work at all, while still another from the Kpese chose mechanics or nothing. Chauffering was a popular occupation."

The motive behind their choice, Dr Oxley believed, was due to the fact they had seen white people and American negroes in those jobs, and from all outward appearances the amount of work entailed was little.

"Liberia needs one good newspaper and a press service which would keep her people alive to the activities of the world. They have allowed themselves to follow false ideals which are entirely out of keping with the standards of the rest of the world.

"International control in Liberia at this moment would allow her to take up the reins of government within twenty to twenty-five years. There is a definite lack of systematic organization in their governmental activities and they need outsiders' help. As the native from the interior says when he sees the white men doing any thing more systematically and expeditiously than he: 'The white man he is fine. He know how do things.'"

Race Problem-1931.
Africa

International Commission for Liberia Asked for By Advisory Committee on Education in Liberia

State Department Willing to Cooperate With Other Nations to Assist Liberia— Mitchell Made Minister Plenipotentiary

The Adivsory Committee on Education in Liberia has sent to the U. S. Secretary of State resolutions urging the appointment of an International Commission for the purpose of seeing that the recommendations of the recent Slavery Commission are carried out and that the Government of Liberia may function effectively for the welfare of the Liberian people and thus enable the Republic of Liberia to take its proper place among the sovereign nations of the world.

The State Department has evidenced willingness to cooperate with other nations in order to assist the Liberian Government to improve conditions with respect to slavery, forced labor and sanitation.

The suppression of slavery is not the only momentous question to give America and the other powers serious concern. Sanitation is a vital problem. The constantly-increasing number of Americans and Europeans to die of yellow fever in the little republic has reached alarming proportions.

Failure of Liberian officials to cooperate with Dr. Howard F. Smith of the U. S. Public health service in putting over a comprehensive sanitary program was primarily responsible for the withdrawal of the British bank of West Africa. If the Liberian conditions should become so serious as to compel the American Mission Boards and the Colonization Societies to close their schools, the result would be a complete breakdown of the country's largest and most effective educational system.

Given Little Cooperation

Reports from reliable sources show that after Dr. Smith was sent to Liberia by the United States upon the invitation of high officials of the Republic, little cooperation was given him to eliminate yellow fever; that prominent Liberians refused to remove cans and barrels of stale water from their premises. Representatives of the Liberian Government have scouted the idea that yellow fever exists in Monrovia, even though certain diagnosis has been made by representatives of the Rockefeller Institute and other medical authorities.

This indifferent attitude has been stubbornly adhered to, despite the fatal illness with yellow fever in 1929 of W. T. Francis, U. S. Minister to Liberia, and James L. Sibley, educational advisor of the Advisory Committee on Education in Liberia. Unable to bring about necessary changes in sanitation, Dr. Smith has been recalled and is on his way to America.

The resolutions of the Advisory Committee pledging to the U. S. Government, through the Secretary of State, full supports in the efforts which may be taken to assist the Liberian Government to improve conditions with respect to slavery, forced labor and sanitation, are signed by the following representatives of colonization, missionary and educational societies.

Jackson Davis, New York State Colonizataion Society; Thomas S. Donohugh, board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church; J. E. East, Foreign Mission Board of the National Convention; Thomas Jesse Jones, Phelps-Stokes Fund; A. B. Parson, Department of Missions, Protestant Episcopal Church; M. Edwin Thomas, Board of Missions of the United Lutheran Church; Henry Litchfield West, American Colonization Society and George G. Wolkins, trustees of donations for Education in Liberia.

Mitchell Promoted

Folowing the departure of Charles E. Mitchell of Charleston, W. Va., newly made Minister Resident to Liberia, for his post of duty, the announcement came from Washington that President Hoover had sent his name back to the Senate for confirmation as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, with an increase in salary from $5000 to $10,000 a year.

This was done, it is reported, to increase Minister Mitchell's prestige in the conduct of any business necessary to advance the desire of this country to see slavery ended in Liberia.

It is also announced that the United States is prepared to accept membership on the international committee created by the Council of the League of Nations to end slavery and to improve economic conditions in the African republic.

Liberia

LIBERIAN GROUP DIDN'T OKEY WHITES ONLY

Afro-American

Dr. Charles S. Johnson denied this week that the Liberian International Slavery Commission recommended white officials for high positions in Liberia.

The commission in its report recommended the removal of five district Liberian commissioners now stationed in the Hinterland and replacement by a "European or American who must be honest, fair-minded and free from graft."

1-31-31

Says the report:

"The official commission's assistants as well as he, himself, would be chosen from the successful candidates of some form of civil service, examination for which might be held in Europe and America since the general standard required would be that of Europe or America, and it might be undesirable to admit as a candidate any person who had not visited one or other continents.

"Candidates for the senior commission would, of course, be required to pass a much more exacting standard than the assistant class; that these officials should be men of high moral standard and be able to regain the lost confidence of the natives is essential.

"To do this they would have to possess a previous knowledge of native affairs and have some groundings of routine indirect administration in the tropics."

Baltimore Md

London Times Editorial

The London Times, commenting on this phase of the report in its issue of January 12 said editorially:

"The Liberian commissioners are unanimous in their recommendation for remedying the principle scruples that afflict Liberia. It is absolutely essential, they consider, to obtain the services of white men. There must be an advisor or resident at headquarters and in every province of the interior the senior district commissioner must be a white official. If native officials are retained, they must be unconditionally subordinate to their immediate chief.

"The attempt to establish a civilized Negro state in West Africa has so far proved a failure, and it never can become a success unless the process of reorganization is placed under the supervision of white men.

"The Americo-Liberians, as the ruling caste is called, have established a government that will pass in Monrovia and the district immediately surrounding the capital. But its writ runs no farther. With hardly any exception, Liberian officials are incapable, ignorant, greedy and corrupt."

Dr. Johnson Denies This

Asked on January 23 to comment upon this, Dr. Charles S. Johnson professor of social science at Fisk University and a member of the commission, wired the AFRO as follows:

"The criterion proposed for selection of district commissioners was fitness rather than color based upon highest standard of native administration. It was deliberately placed upon this broad basis to avoid any suggestion of compromising standard by insertion of essentially irrelevant restrictions. It is my presonal conviction that the standard of efficiency and honesty proposed do not automatically exclude Negroes and that it would be most unflattering to them to consider any less exacting requirement."

LEAGUE MEASURE WOULD CURB U.S. POWER IN LIBERIA

Afro-American

WASHINGTON. — What is regarded in diplomatic circles as an international movement to curb the development of an American financial hold on the rubber industry in Liberia, cropped out in a project introduced in the League of Nations, Saturday.

The United States Government was invited to join eight powers in an effort to crush slavery in the Republic through a participation in a loan for this purpose.

1-31-31

Adopted Unanimously.

The proposal, which was adopted unanimously, was made by August Zaleski, Polish foreign minister, and provides for the creation of a commission composed of members representing Germany, Britain, France, Italy, Spain, Venezuela, Poland, the United States and Liberia, which would organize a state administration in Monrovia to prevent further slavery and otherwise protect the natives.

Baltimore, Md

Since the ascendency of the Firestone Company in the republic, Liberia has been somewhat under the wing of the U.S. Government. That other nations looked upon this growing control of the rubber industry in Africa askance, is known in all diplomatic headquarters.

While the recent report of the commission to investigate slavery in the republic gave the Firestone Company a clean bill of health, it is generally known that the manner of obtaining labor by this concern was through native leaders who forced some of the laborers to work.

The Polish minister also set forth that his proposal would halt slave trading with adjacent French, Spanish and British colonies. It is proposed to finance a new loan of from $10,000,000 to $20,000,000 to establish a stable government, to drive out grafters and the slave raiders responsible for the present conditions.

LIBERIA'S GREATEST PROBLEM.

While the attention of the civilized world has been concentrated on the little republic of Liberia, because of the fact that the charges of slavery have been confirmed to the extent of finding a system of forced labor equivalent to slavery, there is a problem of equal seriousness demanding attention. The question of sanitation is considered by those most familiar with conditions in Liberia to be equally vital to the wellbeing of the country as the suppression of slavery. This condition is not peculiar to Liberia. Most tropical countries in their progress toward a higher type of civilization have had to grapple with the problem of sanitation. On this continent, in such countries as Cuba, Porto Rico and Panama, where American interests predominate, the United States government stepped in and inaugurated the task of cleaning up those cities and towns, together with the adjacent territory, and uprooting the causes of disease. The United States Marine Hospital Service, under such scientists as Dr. Gorgas, has done yeoman service in wiping out such epidemic diseases as small pox, yellow feaver and bubonic plague from the Caribbean possessions under American control. Other South American countries have enlisted the services of American authorities to improve their sanitary service.

Liberia was offered the aid of an official of the United States Public Health Service to improve the sanitary conditions of its capital city, Monrovia, but it is alleged that the Liberian officials failed to cooperate in carrying out the program outlined. Hence the failure to eliminate yellow fever from the diseases that take such frightful tolls of Americans and Europeans who have to reside in Monrovia. Last week we recited the names of four of the American ministers to Liberia, who died at their post of duty. If the sanitary conditions are not improved it is contemplated that the closing of the schools conducted by the American mission boards and the Colonization societies may become necessary. Already it is reported that the British Bank of West Africa has withdrawn its branch at Monrovia because of the unsanitary conditions prevailing.

The responsibility for these conditions is laid to the unwillingness of the Liberian government officials to cooperate with the United States official of the Public Health Service, or to do anything of their own initiative to improve the situation. It was alleged that prominent Liberians refused to remove cans and barrels of stale water from their premises, and yet representatives of the government scouted the idea that yellow fever exists in the country. With such encouragement to the breeding of mosquitoes that carry yellow fever germs, it would be strange indeed if that disease did not exist and flourish in Liberia. Of course, the native residents may have become immune to its ravages, but the number of those from other countries who fall victims is but the natural result of such neglect.

This callous indifference on the part of the Liberian government to the reforms necessary to the development and well-being of the republic has exhausted the patience of nearly all those agencies maintaining relations with the West African republic. It also serves to explain the sharp tone of the State Department's remonstrances on the forced labor situation. The resignation of President King and Vice President Yancy have not altered the situation to any extent, as the same policy of empty promises and failure to keep faith seems to prevail.

Liberia has been regarded as peculiarly under the moral protection and tutelage of the United States. Settled by colored Americans it has evoked much sympathy and cooperation from the group remaining in America. But this sympathy will not condone such wilful neglect of opportunities as seems to have prevailed under the present government of Liberia. What Liberia needs is an able and honest administrator in the post of President, equal to the task of putting over a progressive public policy, that would provide for the suppression of forced labor or slavery and improve sanitary conditions. Unless this is accomplished and that soon, the republic will face a critical condition of being shut off from all the outside help that would help its progress to a state of higher civilization.

Liberia Asks Cash to Free Her Slaves

Money Is Worst Problem; Financial Help From League Requested

DICTATION RESENTED

Delegate Says Liberia Not an Accused State, but Self-Accuser

GENEVA — Liberia's permanent delegate to the League of Nations, directing sharp criticism at the recent report of an international commission on slavery in the Negro republic, today told the League Council his country repudiated any suggestion that Liberia could be compelled to accept the dictation—financial or political—of any "superstate."

Liberia's worst trouble, Antoine Sottile, the Liberian delegate said, is not human slavery. The African republic, over which the United States exercises a virtual protectorate, appears before the League not as an accused state, but as a self-accuser, he declared.

She would welcome financial aid from the league, he said, which would enable her to shake off financial bondage and maintain her sovereignty and self-respect. Nevertheless, Liberia accepts the international commission's recommendations for reform and is ready to carry them out so far as her resources permit. Those recommendations were common conditions. Vice-President Yancey, several district commissioners, and many other officials were found guilty of criminal participation in the shipment of forced labor under conditions described as scarcely dinstinguishable from slave-raiding and slave-trading." High officials of the Liberian government made use of forced labor on their private farms, often brutally, and ruthlessly. The report describes also the existence of domestic and tribal slavery, as well as the "pawning" of natives. As a result of these revelations President King, vice-president Yancey, and many other government officials have resigned, and a number of representatives have been expelled from the Legislature.

Let us hope that this shake-up, long over-due, will end forever the practice of slavery and forced labor in Liberia. Certainly the existence of such conditions there cannot be cited as excuse for similar injustices elsewhere. However, they do reveal the fact that human nature is pretty much the same, irrespective of race and that no racial group can ascribe to any other a monopoly of the instincts of selfishness and exploitation.

There are a great many mean white people, and more yet who are ignorant and misguided. Out of their selfishness they exploit those weaker than themselves; out of their ignorance and traditional misconception they condone and justify their conduct. It appears that, given similar opportunity, there are Negroes who do exactly the same sort of thing. One need not go to Liberia to find illustrations of that fact. They are numerous enough at home.

On the other hand, there are fair-minded, unselfish white people, and fair-minded, unselfish Negroes, trying to live in peace and justice with one another. Probably there is a larger number yet who are trying to be fairminded, but are so handicapped by traditional misunderstanding and prejudice that they find it almost impossible.

For both groups the lesson is obvious—a greater degree of consideration for one another, the effort to understand the other's viewpoint and to make allowance for his mistakes, refusal to meet him at his own worst level, and patient effort instead to enlighten him and win his understanding. That's a large order, of course; but in the last analysis, our interracial tangle can be solved by no other process.

Race Problem - 1931

Africa

Liberia in the Forefront.

WEST AFRICA has received a copy of a new book dealing with Liberia which is of special interest at this time. It is called "The African Republic of Liberia and the Belgian Congo," and is published in the United States by the Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., and in Great Britain by Mr. Humphrey Milford, the Oxford University Press, Amen House, Warwick Square, E.C.4. There are two volumes, and the price is £3 7s. 6d. net for the two. The work is based on the observations made and the material collected during the Harvard African expedition of 1926-7, and it is edited by Dr. Richard P. Strong, Professor of Tropical Medicine at Harvard University Medical School, who was the leader of the expedition. A fuller review will appear in an early number of this paper.

West Africa

Liberia, by the way, has suddenly become a "top-liner" in the British press, from the "Times" downwards, and a still larger "top-liner" in the press of the United States. This is in consequence of the appearance this week of the report of the Special Commission appointed by the League of Nations (Dr. Cuthbert Christy, the League nominee, Dr. C. S. Johnson, an Afro-American, the United States nominee, and Mr. Arthur Barclay, ex-President of Liberia, Liberian Government's nominee) to investigate the charges of slavery and forced labour in Liberia. The facts will not come as a surprise to our readers, for WEST AFRICA published a summary of the report several weeks ago For a number of years the Liberian Government, unwisely and censurably, has allowed the recruitment and shipment of up-country Liberians to Fernando Po, and, to a lesser extent, Principe. The system led to shocking abuses. There will always be, there have always been—the British Colony of Natal with indentured Indians was one case in point (happily is so no longer); the Rand goldfield is another—such abuses when two simple principles are ignored, namely, that those Africans who wish to work their own land must be left free to do so, and that those Africans who prefer to work for wages must be left as free as British people are to offer their labour in the open market and to refuse the wage offered if it does not suit them. In more recent years the Firestone Rubber Company of the United States got from the Liberian Government a lease of a huge area upon which it believes it can grow rubber cheaper than it can be bought from the British companies in Malaya. Reports reached the United States Government from Liberia of alleged excesses in regard to the Fernando Po labour. The United States Government complained to the Liberian Government, which asked the League of Nations to make inquiry.

Upon receipt of the report the Liberian Government declared its willingness to adopt the Commission's suggested reforms, so far as its resources allow. The proposed reforms include the re-organisation of the administration of the interior, with re-establishment of the authority of Chiefs and the installation, in at any rate five of the areas, of District Commissioners with European or American experience. The preliminary report was submitted to the Liberian Government on September 8 last. In a note on November 17 the United States Government complained to the Liberian Government that the reform scheme had not been begun, though "ten weeks have now elapsed."

Liberia

It is intended to devote several articles in WEST AFRICA to the League report and the new book.

Alleged Russian Slavery.

The General Committee of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society has decided to institute an impartial inquiry into the allegations of forced labour, cruelty and slavery, obtaining in certain Russian timber camps for the supply of timber to this country. The Committee is inviting members of the Society with legal and judicial experience to advise and if possible co-operate in the inquiry. It is also approaching two other humanitarian organisations with a view to making it a joint inquiry by the three bodies. The Society has taken this action with a view to ascertaining and publishing the facts, and also in view of the important dispatch issued by Sir Edward Grey in December, 1913, to the British Consular Service, upon the treatment of labour in which British interests are involved.

The dispatch above referred to, sent by Sir Edward Grey when he was Foreign Secretary, contains the following paragraph:—

"It is certainly desirable that sufficient information on labour conditions should be supplied to this Department to enable his Majesty's Government to take what action is necessary and possible to expose or prosecute British employers responsible for oppressive or inhuman labour conditions, and though . . . . these abuses do not in all probability come within the meaning of the word slavery, as used in the 'Consular Instructions' and in the Slave Laws, it is desirable that Consuls should carry out the spirit of the 'Consular Instructions' in that connection, and report the existence of labour conditions amounting to virtual slavery or entailing the ill-treatment of coloured labourers which usually accompanies that abuse."

At Last.

Amongst the appeals which are to be heard by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council during the forthcoming Hilary Sittings is that of Eshugbayi Eleko v. the Officer Administering the Government of Nigeria and another. The appeal will raise a question of Habeas Corpus and also the validity of deportation orders. This is the only West African appeal set down for this term.

Unilever Directorate.

It is announced that Mr. Leo Van den Bergh, of Berlin, has retired from the boards of Unilever, Limited,, and Unilever N.V. on his giving up active participation in the conduct of the businesses of those companies. He will be proposed in due course as a member of the "Aufsichtsrat" of Van den Bergh A.G. in Berlin.

Mr. John Cheshire, on account of advancing years, has also retired from the boards of Unilever, Limited, and Unilever N.V. (retaining for the time being his seat on the board of Lever Brothers, Limited); and Mr. Clement Davies, K.C., M.P. (a director of Lever Brothers, Limited) has been elected to the board of Unilever, Limited, and will be proposed for election to the board of Unilever N.V. at the next general meeting of that company.

Miss Ward of Sierra Leone.

It is stated that Miss Ward, of the Princess Christian Hospital, Sierra Leone, who came home by the boat just before Christmas, is not to return. Her health during the past term of service has been none too good, and at its close, fearing that she could not stand the ordeal of a public farewell, she simply "stole away." The official announcement of her retirement may be expected shortly.

Miss Ward may well ask to be allowed to lay down the burden she has so ably and faithfully carried for so long. She has 38 years of West African Service to her credit, and it has been continuous, save only for the regularly recurring periods of furlough. For the first six years she was a subordinate sister on the staff of the Princess Christian Hospital. Then she was transferred to the newly-formed Colonial Nursing Association, and was located in Northern Nigeria. For 18 years she served as nursing sister in the various hospitals of that Colony, and then in 1916, having earned and obtained an assured competence, she offered to return as a voluntary worker to her first love, the "Princess Christian." There for 14 years she has worked as honorary matron, esteemed and honoured by all for her own and her work's sake, greatly beloved by not a few, African and European alike.

Twice Miss Ward has been publicly honoured. In days long before the War she was awarded the Royal Red Cross medal. Then for services rendered during the epidemic of influenza in September, 1918, she was given the M.B.E. The manner of her retirement is entirely in keeping with her whole career. She has carried self-effacement to extraordinary lengths, and now she "steals away" that none may know of her final going till after she has gone. That she should be allowed to drop out without any public recognition is unthinkable. Hence this tribute.

Col. Stammers's Addresses.

At the London School of Tropical Hygiene Lieut.-Col. Stammers has begun another of his lecture courses for non-medical folk who plan to live in the Tropics.

Colonel Stammers's earliest experience of oversea service was in West Africa and the lessons learned then and later he is now turning to good account for the untried adventurers. On Wednesday his audience of 20, finely typical of Britain's young manhood and womanhood, will in a month or two be starting on the long trail, which most readers of WEST AFRICA know so well.

Colonel Stammers after asking during three years successive batches of students to write to him from oversea if aluminium paint on the inside of a sun-helmet was a good idea or not has at last heard from a lady in West Africa. This gadget, she says, is invaluable. She and her husband have tried it and proved it effective. The device was instantly recognised by a friend, she says, as Colonel Stammers's patent, first recommended at a Cambridge lecture.

Wednesday's lecture gave not only that but many valuable tips, which included the deep turnover in khaki shorts, to protect the knees from mosquitoes of an evening. Colonel Stammers was the first to introduce this to the British Army in Salonica, but one has seen it in Africa in pre-War days.

Speaking of waterproofs for the tropics Colonel Stammers emphasised the need of sewn seams, rather than the stuck-on segments. He showed as well how painting with lanoline and petrol makes an ordinary garment waterproof and yet ventilated.

He touched on the question of blood pressure and whether or no people of middle age can face the tropics. He instanced the case of a friend of his, now on leave from India, who went there at 50. He is now 85 and in a few months will return to his hard work as a missionary!

SLAVERY IN LIBERIA

Manchester Guardian Weekly

The Commission's Report

1-16-31 Manchester, Eng.

Slave-raiding and slave-trading, with all that the words connote in brutality, enforced exile, and the denial of human rights, is now found by international inquiry to exist in the negro Republic of Liberia. The inquiry, initiated in a League of Nations discussion and conducted by nominees of the Liberian Government, the League Council, and the United States Government, has resulted in a report attesting the facts, with grim details and documentary evidence.

Though the system of domestic slavery is discouraged by the Government of the Republic, though there are no regularly conducted slave markets or open slave-dealers, yet Government officials have made use of forced labour under conditions involving ill-treatment, and slaves have been recruited for shipment abroad, under "conditions not distinguishable from slave-raiding and slave-trading," with the sanction of Vice President Yancy and other high officials of the Liberian Government and for their benefit.

The Commission includes in its report a scheme for the reform of the administration designed to guard against corruption of officials. It makes a number of drastic recommendations including legislation against domestic slavery as a preliminary to total abolition, prohibition of the shipment of labourers to Fernando Po, and the re-establishment of the authority of tribal chiefs. The report will come before the forthcoming League Council.

The Liberian Government also explains that in following the advice of the Commission of Inquiry it will be acting voluntarily and that it could not be legally compelled to do so, especially as the Convention for the Abolition of Forced Labour, concluded in 1930, has not yet come into force. It will be recalled, however, that the report stated that conditions in Liberia violated the 1926 Convention.

An American Comment

A Note is also issued by the League on behalf of the United States Government which constitutes the commentary of the United States after the report of the Commission had been received. This Note says that the United States is profoundly shocked at the revelation of the existence in the Liberian Republic, especially in the name of human freedom, of conditions not only in tragic contrast to the ideals of its founders, but in denial of the engagements entered into by Liberia through its adherence to the International Slavery Convention of 1926.

The United States fears

That the forthcoming publication of this report will cause a revulsion of feeling throughout the civilised world against the Republic of Liberia, which international public opinion will hold responsible for the conditions and practices reported by the Commission. In view of the recent assurance of the Liberian Government that it accepts the recommendations and suggestions of the International Commission of Inquiry, and agrees to adopt them, the Government of the United States is convinced that the Government of Liberia fully realises that its prestige before the world will now depend upon the sincerity and effectiveness with which it puts promptly into execution the reform measures to which it stands solemnly committed.

LIBERIA PROMISES TO REFORM

(From our Geneva Correspondent.)

The Liberian Government has sent a Note to the League stating that Liberia accepts in principle the recommendations made by the Commission of Inquiry in its report on slavery and forced labour in Liberia and adopts their recommendations as a basis for regulating any improvement which may be made in the social policy of the Republic to the full extent of its resources.

The Note, however, limits the responsibility of the Liberian Government by saying that this will be done "so far as its resources will permit," and accuses the Commission of Inquiry of "ignoring the world economic crisis" in making its recommendations.

Vol. 24, No. 3.

THE COMMISSION'S FINDINGS

The Commission (Reuter reports) finds that although classic slavery, carrying the idea of slave markets and slave dealers, no longer exists as such in the Republic of Liberia, slavery as defined by the (1926) Anti-Slavery Convention does exist in so far as inter and intra tribal domestic slavery exists. Pawning is also recognised in the social economy of the Republic.

The Commission finds that domestic slavery is discouraged by the Government in that any slave who appeals to the courts for release may be granted his freedom on a writ of habeas corpus or upon direct proceedings against his master or owner. Evidence before the Commission showed that in some cases domestic slaves have obtained their freedom upon evidence of ill-treatment.

That leading citizens of the country participate in domestic slavery, but that there is evidence that some Americo-Liberians take natives as pawns, and in some instances have criminally abused the system for personal ends by taking women as pawns and using them to attract male labourers to their land.

That forced labour has been made use of in Liberia chiefly for motor-road construction, for building civil compounds and military barracks, &c., and for porterage; that this labour has been wastefully recruited and used, frequently under conditions involving systematic intimidation and ill-treatment on the part of Government officials, messengers, and frontier force soldiers; that labour recruited by county superintendents and district commissioners for public purposes in many instances has been diverted to private use on the farms and plantations of high Government officials and private citizens; that none of this labour has been paid, though paid labour may exist on the plantations. On the other hand, in Maryland some of this labour has been made to pay large sums to the plantation owners to be released from a term of unpaid and unfed labour.

That a large proportion of the contract labourers shipped to Fernando Po and French Gabun from the southern counties of Liberia have been recruited under conditions of criminal compulsion scarcely distinguishable from slave-raiding and slave-trading, frequently by misrepresenting the destination.

That labour employed for private purposes on privately-owned plantations has been impressed for this service on the authority of high Government officials. That there is no evidence that the Firestone Plantations company consciously employs any but voluntary labour on its leased rubber plantations; but this, however, was not always the case when recruiting was subject to Government regulation, over which the company had little control. That all the company's labourers are free to terminate their employment at will.

That the Vice President and other high officials of the Liberian Government, as well as county superintendents and district commissioners, have given their sanction for the compulsory recruitment of labour for road construction, for shipment abroad and other work, by the aid and assistance of the Liberian Frontier Force, and have condoned the utilisation of this force for purposes of physical compulsion on road construction, for the intimidation of villagers, for the humiliation and degradation of chiefs, for the imprisonment of inhabitants, and for the conveying of gangs of captured natives to the coast, there guarding them till the time of shipment.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Commission make the following suggestions and recommendations:—

1. Abandonment of the policy of the "closed door."
2. Extension of education to all alike.
3. Native policy to be reconstructed by
   (a) The barrier between civilised and uncivilised being broken down.
   (b) Abandoning the policy of suppressing the aboriginal people.
   (c) Humiliation and degradation of chiefs to cease.
   (d) Tribal authority of chiefs to be re-established.
4. Reorganisation of interior administration by—
   (a) Removal of the present five district commissioners and their replacement by a higher grade of officials as district commissioners or district administrators. It is thought that the senior commissioners should be either European or American. These officers to be selected by some form of Civil Service, examination for which might be held in Europe or America.
   (b) Rearrangement of the political divisions of the country.
5. Pawning and domestic slavery to be made illegal as a preliminary to total abolition.
6. Shipment of labourers to Fernando Po to cease.
7. The ambitious road programme of the Department of Public Works should be curtailed, if not closed down entirely, except in Montserrada County, where it can be under more efficient supervision.
8. Stricter control of the Frontier Force.
9. That section 1082 of the revised statutes be so amended as to delete certain clauses with regard to the duties of the Liberian Frontier Force.
10. American immigration be encouraged as tending to open up education links with American trade affairs.

Slavery in Liberia

Manchester Guardian

1-16-31 Manchester, Eng.

Vol. 24, No. 3.

Slavery and forced labour still exist in Liberia, the "Black Republic" of West Africa. That is the report made to the League of Nations by an International Commission of Inquiry. The Commission found that domestic slavery existed among the tribes of the interior; that human beings were "pawned" against loans; that compulsory labour exacted for public purposes was diverted to private estates; that labourers were forcibly conveyed to the coast, with the help of the Liberian army, and shipped to work on foreign plantations; that the Vice President and other high officials sanctioned these practices. The Commission recommended the prohibition of domestic slavery and pawning, no more oppression of the native tribes, and the replacement of chief district administrators by white officials. The United States Government has threatened the "alienation of friendly feelings" if reforms are not carried out. Mr. A. Sottile, Liberian representative at Geneva, has announced that his Government accepts in principle the recommendations of the Commission, whose report will be discussed by the League Council next week. (p. 50)

EX-SLAVE LAUDS ACTION BY STIMSON ON LIBERIA

Times

Action Merits Place With Deeds of Lincoln, Baltimore Clergyman Writes.

1-17-31

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 16.—Secretary Stimson made public today a letter from the Rev. Daniel W. Haye of Baltimore, a retired Negro minister, who was born in slavery, congratulating him upon his insistence that slavery should be abolished in Liberia.

"An ex-slave, now past four score years," the clergyman wrote, "wishes to thank you most heartily for your bold and timely action looking toward banishing slavery from the republic of Liberia. I consider it among the outstanding events of the present century. In its significance and out-reach it merits a place among the never forgetable humane deeds of our much beloved Abraham Lincoln.

"I consider the time not far distant when millions of our African brothers will rejoice at being set at liberty through your influence in removing the yoke from their necks.

"May God bless you abundantly and crown your efforts with glorious success."

"I deeply appreciated your letter, and I am in hope that the American Government, in view of the traditional friendly interests of the American people in the welfare of the people of Liberia, will be able to be of assistance to them in improving the conditions under which they live," Secretary Stimson said in reply.

Liberia

Race Problem - 1931

Africa

SLAVERY STILL EXISTS IN MANY FOREIGN LANDS

Liberia, Warned by Secretary Stimson, Is Only One of Nineteen Areas Where the Evil Survives

DESPITE the long effort to abolish slavery, millions of people are still held in bondage. That fact was emphasized anew last week by Secretary Stimson's note to the Liberian Government protesting against that country's dilatory policy in dealing with the problem and its apparent lack of sympathy with measures looking to the repression and eventual abolition of slavery within its borders.

The evil of the practice has been repeatedly emphasized and its prevalence brought to light by the activities of the League of Nations during the last decade in combating servitude in both Africa and the Far East.

Estimates of the number of persons now living under conditions of slavery range from 3,000,000 to 6,000,000. The three chief offenders among the countries of the world today are generally agreed to be China, Arabia and Abyssinia.

Early in September Lady Simon, wife of Sir John Simon, asserted in New York that slavery still existed in nineteen areas, and that the number of persons classed as slaves throughout the world had been conservatively estimated as 6,000,000. A few weeks later Lord Cecil, speaking before the League of Nations Assembly at Geneva, estimated the number at 5,000,000.

Beginning in 1922, the League of Nations gave centralized force and form to the various spasmodic movements for the abolition of slavery. In the next year a commission of eight men was appointed to go thoroughly into the subject. Two years later the Temporary Slavery Commission made its report in a document which shocked the world. The members of the commission were men with wide colonial experience. Their report stated that slave raiding, slave trading and slave owning, together with border-line systems scarcely if at all distinguishable from slavery, were widespread, and that these evils or the kindred evils of debt-bondage, domestic slavery, forced labor or "simpler acts" existed in nineteen political areas. While individual evidence and cases were withheld, the nineteen regions were specified as follows:

Abyssinia, Algeria, China, Egypt, Eritrea, the "Far East," the Hedjaz, Kufra, Liberia, Morocco, South Morocco, Rio de Oro, East Sahara, West Sahara, British Somaliland, French Somaliland, Italian Somaliland, the Sudan and South Tripoli.

Suppressing the Evil.

Most of those signatories to the League Slavery Convention whose territories were involved in the report began immediately to take action looking toward the eventual eradication of slavery from their dominions and the immediate mitigation of the attendant evils. Learning that the Arabian slave traders carried cargoes of human freight across the Red Sea in their dhows, the British Government undertook a patrol with armed vessels to discourage the traffic, capture offenders and break up the supply. French, Italian and British troops in other places kept watch on the routes used by slave-raiders and slave-smugglers. In Burma, British administrative officials followed up the release of slaves by inquiries about them on periodic visits. The Hedjaz and Abyssinia were led to outlaw the traffic and to cooperate with the League in suppressive measures. American influence was brought to bear in Liberia. The Governor General of the Sudan last year reported that of 13,000 slaves in the White Nile province 3,000 had been freed and the other 10,000 advanced to "a state of semi-independence needing no further strengthening" at the time.

Conditions in China.

In China, where unsettled conditions and lack of a strong central government have been stumbling blocks, repression is another problem. Slavery flourishes there chiefly in the western part although no less a dignitary than the Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking in the House of Lords in 1925, said that an eminent Chinese asserted that slaves, chiefly girls, were bought and sold in Shanghai in the midst of the European zones of influence.

Both President King and Vice President Yancey of Liberia resigned recently, it is believed, because of foreknowledge of the note from Secretary Stimson that failure of the Liberian Government to undertake "comprehensive reforms" would result in the "final alienation of the friendly feelings which the American Government and people have entertained for Liberia." The report of the International Commission of Inquiry on conditions in Liberia was termed "a shocking indictment of the Liberian Government's policy of suppression of natives, permitted, if not indulged in, by nearly all the high officials of Liberia, including the Vice President of the republic."

LIBERIAN CONSUL

Ernest Lyon, Liberian Consul located at Baltimore, Md., who was handed the scathing note of Secretary of State Stimson on November 17, which [illegible] preceded the resignation of President King and Vice President Yancey of Liberia. Subsequently, much diplomatic correspondence between the two governments has taken place, but despite assurances of Liberia that the alleged slavery conditions would be abolished, the United States is still not satisfied that any real reforms have been instituted, although official circles in Washington have expressed confidence that more will be done than League of Nations officials and some American and European newspapers seem to think.

SECRETARY STIMSON'S strongly worded denunciation of slavery in Liberia may, we hope, go far toward stamping out this evil, which continues its protected existence, not only in Liberia but in many other countries. The Stimson note placed all of the responsibility and a good share of the guilt upon the government officials in Monrovia. Without official protection, whether it be protection directly given or merely that of tolerance, slavery and forced labor would quickly die out. This is the lesson of the Stimson denunciation. It is a lesson that should be driven home to the delegates of the slavery-protecting countries at Geneva. The League of Nations has already done admirable work in this direction. It was a League commission, of which the American member was Dr. Charles Johnson of Fisk University, that investigated and uncovered the unsavory conditions in Liberia and named the officials responsible for them. It was this commission's report that prompted Secretary Stimson to take action. Similar conditions exist in Abyssinia and other countries, as pointed out by Raymond Leslie Buell in *The Nation* of December 24. That Mr. Stimson confined his denunciation to Liberia is due to the special position the United States has in that country. His strong stand will have the effect, however, of giving substantial and much-needed moral support to the League's campaign to abolish slavery and forced labor everywhere.

NEW YORK MIRROR

JAN 12 1931

Slavery Is Not Over Yet

Gentlemen from Harlem, educated in the Tammany tradition, seem to have made a mess of affairs in Liberia, where, it had been trumpeted, enormous trade developments were evolving under beneficent guidance of the Firestone Rubber Company and other American concerns.

The news from Monrovia and Cape Palmas is that many thousands of Liberians are migrating to Sierra Leone, British governed, in order to escape conditions of enforced labor, amounting to enslavement, imposed on them by "Educated negroes from Harlem" who have usurped political control since Liberia obtained an American loan of $5,000,000 three years ago. The British Bank of West Africa has withdrawn from the field because, as its managing director, Sir Roy Wilson, avers ambiguously, "There is no sanitation."

WHY LIBERIA'S PRESIDENT RESIGNED.

When it was reported early in December that President Charles D. B. King had resigned as President of Liberia, no reason was assigned for his giving up that office to which he had but recently been re-elected. Recent developments now show that the stepping out of President King and Vice President Yancey was a virtual removal of both these officials at the instance of the United States Government, as expressed through the demands of Secretary of State Stimson. This may sound a trifle odd, but when we recollect that Liberia has always been regarded as a dependency of the United States, because of its settlement by American Negroes, it is not so queer as it may sound. New York Age

Granting that Liberia is virtually under the protectorate of the United States which some time ago took charge of its finances and aided in its military training, there is every reason why its government should fall when its overlord expresses displeasure. 1-17-31 And there was grave reason for this displeasure, if we may judge by the reports printed of the inquiry into the existence of slavery in Liberia. While the commission appointed by the League of Nations to investigate this matter declared that classic slavery, carrying the idea of slave markets and slave dealers, no longer exists it charged that domestic slavery does exist of an intertribal and intratribal nature. It found that domestic slavery was discouraged by the government to the extent that any slave who appeals to the courts may be granted freedom. New York 21-4

Forced labor has been made use of on roads in Liberia and for other purposes frequently under conditions involving systematic intimidation and ill treatment on the part of government officials. Contract laborers were shipped to Fernando Po and to the French Congo under conditions of criminal compulsion. Labor was also impressed for private purposes on the authority of high government officials. No evidence was found, however that the Firestone Company, the American concern holding a rubber concession, consciously employed any but voluntary labor on its leased rubber plantation.

Scores of orders were cited making labor levies on tribes for men, who were shipped to Fernando Po and other points out of the country. Many of these men died while away and never returned, others returned with but little money. The commission reported one town almost wiped out because of the drafting of so many of the male inhabitants as forced labor. Torture was also used to enforce the demands for laborers, while soldiers were charged with flogging men, women and children and stealing their possessions.

In fact, the conditions reported to exist in Liberia, with the aid and connivance of government officials, sound remarkably like the conditions reported to exist on the peonage farms of Georgia and in the county convict camps of Florida. Secretary Stimson is perfectly right in insisting that a Liberian government that could countenance such a system of forced labor and domestic slavery should retire from office and give way for reforms. It is too bad that the Secretary of State or the Secretary of Labor, or some other official cannot bring about a similar reform in those states of the Union where peonage and the vicious system of tenant farming prevail. These systems as truly constitute a state of domestic slavery as that which is reported to prevail in Liberia.

As the League of Nations can hardly be expected to intervene in the internal affairs of this country, even if it allows slavery to exist within its borders, we must look to the Federal Government to continue its campaign against peonage through the Department of Justice.

R. L. Buell Says Rubber Concessions Are Unfair

Foreign Policy Ass'n Official Scores U. S. "Receivership"

CALLS IT HANDICAP

Liberia Never Given A Chance, Authority Declares

Norfolk Journal & Guide 1/24/31

Special To Journal and Guide

WASHINGTON, D. C.— The terms of the 1925 Firestone rubber concession in Liberia were termed "onerous" by H. L. Buell, white, of the Foreign Policy Association, who declared that Liberia could not be reconstructed internally unless Mr. Firestone agreed to modify these terms extensively, waive his right of veto over a new refunding loan for Liberia, and keep down his rubber plantation from the projected 1,000,000 acres to their present scope of about 55,000 acres with 10,000 workers.

In his statement made public here last week Mr. Buell also said that abandonment of the American "receivership" of Liberia for an international system was essential.

Mr. Buell investigated conditions there two years ago and wrote a report which contributed to the decision of the State Department that Liberia should consent to an investigation into the alleged slavery conditions by an international commission.

The proposed refunding loan Mr. Buell held, is "necessary to relieve Liberia of its present onerous interest burden."

Concerning the rubber development, he said:

"If he attempts to develop his million acres, employing 300,000 men, the native life and general economic development of the country will inevitably suffer. Inasmuch as the price of rubber has declined from $1.40 to less than 16 cents a pound, there is good reason to believe that Mr. Firestone will not attempt to develop his full concession, regardless of this international reconstruction plan."

"Protection" Plan is Scored

As to American "protection" of the republic, he said:

"Do we intend to continue to shield Liberia from the outside world in return for certain exclusive privileges, but without doing anything fundamental to secure Liberia's regeneration or are we willing to cooperate in an international plan for the reconstruction of the country, which will safeguard its independence and at the same time promote the humanitarian and material interests of the world as a whole?"

Mr. Buell charged that State Department policy toward Liberia "has proved a failure."

"No treaty," he continued, "has been concluded authorizing the President to designate officials for the Liberian Government. Such a provision rests upon a contract between Mr. Firestone and the Liberian Government—a procedure which is probably unconstitutional. Neither the American Congress nor the American people have been informed of State Department policy toward Liberia."

Sweeping Reforms Urged

He went on:

"What Liberia needs is some well-organized and responsibly executed scheme, not only for financial re-organization, but also for educational, health, public works and native agricultural development. The United States and the League of Nations have cooperated in making an investigation into the affairs of Liberia. Why should not the United States and the League now cooperate in working out a plan for genuine reform?"

Expressing opposition to any idea of an American protectorate, he continued:

"If its independence should now be terminated, imperialists will assert more vigorously than ever that the Negro race is incapable of self-government. The Negro in Liberia has not had a fair chance to prove his capacity. Foreign governments, bankers and business men have taken advantage of the country, immeasurably increasing its difficulties."

The State Department made no comment upon Mr. Buell's charges or suggestions. It is continuing, however, to exert pressure upon Liberia—through Samuel Reber, Charge d'Affaires at Monrovia, and is awaiting the reaction of the Council of the League of Nations to the report of the International Commission.

Harry L. Firestone, in a letter received by Secretary Stimson last week reiterated his approval of the "firm stand" the United States had taken for the abolition of forced labor in Liberia.

Stimson Bill Asks Congress To Keep Aged Negro in Office

N.Y. Times 1-5-31

By The Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 4.—At the suggestion of Secretary Stimson, a bill will be introduced in Congress to permit a Negro of 85 to continue his fifty-nine years of service in the State Department as long as he is needed. The bill will be introduced by Representative Fish of New York, whose grandfather, a former Secretary of State, gave work to the Negro in 1871. New York 21-4

The employe, Eddie Augustine Savoy, is a familiar figure around Mr. Stimson's office. His duties consist of announcing visitors who call on the Secretary of State. He has demonstrated a remarkable memory for faces, names and titles. He is slated for retirement next August on account of old age under a civil service order.

Race Problem – 1931

Liberia

Africa

THE LIBERIAN REPORT

The Negro press is up in arms—joining the white press in bombarding the Liberian Government—after hearing "officially" the report of an investigating commission sent to Liberia at the request of the State Department. According to the report, bondage is still widespread in Liberia, while lashes and chains are still in constant use. A deplorable set of circumstances!

Washington World

The American Negro—who left this country during slavery times—is accused of thus treating his unfortunate and illiterate native brother. The conditions mentioned are doubtless true; but there are several things to be considered before spreading a general alarm. First, what could be expected of the handful of ex-slaves who were dumped back into the African jungle to establish for themselves a free government? Secondly, who has been responsible for the education of these ignorant blacks, who have struggled to maintain some form of government on those fever-infested coasts? Thirdly, who has the right to examine the internal affairs of that country?

1-16-31

With only the background of slavery as a pattern of government, the founders of Liberia have pursued an expected course. Accustomed to seeing the exploitation of weaker races, they knew no better. They used the knowledge that they had gained by contact with American civilization, to further their own ends, as had done their former masters in America's Southland. Their actions were, and still are, the result of ignorance—an ignorance that has lingered because of the lack of educational opportunity.

The entire burden of education in Liberia has fallen upon the missionaries of the church—and the workers have been few compared with the gigantic proportions of the task. The Negro has been only luke warm in his assistance to the cause of missions in Liberia. On the other hand, our Government has had most of its dealings with corrupt Liberian officials. No assistance has reached the people in the form of schools. How were the Liberians expected to learn any more or any faster than they have learned?

Washington

The investigating commission reports a system of pawning in Liberia. They find no evidence, they say, that leading citizens participate in domestic slavery, nor did they see any slave markets or slave dealers. Of course they found no evidence of slavery being practiced by the Firestone Company, which operates vast rubber plantations in Liberia.

Liberia

The situation presents a sorry picture. The two aspects of this picture are: (1) the Negro falling down on the job, and (2) the United States getting ready to pull a land-grab act (a la Haiti). The Negro press, if it must complain, should place the blame where it belongs—on the American Negro, who has all but disinherited his brother in Liberia; and upon the United States Government, that is taking a sudden interest in Liberian affairs since Mr. Firestone invested a few millions. By the way, an investigating commission could find about as many "peons" in Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama as it could find "pawns" in Liberia.

SLAVE TORTURE AND MURDERS IN LIBERIA ARE TOLD IN REPORT

Argus

Children Are Pawned For Debts of Families. Necks Are Broken With Stone Baskets

1-16-31

LABOR IS SHIPPED AND NEVER RETURN TO HOME

St. Louis, Mo.

Result of Survey Published by United States; Demand Abolishment of the Practice.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 15. — The long awaited publication of the report of the League of Nations' international commission on investigation of slavery in Liberia, was released Saturday unfolding to the world a tale of murder, torture and oppression inflicted upon thousands of colored people in this land which had been primarily founded to evade such evil.

Tell Of Deplorable State

The report, prepared by a Briton, Liberian and an American Negro (the American being Dr. Charles Johnson of Fisk U.) cited that although the commission found that actual slave markets and professional slave dealers did not exist, the timid and halting testimony of hundreds was replete with evidence of domestic slavery and "pawning.

These natives told of raids on their villages by armed officials, who gathered up hundreds of "boys" to ship to the Spanish island of Fernando Po, whence few returned; of forced work on jungle roads; of children being "pawned" for the debts of their elders; of extortion by officials; of torture by fire; of whippings; of native necks broken by huge baskets of stone hoisted on their heads by road masters, and of the forced isolation of parents from their educated children.

Commission Makes Recommendations

The commission recommended:

That dishonest and corrupt district commissioners be replaced by educated humanitarians recruited from Europe and America.

That pawning and domestic slavery in Liberia be made illegal, as a preliminary to total abolition.

That shipment of labor to Fernando Po be abandoned.

That American immigration be encouraged.

That an "open door" policy be substituted for the present ban on aliens.

That education (now confined to the "upper class") be extended to all Liberians alike.

That Liberia's extensive road program be curtailed.

Liberia has accepted these recommendations "in principle," but the State Department has insisted on more adequate and concrete guarantees.

Subjected To Cruelties

One native testified that, after being beaten, "soldiers put my foot between two pieces of hard wood and then tied the ends of the sticks together.

"The tighter the ropes were drawn the more the sticks pressed into my flesh," he said.

This punishment was inflicted because a soldier thought the native had lied to him.

Vice President Yancy, who recently resigned under pressure, appeared in the report as a magnified "Simon Legree of Liberia."

Demanded "Boy" Shipments

According to native testimony, he made a practice of demanding young men from villages be shipped to Fernando Po. He was said to have punished and fined the village elders if the "boys" were not forthcoming.

A native chief, Jeh, testified Yancy had taken 500 young men from his town. He then demanded 200 more.

"They cannot go," Jeh said. "It will destroy our country."

"When Superintendent Yancy (this was before he became Vice President) heard that Jeh was refusing to send the 200 additional men," the report said, "he became vexed and sent a large company of soldiers to take the men."

Men, women and children were flogged. Whole towns were depopulated by wholesale recruiting of labor for Fernando Po.

Wails Set to Music

The commissioners found native women singing this crude refrain:

"Tell us,
"Yancy, why?
"Yancy, why?
"Wedabo women have no husbands,
"Yancy, why?
"Wedabo women have no brothers
"Yancy, why?
"Mothers, fathers sons have died
"Waiting for the return,
"Yancy, why?"

Liberia's extensive road program is being carried out by forced labor, the investigators found. These workers were found to be subjected to brutal masters. They work without pay, are forced to supply their own tools and fined for tardiness. Many of the laborers seen on the roads were under 16.

LIBERIA QUALIFIES ACCORD ON SLAVERY

Herald Tribune

1-13-31

Promises to Adopt League's Recommendations "to Full Extent of Resources."

New York,

PLEA FOR A LOAN IS SEEN

N. Y.

Emphasis on Financial Situation Regarded as Bid for Credits as Prerequisite to Real Action.

By CLARENCE K. STREIT.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

GENEVA, Jan. 12.—In a note to the League of Nations dated Jan. 9 which the Secretariat released today, Liberia formally accepts in principle all the recommendations of the commission of inquiry on slavery and promises to adopt them to "the full extent of her resources."

The move is thought to be a direct result of the recent stiff note from Washington and the American memorandom, the texts of which also were released here today as League documents to be circulated by the League "at the request of the government of the United States" to all parties to the slavery convention "for their information."

The Liberian delegate to the League, Antoine Sottile, in his note says, "My government, being desirous of giving evidence of its sincerity by definte acts at the earliest possible moment, has instructed me to make the following declaration to you: 'The government of the Liberian Republic accepts in principle the recommendations made by the International Commission of Inquiry

in its report on slavery and forced labor in Liberia and adopts these recommendations as a basis for regulating any improvement which may be made in the social policy of the republic to the full extent of its resources.'

Explains Limitation.

"You will observe that my government, again acting in the frank and loyal spirit in which it set up the International Commission of Inquiry, is firmly resolved, so far as its resources will permit, to adopt the suggestions submitted for its guidance, which no government could legally or politically be compelled to accept, more particularly since the convention for the abolition of forced or compulsory labor concluded in 1930 has not yet come into force.

"I said 'so far as its resources will permit' because the commission in making its recommendations seems to have ignored the world economic crisis, which is particularly severe in Liberia, and they very precarious financial position of the country.

"I feel sure, in view of this declaration, that no member of the League and no non-member State can now question my government's good faith and sincerity.

"I would ask you to bring the foregoing as rapidly as possibly to the knowledge of the Council of the League of Nations and to publish it."

This promise seems reiteraot be

This promise seems to be a reiteration of one which the American memorandum of Nov. 17 says the President of Liberia made to Washington on Sept. 30, and consequently it is doubted here that it will have the effect which Mr. Sottle hopes for.

These doubts are greater since it makes no pledges in regard to retaliatory measures against commission witnesses or other charges which Washington made in its memorandum.

British May Raise Discussion.

The points which the memorandum raises in connection with the Liberian Government's attitude toward the commission and policy since the report was made are likely to be aired in the coming Council session by the British, it is reported. The American Government's action in informing the parties to the convention of its note and memorandum obviously makes it difficult for the Council to ignore their contents.

The Liberian note's emphasis on Libera's limited financial resources is regarded as a bid for a loan as a prerequisite to the real action against slavery which Washington demands. Since it is believed unlikely that any financial help will be given to Liberia without strong guarantees, this move is thought to raise far-reaching possibilities.

The forced labor convention to which Liberia refers as not being yet in force is one framed by the International Labor Conference and has nothing to do with the slavery convention to which the Unietd States refers and which is in force.

The American Government's note to the League, dated Dec. 23, transmitting its Liberia note, begins, "The Secertary of the United States presents his compliments to the Acting Secretary General of the League of Nations and has the honor to transmit herewith for the information" of the parties ot the slavery convention the above documents. Both the action and its politeness created satisfaction here—and one comment among European press correspondent here is, "It's a far call from the days when Washington refused even to acknowledge a League communication."

HIDDEN DRIVE AT AMERICA IN LIBERIAN SLAVERY ROW

Advertiser 1-25-31

Campaign Before League Of Nations Directed At Two African Countries In Which We Are Taking Particular Interest; Objest Is To Get Them Under League Influence Through A Mandate; American Rubber Industry Has Worried British; Our Activity In Abyssinia Has Balked Britain, Italy And France; That Is Why Stimson Forestalled The League Council In Dealing With Liberia As American Protege.

By EUGENE J. YOUNG.

It was about 60 years ago that European statesmanship awakened to the possibilities underiying a well-conducted crusade against the slave trade. If the agitation were strong enough, and the moral conscience of Europe and the world were sufficiently aroused, it was possible to send a military expedition to put down this traffic; and then the military would have to remain to keep it down; and then it would be necessary to take over the government; and then the high-principled nation that had been moved by ideals of reform would find itself in possession of a fine new colony

It was in 1869 that the Khedive of Egypt, under British protection, sent a British-led expedition into the Sudan to "strike a direct blow at the slave trade." Later other expeditions were sent; and they did not halt their campaigns until the Anglo-Egyptians were in secure possession of the upper waters of the White Nile. Finally Egypt was practically moved out of this partnership and now Britain has the Sudan.

France had the slave trade as an excuse for the invasion of Morocco and other parts of northwest Africa. Belgium, Portugal and finally Germany and Italy found it a convenient pretext for getting a share of the rich virgin territory.

Striking at America.

Hence there is reason to have a good look into the backgrounds of the vigorous campaign against slavery which has been worked up in the League of Nations; and there is special reason for Americans to do so and to preserve an air of cynicism until they are certain that the campaign is altruistic and not diplomatic. There is excellent basis for the thought—in which the Washington State Department shares—that Europe is not only looking for some practical results for its own imperialism out of this crusade but also sees a chance to halt the march of American influence and industry into Africa.

It is a very curious fact that this present movement centers on two countries in which we have shown a marked interest. Liberia is, of course, an American protectorate. It gives us the right to say we are an African power and to insist we shall have a voice in African affairs. Besides our industry is making it a formidable rival of the British and Rutch rubber industries. Abyssinia, the other country under fire as slave-ridden, has opened close diplomatic relations with us and proclaims its intention of putting itself under our guidance. In the course of this policy it is having Americans develop the control of the upper waters of the Blue Nile which seriously interferes with British plans to take possession of these waters.

And, in the case of both countries, there has been a determined effort in the European press to link American industry up with the slave traffic thus pointing the moral that we cannot be trusted to put an end to it and that some nation or nation of proved anti-slavery record should get a mandate from the League to go in and clean up the situations.

League Action Forestalled.

Evidence that the State department shares in this view is amply furnished by the course it has taken in the Liberian field. It had been the intention of the British and other members of the League of Nations Council to make a big issue of the report which has been made by an international commission, conclusively proving that slavery does exist in Liberia and that the American Firestone rubber interests have employed slave labor in some of its work of starting a rubber forest. Before the council could meet and act Secretary of State Stimson took the matter in hand in a decisive fashion.

Acting as the protector of Liberia we have insisted that the commission report is correct and that definite measures must be taken to end the slave trade and cure other abuses. We have had the president put out of office and are overseeing the reorganization of the government. The Firestone and other interests are pledging their own efforts to see that the policy of the State Department is carried out.

So the League Council has met to find itself in the presence of an American declaration of priority of influence. It cannot take any action in the direction of a mandate to any European power without coming into direct conflict with us; a thing it does not want to do. We are willing to consult with the League on what is to be done, but notice has been given that we and not the League will see to the doing of whatever is decided on.

It is because of these circumstances that the Liberian issue has taken such a prominent place in news and comment here and abroad. The test was whether America could be moved out of Africa; and we have met that test by declaring decisively that we are in Africa to stay.

Must Expect Irritation

This country must be prepared, however, for much irritation before the slavery issue is settled—if it should ever be. There are excellent reasons why European powers should try to keep it alive and keep us irritated in the hope that we will get weary of it and want to let someone else take the burden and the onus of dealing with it.

First, Liberia is a prize for any colony-hunting imperial nation. It is about the size of Pennsylvania, with a coast line of 350 miles on the western tip of Africa. It has great forests and rich soil and can be made a great producer of rubber, coffee and other things. Its population is now only 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 but it could support many more people

Strategically it is important. Britain would like to add it to her Sierra Leone colony, which could thus be made strong enough to stand out against the encircling French colonies to the North, East and West. France would like to have it as an additional outlet for the rich region it is developing to the North. Or it might be used to give some satisfaction to the German claim for colonies if it could be wrested from America.

Britain, however, has a most particular interest in seeing us put out and in getting control if that should be possible. The Firestone interests have 1,000,000 acres of land which they are rapidly developing for rubber production in the most modern fashion; and when this rubber is produced it will come into competition with the British East Indies and add to the troubles already produced by the Dutch in that region. Also it will tend to make America independent of British rubber; which had been counted on to pay a large part of the debt to us.

British Penetration Halted

In fact, the British had made definite strides towards taking over Liberia. America was responsible for the free Republic, which had been established in 1847 to take care of freed slaves of this country, but our interest had become lukewarm if not cold. Hence, late in the last century and early in this one, the British started on a policy of penetration, establishing trade routes and traders and finally putting in their own bank. They were gathering the whole thing into their capable hands when America woke up.

What the British want is a mandate to go after the slave-trade.

We shall have difficulty in meeting this campaign. We cannot forestall the League as we did in Liberia, because we have no protectorate: Still we have a minister in Abyssinia; and we can let the League know we want the country to stay independent. As we undoubtedly will do.

Our first idea of the value of this protectorate came early in the century when British and other moralists raised a cry over slavery in the Belgian Congo and an international commission of inquiry was proposed. Then certain far-sighted Americans—including President Theodore Roosevelt—decided we were foolish to let outselves be pushed out of Africa. They saw in Liberia the chance to declare ourselves an African power; and the upshot was our insistence on being included in the commission to inquire into the Belgian Congo; our further insistence on letting Belgium keep the Congo and clean up its own mess without the interference of stronger imperial powers; and finally the definite entrance of American interests into the Congo through large grants given by Belgium as a matter of gratitude and insurance.

So it came about that we took up the Liberian protectorate again; that in 1912 we took control of the customs; and since then American interests have gradually dominated the country; so much so that the British bank and other British interests have found their penetration unprofitable.

Clash Coming Over Abyssinia

Even though we may have checked the Europeans in Liberia we may expect to find ourselves challenged again in Abyssinia. There we are in this situation:

Britain and Italy, after the World War made a treaty whereby they divided this country into spheres of influence; and France has demanded that she be declared in on this arrangement. The British, in particular, took the sphere including the head waters of the Blue Nile and the great lake Tsana. These waters have immense possibilities for power and irrigation and are necessary for the British plans of development of the Sudan.

But Abyssinia has turned over the development of Tsana and the Blue Nile to an American engineering concern, which is now beginning to construct the works for dams. Already the charge of slave-labor has been levelled against this concern and the League has been warned that it must act to put an end to slavery in Abyssinia. And there will be enormous pressure to get League action.

Race Problem—1931

Liberia

Africa.

AMERICAN INTERESTS BATTLED FORCED LABOR

Courier 1-10-31

GENEVA, Jan. 8—(CNS)—Affiliated organizations of the National City Bank of New York and the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company have been acquitted of any responsibility for slavery in Liberia, the West African republic founded by freed slaves from America, in a report by the commission of the League of Nations appointed to investigate conditons. Indeed, whereas the document shows that almost savage conditions of forced labor have existed in Liberia and indicates at least the condonation thereof by officials of the Liberian department of labor, it demonstrates that American interests in the country have fought slavery almost from he moment of their arrival.

The report is not to be made public until January 10, when it will be issued simultaneously by the Washington government and the League of Nations. Great Britain has just asked that it be placed on the agenda of the Council of the League.

In view of this situation, the Americans presser their investigations further, with the result that they discovered that when their native employees received their monthly pay and left the plantations for the villages, agents of the padrones, upon whom the Liberian labor department largely depends for its supply of workmen, would methodically fleece these laborers. The company protested and even went so far as to pay its men daily in an endeavor to evade the organized robbery, but this was only partially successful because, owing to fear of the slave system, the laborers continued to migrate, and the supply of labor consequently dropped dangerously below the demand.

All this the report touches upon. It exonerates the Americans, but declares that the existence of a revolting system of forced labor in Liberia at large was beyond their control and antagonistic to their economic interests.

The commission was appointed a year ago at Liberia's own request when, the charges having been made public, the government of the republic was compelled to ask an investigation, which it pleaded itself unable to finance. The members of the Commission are Cuthbert Christy, of Great Britain, chairman; Arthur Barclay, former Liberian Secretary of State, and one American, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, of Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

Liberia, which has the distinction of being the only republic on the continent of Africa, lies on the Guinea coast facing the Atlantic, between the Ivory Coast (French) and Sierra Leone (British). It has a coast line of about 350 miles and a population estimated at more than 1,500,000 for the 45,000 square miles of its area. Most of the country is covered with tropical forests. A single motor road, twenty miles long, penetrates into the interior.

In October, 1925, it was announced by Harvey Firestone, of Akron, Ohio, that the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, of which he was president, had leased from the Liberian government 1,000,000 acres of land for an elaborate plantation for raising rubber, his estimate at that time being that the tract would ultimately yield 250,000 tons a year. In 1929 there were 10,000 Liberians on the Firestone Company's payroll, under a white staff of ninety.

Liberia was founded in 1822, when a settlement was made at Monrovia by Negro freedmen from the United States, American colonization societies assisting in the establishment. In July, 1847, it was declared a free and independent republic and a constitution wa promulgate patterned upon that of the United States. Electors must be of Negro blood and owners of land. Since 1912 the control of customs has been in the hands of a general receiver and financia adviser designated by the United States. The present incumbent o that office is John Loomis. Liberia was a signatory of the Treaty of Versailles and is a member of the League of Nations.

BANK OF WEST AFRICA AFTER 28 YEARS IS SHUT BY BRITISH SUDDENLY

Evening Star, Washington, D.C. 1-17-31

St. Louis, Mo.

MONROVIA, Liberia—(Associated Press Dispatch) Owing to alleged complete lack of sanitation in Liberia the Bank of British West Africa has decided to have no further financial dealings with the government, or people of the Negro republic. This decision had been reached in October, but was put into execution only when the bank officials on Dec. 27 learned of the probable nature of the report of the International Commission, which investigated slavery and forced labor in Liberia.

The potential decision made by the bank in October was based on an independent investigation made by its own agents. The report of this investigation does not mention either "slavery" or "forced labor", although the investigators are said to have collected a quantity of material on these subjects, both official and unofficial. It bases it opinion that the bank should withdraw from Liberia solely on the fact that the lives of the bank employes were endangered on account of "complete lack of sanitation."

On Dec. 24 the British Postmaster General announced that money order business with Liberia had been suspended.

For twenty years the Bank of Zritish West Africa had a branch in the capital, Monrovia, and another at Cape Palmas. According to the annual statements of this bank a good volume of business was done and foreigners with agencies in the country and commercial firms doing business in or with Liberia are said to have found the bank of immense convenience. And in spite of the growing business with Liberia of the National City Bank of New York, the Firestone Rubber Company and other American concerns, no business reason are assigned by the Bank of British West Africa for its withdrawal—merely a matter of sanitation.

TEXT OF REPORT IS MADE PUBLIC FOR FIRST TIME

Journal & Guide 1-17-31

Norfolk, Va.

Scathing Notes Of U. S. Forced Officials' Resignations

PROMISE REFORMS

Warnings Renewed; Charges Specified; Good Will At Stake

The text of Liberia's latest promise to abolish slavery and forced labor within its borders will be found on page 2.

By LOUIS R. LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Confidence exists in official circles here that the Republic of Liberia will comply with the demands of the United States Government and carry out the reforms proposed in the report of the international commission which investigated slavery and forced labor conditions in Liberia.

Responses from the Liberian Government to the positive stand taken by Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson in several notes have not been satisfactory, but it is believed that Liberia has too much to lose by not complying with the demands of the United States for the abolition of slavery and forced labor.

Shortly before the report of the commission was issued for publication, the State Department made public a memorandum from Secretary Stimson to the Liberian Government demanding a comprehensive system of reforms.

Liberia replied to his memorandum, it was learned at the State Department, and there was further exchange of communications through Samuel Reber, charge d'affairs at Monrovia, but these proved unsatisfactory.

Now Famous Note

The memorandum of Secretary Stimson was handed to the Liberian Consul General on November 17. A copy was delivered to the Liberian Secretary of State by Mr. Reber in Monrovia and was submitted to the Liberian Congress by President C. D. B. King on December 3 with his and Vice President Allen N. Yancy's resignations. Two days later the Liberian Government replied with a note thanking Mr. Stimson for his frank and "friendly" memorandum.

On December 8 the State Department stated through Mr. Reber that this reply did not meet the demands of the situation. Liberia replied on December 24 enumerating certain measures which it was taking to meet the situation. On December 27 the United States answered that these steps did not meet the recommendations of the commission. Liberia replied on January 6, accepting in principle the recommendations of the commission but was told by Mr. Reber that this did not meet the requirements.

What Commission Found

The international commission found that "although classic slavery carrying the idea of slave markets and slave dealers no longer exists as such in the Republic of Liberia, slavery as defined by the 1926 anti-slavery convention does exist in so far as inter and intra-tribal domestic slavery exists. Pawning is also recognized in the social economy of the Republic."

It also found that "domestic slavery is discouraged by the Government in that any slave who appeals to the courts for release may be granted his freedom on a writ of habeas corpus or upon direct proceedings against his master or owner. Evidence before the Commission showed that in some cases domestic slaves have obtained their freedom upon evidence of ill-treatment."

Further findings were as follows:

"There has been no evidence that leading citizens of the country participate in domestic slavery, but there is evidence that some Americo-Liberians take natives as pawns, and in some instances have criminally abused the system for personal ends by taking women as pawns and using them to attract male laborers to their land.

Wasteful Recruiting

"Forced labor has been made use of in Liberia chiefly for motor-road construction, for building civil compounds and military barracks, etc., and for porterage; that this labor has been wastefully recruited and used, frequently under conditions involving systematic intimidation and ill-treatment on the part of Government officials, messengers, and Frontier Force soldiers; that labor recruited by county superintendents and district commissioners for public purposes we find in many instances has been diverted to private use on the farms and plantations of high Government officials and private citizens; that none of this labor has been paid, though paid labor may exist on the plantations—on the other hand, in Maryland, Liberia, some of it has been made to pay large sums to the plantation owners to be released from a term of unpaid and unfed labor.

"A large proportion of the contract laborers shipped to Fernado Poo and French Gabun from the southern counties of Liberia have been recruited under conditions of criminal compulsion scarcely distinguishable from slave raiding and slave trading, and frequently by misrepresenting the destination.

High Officials Cited

"Labor employed for private purpose

on privately owned plantations has been impressed for this service on the authority of high Government officials; that there is no evidence that the Firestone Plantations Company consciously employs any but voluntary labor on its leased rubber plantation—but this, however, was not always the case when recruiting was subject to Government regulations, over which the company had little control; that all the company's laborers are free to terminate their employment at will.

"Vice President Yancy and other high officials of the Liberian Government as well as county superintendents and district commissioners, have given their sanction for the compulsory recruitment of labor for road construction, for shipment abroad and other work, by the aid and assistance of the Liberian Frontier Force; and have condoned the utilization of this force for purpose of physical compulsion on road construction, for the intimidation of villagers for the humiliation and degradation of chiefs, for the imprisonment of inhabitants, and for the convoying of gangs of captured natives to the coast, there guarding them till the time of shipment."

Commission's Recommendations

The suggestions and recommendations of the commission are in part as follows:

"The first radical change we recommend is the removal of the present five district commissioners now stationed in the hinterland, as dishonest and corrupt officials, skilled only in devising means of intimidation for the purpose of extracting money from the natives and in creating opportunities for extorting more. In their place, we suggest, should be substituted a higher grade of official as district commissioner or district administrator. Under each would be assistant commissioners, who might be selected from the Republic or from America. In course of time they might be eligible for the senior posts.

"The commissioner would have the status of county magistrate and be allowed to select a suitable central site for his station. He would encourage intercourse with the people of his district by every means in his power and by holding daily court for the hearings of cases referred to him by his assistants and others. In addition to an ample salary, he would be allowed traveling and other allowances and would be obliged to spend at least three months in the year traveling in his district.

"Similarly his assistants, each with justice of peace status, would be installed in their own stations at strategic points, would hold their own open courts for cases referred to them by paramount chiefs, encourage weekly markets, and be obliged to be in camp in their own sections or within the district for three months each year.

Success must depend upon the character of the senior commissioner of each district, who must be honest, fair-minded, and free from graft. He should, we think, be either European or American. The senior commissioner's assistants, as well as he himself, would be chosen from the successful candidates of some form of civil service, examinations for which might be held in Europe and America, and, since the general standard required would be that of Europe or America, it might be undesirable to admit as a candidate any youth or person who had not visited one or the other continent. Candidates for the senior commisisonerships would, of course, be required to pass a much more exacting standard than the assistant class.

Requirements Stated

"That these officials should be men of high moral standard, and able to regain the lost confidence of the natives, is essential. To do this they would have to possess a previous knowledge of native affairs and have some groundings of routine indirect administration in the tropics. Their very first consideration would be to reinstate the paramount chiefs who have been so systematically humiliated and degraded—or at least the most worthy of them—in their old positions of local power and authority over town chiefs and people.

"Their next consideration would be to teach the chiefs how to exercise that power for good, to inculcate in them the principles of progressive town and country administration, discouraging bad customs and fostering the good. It would at the same time be the duty of the reinstated chiefs to cooperate to the best of their power with the district commissioner in opening up and improving the shortest and best routes to the coast, policing those routes, encouraging trade and the trader and free transport of raw materials and produce coastwards, as well as the safe entry of traders' merchandise. Salaries of the district commissioners should be sufficiently high to attract the right class of applicant. Hitherto they have not been sufficient to remove the temptation to inflict fines to meet the regular expenses of maintaining their stations.

Powers and Responsibility

"The senior commissioners would be responsible only to the central head of their department, and would have power to remove, or request the transfer of any of their assistants if necessary. They would not, except in cases of emergency, of which they alone would be able to judge the urgence, be able to call upon the Frontier Force for assistance of service of any sort, without central authority, and no Frontier Force soldier would be allowed to enter any village in his district without being accompanied by a non-commissioned other officer, or sufficient authority to show that he is traveling on duty.

"As regards education in their district, this would be attended to by the Central Education Department, but funds would need to be available for class or other instruction in the utilization of African economic products, etc. The commissioner's clerk would have to be a competent accountant, able to keep the boks and accounts of the station and the registration of all fines.

Widespread Reform

"It would not be sufficient merely to institute changes in the interior. The coastal counties would of necessity have to follow suit, and in this connection it is further suggested for the consideration of the Government that a rearrangement of the political divisions of the country might be undertaken with great advantage, namely, that each of the five districts be incorporated with its nearby corresponding county, thus doing away altogether with the maritime strip, and its implied segregation from the natives of the interior. Each of the counties would then extend as provinces from the coast to the limits of the hinterland, and their administration would be incorporated with that of the senior commissioners, who would then be provincial commissioners. They would in this case be responsible to the President.

"This step would lead to much needed economy in many directions and tend, as no other arrangements could, to assist the development of the Republic's rich interior by encouraging intercommunication and trade, and by helping to bring about a better understanding between the coastal and interior populations. In point of size the county and district divisions are insignificant in comparison with administrative areas in other regions, and if the old divisions were retained, the senior commissioners suggested for the hinterland districts would probably find that the counties lying between themselves and the sea seriously restricted the Government's policy, if adopted, of opening up towards the coast.

Liberia Jeopardized

"The above is a brief indication of the policy which we suggest might be adopted by the Liberian Government in regard to the radical readjustment of the hinterland administration. If allowed to continue on the existing lines of humiliation of chiefs, intimidation, suppression, extortion and ill-treatment of the people, Liberia may discover that its place in the community of civilized nations is jeopardized.

"As pointed out in the body of the report, common or classic slavery is now no longer existent in Liberia, but such forms as domestic slavery and pawning are still common customs. So long as these forms of slavery are recognized as existing institutions in the social life of Liberia, so long will the stigma of slavery be attached to the Republic. It is urgently recommended that steps should be taken to make both forms illegal as a preliminary to total abolition.

"The Commission cannot too strongly urge upon the Liberian Government assertion to the question of the shipment of laborers to Fernando Poo, and other places. Labor conditions in Fernando Poo and elsewhere should at once proved in recent years; indeed we have reliable information that this is a fact. Nevertheless, we are in agreement that under conditions existing today in the Liberian Hinterland, more especially the absence, as we think, of any efficient form of Government in that region, and consequent lack of guarantee that abuse of power both physical and official in regard to recruitment will not occur, we recommend that the organized shipment of laborers to Fernando Po and elsewhere should at once be discontinued.

"The Liberian Government would, we think, run the risk of incurring undesirable opprobrium if this were not done and the decree strictly enforced, for, in the minds of the majority of persons in the critical world, a commercialized labor traffic, such as that which has been carried on from Maryland and elsewhere, cannot be dissociated from conditions analogous to slave raiding and slave trading. This traffic has had the support of th ehighest officials of the Republic, and has been organized and conducted by Vice President Yancy, who has utilized his subordinates to further it to his own advantage, he himself being the chief beneficiary. When it is realized that it is also attended by cruelty, widespread disorganization of native social life, and loss of Government prestige, the danger of its continuance is manifest.

Brigandage Scored

"Much of the ill-treatment of the people of the interior, the cessation of native village cultivation, the exodus from the country, and the general discontent has, in our opinion, been the result of brigandage on the part of Frontier Force soldiers, who, from the accounts of the natives, are often unaccompanied by their officers, and when accompanying them the officers seem to encourage a general policy of intimidation.

"We recommend that the men of this force should be under much more efficient control than at present, and that the moral standard of the officers allowed to command at inferior stations be raised; also, that on no account cdtshoulhefro shrdeta oshrdeta shrd should the force employ native compulsory labor for building or other purposes as at present. Such labor should be done by the soldiers themselves, as is usually the case in other places. On no account should the men be allowed to enter villages without their officers, unless they have with them some clear evidence, intelligible to the chief, that they are on duty; and they should be rationed from their station, which is provided under direction of the district commissioner with very ample supplies of rice and other foods by the surrounding native chiefs. Any reported intimidation of the people, or of interference with natives on the pathways or roads by Frontier Force soldiers or district messengers should be very severely dealt with.

Immigration Desirable

"We recommend that instead of hampering immigration from the United States the best types of educated Negroes sould be encouraged, as tending to open up educative links with American trade affairs.

"The Commision cannot too strongly express its conviction that, as regards most officials, mere advance to greater efficiency and honesty will not be sufficient. The tolerance given to gross dishonesty in office, the general ignorance of the interior and its people, the lack of means of education in the provinces and its total absence in the hinterland, except where a few missionaries are installed; the powerful influence of family connections between the executive officers of the Government, few of whom have ever left the country; and the general insularity of outlook, render futile any hope of improvement in the present conditions without the introduction of outside specialist assistance, the reduction of superfluous offices, and other drastic internal provisions made."

Members of Commission

The commission which made the investigation was composed of one member representing the League of Nations, another member representing the United States, and the third member representing the Liberian Government. The American member was Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University. The Liberian member was Arthur Barclay, at present the acting President of Liberia. The report was submitted to the Liberian Government September 8. It was first officially issued for publication last Sunday.

GREENVILLE, O.
ADVOCATE

JAN 16 1931

SLAVERY IN LIBERIA

Paradoxical is the fact that Liberia, founded in 1822 as a colony for slaves freed in the United States, should now be practicing slavery. American organizations interested in getting Negroes out of bondage chose the area on the west coast of Africa as one suited for the encouragement of an independent existence for the liberated slaves. By 1847 it became, and has continued since, a free and sovereign country. Our early influence is evidenced in the Constitution, creating a republic, and administrative forms. Historically, therefore, the United States always has felt a close interest for the small nation.

Undoubtedly this explains the firm tone displayed by Secretary of State Stimson in a note lately sent the Liberian authorities, in which he discusses the slavery situation. There is what amounts to sharp diplomatic insistence that conditions be corrected. Technically, of course, the matter is one for Liberian determination alone, since the government there is possessed of full jurisdiction; but the secretary of state is taking cognizance of the fact that the policy of peonage is a development among high Liberian officials, that the oppression has been aided by a lack of knowledge among inhabitants as to their established rights, and that what has come about is frowned on throughout the civilized world.

An international commission some time ago reported the existence of forced labor in its worst form, recounting also the evasive attitude adopted by Liberian adminisrators when asked for information. Subsequently, the native authorities pledged reform, which, Secretary Stimson observes, has not been forthcoming. Our long friendship with the country and its people, coupled with a record of having helped the government in devising better civil machinery two decades back, very likely is relied on in the present case to hasten a response to the pressure exerted against slavery.

Race Problem - 1931

Liberia

Africa

Stimson "Protests" to Liberian Tools on Slavery in US Colony

Cynically Ignored Enslavement of Negroes in U.S., Tries to Pass Buck to Liberia Officials for Slave Treaty Sponsored by Hoover

N. Y. HERALD

JAN 11 1931

WASHINGTON, Jan. 7. — The ironic spectacle of the slave master passing the buck to his slave overseer for the existence of slavery is presented here with the dispatch of a sharp note to Liberia by Secretary of State Stimson, in which the Wall Street government of the United States hypocritically "protests" against the existence in the American colony of Liberia of "the twin scourges of slavery and forced labor."

With cynical disregard of the existence of Negro slavery in the Southern States of the United States where Negroes are enslaved under the share cropping and peonage systems, with the planters having the right to transfer their claims for debt against the Negro worker, a transfer which is in effect selling the Negro worker, Stimson pompously takes the puppet officials of Liberia to task for a crime originally charged by the League of Nations against Herbert Hoover, the League accusing Hoover of negotiating the slave treaty with the Liberia officials under which the Firestone rubber interests were permitted to enslave large numbers of Liberian natives.

"International public opinion," Stimson tells his Liberian puppets, "will no longer tolerate these twin scourges of slavery and forced labor," and threatens them with the alienation of the "friendly" feelings of the American government, unless they sacrifice themselves and resign from office as tools who permitted themselves to be caught in the act of supporting slavery and of themselves holding slaves.

Lash and Rack Rule Liberia, Inquiry Finds

Slavery Traffic, Pawning of Natives, Kidnaping and Tortures Disclosed in International Survey

Villages Stripped Of Male Residents

Many Deported to Forced Labor in French Congo and on Spanish Island

By Albert L. Warner

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10.—Charging that systems analogous to slavery, protected and even fostered by government officials, exist in Liberia, the International Commission of Inquiry on Liberian Conditions, in a report made public today, demanded a general housecleaning.

In the land which was founded as a home of liberty for freed American slaves the commission finds that the ruling Americo-Liberians have inflicted virtual slavery upon the natives of the interior. Kidnaping, pawning, fining, raiding, flogging and torture of all kinds are daily cruelties which the tribal Negroes patiently suffer, the commission declares.

Villages Depopulated by Slavery

The depopulation of whole villages and the wiping out of the men folk among certain tribes through wholesale deportation into forced labor, amounting to slavery, are graphically depicted in the words of hundreds of witnesses, whose testimony is included in the 220-page report. Upon the former Vice-President of the Liberian republic, Allen N. Yancy, and indirectly upon the former President, Charles D. B. King, the commission places responsibility for existing conditions.

"This traffic has had the support of the highest officials of the republic," the report declares, "and has been organized and conducted by Vice-President Yancy, who has utilized his subordinates to further it to his own advantage, he himself being the chief beneficiary."

Both Mr. King and Mr. Yancy resigned their posts on December 3, after the commission had completed its work and after Henry L. Stimson, American Secretary of State, had lodged a vigorous protest against conditions in Liberia. Despite subsequent American notes, the Liberian government, now headed by Edwin Barclay, has taken no satisfactory steps to improve the situation.

Members of the international investigating commission are Dr. Charles S. Johnson, of the United States; Dr Cuthbert Christy, representing the League of Nations, and Arthur Barclay, of Liberia. Their report was given out through the State Department. It was revealed at the same time that the United States was directly responsible for the formation of this commission.

Natives Deported to Forced Labor

After repeated evidences of Liberian slavery, the State Department, on June 8, 1929, sent a note reviewing these reports. A year later, Liberia replied with a general denial, but said it would have no objection to an investigation. The State Department and the League of Nations, in consonance with Liberia, created the commission which began hearings in Liberia April 7 last.

The report reveals a system of forced labor without pay on government roads and buildings and the private farms of officials. It also discloses forced deportations to the Spanish island of Fernando Po and the French Congo. Oppressive exactions of fines on various tribes are also cited, with the evidence that the money goes for graft and into the pockets of district commissioners, county superintendents and higher government officials.

Villages Depopulated by Demands

The commission found also that there is a legalized system of pawning, permitting the enslaving of children and wives to creditors. "Instances are noted," says the commission, "of persons remaining in pawn for a period of ten, twenty, forty years and for a lifetime. A pawned woman was presented to the commission at Kakada who had been held in pawn for six years for the sum of £1; repawned by the holder, and unable to secure her release. One of the commissioners was presented with the case of a man of forty who had been pawned as a child

Continued from page one.

the pawner dead, and no hope of redemption remaining for him."

The commission cites scores of order making labor levies on the tribes. Because some of the people of Chief Jeh of the Wedabos, had been in a fight with another tribe, the government official used this as an excuse to exact both fines and men for labor. Chief Jeh gave up 500 men, who were shipped to Fernando Po. According to the commission, Vice-President Yancy then demanded 200 additional men and sent soldiers to enforce his demand. The soldiers flogged men, women and children and stole their possessions. To free the women, 200 young men finally surrendered and were shipped away. Of the total of 700, many died, others returned, but with very little money.

Visiting the chief Wedabo village, the commission reported the following:

"The once fairly populous town now has a total of 651 inhabitants with 30 per cent more females than males. That is, for every 100 males, there were 130 females, and for the active ages, twenty to forty, there were 150 females for every 100 males. Most important, it seems, of the families remaining there, ninety-one of their men and boys had either died at Fernando Poo or, for some other reason, failed to return or communicate with the tribe. Of those who returned, two were ill and one insane. The town Kordor, which is about one hour's walk from Soloken, was visited and photographed. Forty-nine huts were inhabited at the time of the Fernando Po demands. All are deserted now, the town site overgrown with weeds and tough vines, the thatched roofs and mud-covered sides crumbling in."

Speaking of forced government labor on roads, the commission finds that the highways drive away villages instead of encouraging them.

Tortures Inflicted on Natives

"A result of the actual program in operation in many sections has been to drive the natives from the towns along the route, if there were any, deeper into the bush, abandoning their old setting to escape the new opportunities for exploitation and demands upon their food and funds by the procession of officials and soldiers passing through."

Of the various tortures inflicted on forced labor, the commission speaks [illegible] having been strung up to raft[illegible] of a hut and literally smoked. Sticks to disfigure the legs of victims and baskets filled with earth and heavy stones fastened on the heads of prisoners, sometimes causing broken necks, are some of the instruments of torture cited.

The commission finds no evidence of slavery on the Harvey Firestone rubber plantation, but it does declare that laborers sent to the plantation by government officials apparently lose their pay in most cases to these officials. The plantation now uses about 10,000 laborers, but a drop in rubber prices presages that there will not be the profits at first anticipated, the commission concludes.

Find Slavery Does Exist in Fact

The chief questions considered by the commission and its findings follow:

"(a) Whether slavery as defined in the anti-slavery convention in fact exists in the republic.

"The commission finds that although classic slavery carrying the idea of slave markets and slave dealers no longer exists as such in the Republic of Liberia, slavery as defined by the 1926 anti-slavery convention does exist in so far as intertribal and intratribal domestic slavery exists. Pawning also is recognized in the social economy of the republic.

"(b) Whether this system is participated in or encouraged by the government of the republic.

"The commision finds that domestic slavery is discouraged by the government in that any slave who appeals to the courts for release may be granted his freedom on a writ of habeas corpus or upon direct proceedings against his master or owner. Evidence before the commission showed that in some cases domestic slaves have obtained their freedom upon evidence of ill treatment.

"(c) Whether and what leading citizens of the country participate therein.

"The commission finds that there has been no evidence that leading citizens of the country participate in domestic slavery, but there is evidence that some Americo-Liberians take natives as pawns, and in some instances have criminally abused the system for personal ends by taking women as pawns and using them to attract male laborers to their lands.

Slaves Forced to Pay for Release

"(d) To what extent compulsory labor exists as a factor in the social and industrial econom of the state, either for public or private purposes, and, if it does exist, in what manner it has been recruited and employed whether for public or private purposes.

"The commission finds that forced labor has been made use of in Liberia chiefly for motor-road construction, for building civil compounds and military barracks, etc., and for porterage; that this labor has been wastefully recruited and used, frequently under conditions involving systematic intimidation and ill treatment on the part of government officials, mesengers and frontier force soldiers; that labor recruited by county superintendents and district commissioners for public purposes we find in many instances has been diverted to private use on the farms and plantations of high government officials and private citizens; that none of this labor has been paid, although paid

labor may exist on the plantations—on the other hand, in Maryland some of it has been made to pay large sums to the plantation owners to be released from a term of unpaid and unfed labor.

"(e) Whether shipment of contract laborers to Fernado Poo under the terms of arrangement with Spain, or shipment of such laborers to the Congo or any other foreign parts is associated with slavery, and whether the method employed in recruiting such laborers carries any compulsion.

"The commission finds that a large proportion of the contract laborers shipped to Fernando Po and French Gabun from the southern countries of Liberia have been recruited under conditions of criminal compulsion scarcely distinguishable from slave raiding and slave trading, and frequently by misrepresenting the destination.

Soldiers Used to Compel Submission

"(f) Whether the labor employed for private purposes on privately owned or leased plantations is recruited by voluntary enlistments or is forcibly impressed for this service by the Liberian government or by its authority.

"The commission finds that labor employed for private purposes on privately owned plantatios has been impressed for this service on the authority of high government officials; that there is no evidence that the Firestone Plantations Company consciously employs any but voluntary labor on its leased rubber plantation—but this, however, was not always the case when recruiting was subject to government regulations, over which the company had little control; that all the company's laborers are free to terminate their employment at will.

"(g)" Whether the Liberian government has at any time given sanction or approval to the recruiting of labor with the aid and assistance of the Liberian frontier force or other persons holding official positions or in government employ, or private individuals have been implicated in such recruiting with or without the government's approval.

"The commission finds that Vice-President Yancy and other high officials of the Liberian government, as well as county superintendents and dirtrict commissioners, have given their sanction for the compulsory recruitment of labor for road construction, for shipment abroad and other work, by the aid and assistance of the Liberian Frontier Force; and have condoned the utilization of this force for purposes of physical compulsion on road construction, for the intimidation of villagers, for the humiliation and degradation of chiefs, for the imprisonment of inhabitants, and for the convoying of gangs of captured natives to the coast, there guarding them till the time of shipment.

"The first radical change we recommend is the removal of the present five district commissioners now stationed in the hinterland as dishonest and corrupt officials, skilled only in devising means of intimidation for the purpose of extracting money from the natives and in creating opportunities for extorting more. In their place, we suggest, should be substituted a higher grade of official as district commissioner, or district administrator. Under each would be assistant commissioners, who might be selected from the republic or from America. In course of time they might be eligible for the senior posts.

"Success must depend upon the character of the senior commissioner of each district, who must be honest, fair minded and free from graft. He should we think, be either European or American.

Better Pay Urged for District Heads

"That these officials should be men of high moral standard and able to regain the lost confidence of the natives is essential. To do this they would have to possess a previous knowledge of native affairs and have some grounding of routine indirect administration in the tropics. Their very first consideration would be to reinstate the paramount chiefs who have been so systematically humiliated and degraded —or at least the most worthy of them —in their old positions of local power and authority over town chiefs and people. Their next consideration would be to teach the chiefs how to exercise that power for good, to inculcate in them the principles of progressive town and country administration, discouraging bad customs and fostering the good.

"It would at the same time be the duty of the reinstated chiefs to cooperate to the best of their power with the district commissioner in opening up and improving the shortest and best routes to the coast, policing those routes, encouraging trade and the trader and free transport of raw materials and produce coastwards, as well as the safe entry of traders' merchandise. Salaries of the district commissioners should be sufficiently high to attract the right class of applicant. Hitherto they have not been sufficient to remove the temptation to inflict fines to meet the regular expenses of maintaining their stations.

"The senior commissioners would be responsible only to the central head of their department, and would have power to remove or request the transfer of any of their assistants if necessary. They would not, except in cases of emergency, of which they alone would be able to judge the urgency, be able to call upon the frontier force for assistance or service of any sort, without central authority, and no frontier force soldier would be allowed to enter any village in his district without being accompanied by a noncommissioned or other officer, or sufficient authority to show that he is traveling on duty. As regards education in their district, this would be attended to by the Central Education Department, but funds would need to be available for class or other instruction in the utilization of African economic products, etc. The commissioner's clerk would have to be a competent accountant, able to keep the books and accounts of the station and the registration of all fines.

New Political Map Suggested

"It would not be sufficient merely to institute changes in the interior. The coastal counties would of necessity have to follow suit, and in this connection it is further suggested for the consideration of the government that a rearrangement of the political divisions of the country might be undertaken with great advantages, namely, that each of the five districts be incorporated with its nearby corresponding county, thus doing away altogether with the maritime strip and its implied segregation from the natives of the interior.

"The commission cannot too strongly urge upon the Liberian government attention to the question of the shipment of laborers to Fernando Po and other places. Labor conditions in Fernando Po may have been greatly improved in recent years; indeed, we have reliable information that this is a fact. Nevertheless, we are in agreement that under conditions existing today in the Liberian hinterland, more especially the absence, as we think, of any efficient form of government in that region, and consequent lack of guarantee that abuse of power, both physical and official, in regard to recruiting will not occur, we recommend that the organized shipment of laborers to Fernando Poo and elsewhere should at once be discontinued."

Liberia Report Expected To Stir League to Action

Permanent Body on Slavery May Result From Findings

By Cable to the Herald Tribune

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GENEVA, Jan. 10.—Publication of the report of the mixed commission on forced labor in Liberia has produced four chief effects: horror at the document's disclosures, satisfaction with Washington's rebuke to the Liberian authorities at Monrovia, an indignation that may well result in the launching of a new crusade against slavery in the several countries where it flourishes, and agreement with the commission's acquittal of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company of all responsibility for the conditions disclosed.

There is arising from outside the Council of the League of Nations a demand for League action supplementary to the American note to the West African republic, together with an admission that conditions not unlike those found in Liberia exist elsewhere and should be combated.

At the sixty-second session of the Council of the League, which will start on January 19 with the envoys of a half-dozen international anti-slavery organizations in the lobbies, Great Britain must fire the first Liberian shot. She arranged that the report be placed on the agenda and until 1914 she was one of Liberia's chief creditors. Doubtless she will inject the Stimson note into the record. Then Liberia will be given the opportunity to defend herself through her permanent League delegate, Antoine Sottile, former Italian newspaper correspondent at Geneva and at one time representative here for Nicaragua.

What probably would suit the League best would be the assumption by the United States of some sort of moral and sanitary mandate over the Negro republic. Realizing that that, however, is likely to be unobtainable, the Council sees three courses open: Liberia could be forced out of the League, although this might provide a perilous precedent, and in any event the Liberian President and Vice-President have resigned their respective offices; a sharp reprimand and warning may be addressed to the new Liberian President, although several members of the League Council are said to believe that the Washington note is sufficient to this end; the not infrequent League tactics of postponement may be invoked, or the old slavery committee revived, pending an endeavor to have the next Assembly of the League recall its predecessor's rejection of Viscount Cecil's plan for a more potent permanent slavery commission.

Summary of the Corrective Measures Urged to Check Slavery in Liberia

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10.—Corrective measures recommended by the International Commission of Inquiry in its report on slavery in Liberia follows:

The policy of the "open door."
Extension of education to all alike.
Native policy to be radically reconstructed.
Barrier between civilized and uncivilized to be broken.
Policy of suppression to be abondoned.
Humiliation and degradation of chiefs to cease.
Re-establishment of tribal authority of chiefs.
Complete reorganization of administration of the interior.
Removal of present district commissioners.
Substitution of European or American commissioners with assistant commissioners.
Institution of some form of civil service.
Rearrangement of the political divisions of the country.
Pawning and domestic slavery to be made illegal as preliminary to total abolition.
Shipment of laborers to Fernando Po to cease.
Road program to be curtailed.
Much stricter control of frontier force soldiers.
Reconsideration of duties of frontier force soldiers.
American immigration to be encouraged.

Race Problem - 1931

Africa.

NO SLAVERY IN LIBERIA IN 1911, SAYS DR. LYON

Ex-Minister Says Reported Evils are New Development

CLIMATE NOT BAD

Sick Die Anywhere, Says Consul General

Slavery of the type described by the International Commission did not exist when he was U.S. Minister to Liberia, 1903-11, Dr. Ernest Lyon told the AFRO-AMERICAN, this week.

Dr. Lyon, who is now Liberian Consul General and has served that country as chief diplomatic representative in Washington for nineteen years, is now in his 68th year but has the physical and mental alertness of a man many years younger.

"No one condones slavery" he declared, "but it is a Liberian development of recent years. You must remember that the Liberian government is not the Liberian people.

The American government sometimes gets to the place where it is not representative of the people. Congress gets in bad and presidents get in bad. Look at the public reaction to the Wickersham report on prohibition."

Americo-Liberians

Asked about the inferences in the public press that Americo-Liberians, sons of ex-slaves, were exploiting and enslaving natives, Dr. Lyon said:

"The so-called Americo-Lierians are all mixed up. Forbears of President Barclay are from Barbados, and ancestors of ex-President King came from Sierra Leone."

Why British Bank Left

Dr. Lyon vehemently denied that the British West African bank closed its Liberian branch because of unsanitary conditions which the government refused to remedy. "They left," he said, "because big business is in the hands of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, a U.S. concern. British trade has declined in Liberia since Firestone arrived and since American financial interests are directed by the National City Bank of New York. (It also has a branch in Haiti.—Ed.)

Dr. Ernest Lyon

"Firestone employ 10,000 men. In prosperous times he may employ 300,000. A U.S. concession as large as this is not profitable for a British bank."

Asked Naval Station

Dr. Lyon recalled that he spent eight years in Liberia and suffered no ill effects from the climate. Liberian climate is not unhealthy. "A change of climate is not good for everybody," he said, "and some people die anyhow, whether they stay in America or go abroad."

In the effot to secure a larger U.S. governmental interest in Liberia, Dr. Lyon recalled that when serving as minister there he urged Uncle Sam to purchase sufficient Liberian territory to locate there a naval station. In all Africa, Dr. Lyon said, the U.S. hasn't a single coaling station.

A commission was sent out to investigate in 1909. Dr. Emmett J. Scott of Washington, was a member. The project fell through when it was discovered that the cost would be two million dollars.

Lots for Emigrants

Under the grant transferring the Liberian territory from the American Colonization Society to the Liberian government, Dr. Lyon declared, every other lot was set aside for emigrants from the U.S.

Many of these lots were snatched by France when it arbitrarily annexed a large slice of Liberian borderland. To "maintain its prestige," England, Liberia's other neighbor, annexed a second slice.

Negotiations were once begun by Dr. Lyon to have this territory restored or Liberia properly recompensed.

The State Department looked favorably upon the proposition which was halted by the death of the former president of the Colonization Society.

Sell Boys to School

Heads of mission schools have been compelled to pay (dark) chiefs before children were permitted to attend classes. Africans' theory is: missionaries are paid by their home country to establish schools for education of the natives.

But they cannot have schols without scholars. If a chief is to give up his boys, whom education does not fit to return and give service to his tribe, the chief feels he ought to be paid for it.

Says the chief: "No boy, no school; no money, no boy."

Liberia.

EXPECTED TO REMAIN QUIET FOR A WHILE

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22—(CNS)—It was indicated here Wednesday that Charles E. Mitchell, the new minister to Liberia, who sailed last Tuesday from New York and is due in Monrovia about Feb. 22, might remain unofficially at the Liberian capital and not present his letters of credence until slavery conditions revealed in the recent report of the international commission had been remedied.

Intimations in press dispatches from Geneva that the belief prevails in League of Nations circles that nothing much will result from the report of an international commission, telling of shocking conditions of forced labor sanctioned by the Liberian government, do not accord with the belief prevailing in official circles here.

It was said that confidence existed that action to comply with the demands of the United States government was expected to result from the positive stand taken by Secretary Stimson in several notes to the Liberian authorities.

There was no concealment of the fact that responses from the Liberian government to the insistence upon remedying the conditions of virtual slavery set forth in the report of the international commission had been unsatisfactory, but it was felt that Liberia has too much to lose by failing to comply and that an ultimate satisfactory situation would be brought about.

Owing to alleged complete lack of sanitation in Liberia, the Bank of British West Africa has decided to have no further financial dealings with the government or people of the Negro republic. This decision had been reached in October, but was put into execution only when the bank officials on Dec. 27 learned of the probable nature of the report of the international commission, which investigated slavery and forced labor in Liberia.

U. S. RECALLS DOCTOR FROM AFRICAN POST

WASHINGTON, Jan. 30.—Failure of the Liberian government to cooperate with the United States in a sanitation and health program has resulted in the recall of Dr. Howard F. Smith, public health surgeon, who was assigned as chief medical adviser to Liberia by Dr. Hugh S. Cumming, surgeon general of the public health service. Dr. Smith has been ordered to return to the United States.

The reason given by the public health service for the recall of Dr. Smith is lack of co-operation on the part of the Liberian government in the maintenance of sanitary conditions and in the efforts to eradicate yellow fever from Liberia.

The death of William T. Francis, United States minister, at Monrovia on July 15, 1929, from yellow fever is believed to have led to the assignment of Dr. Smith as medical adviser to Liberia.

Upon request of the state department the surgeon general assigned Dr. Smith on Jan. 4, 1930, to cooperate with the Liberian government in the conduct of a campaign for the eradication of yellow fever.

At the public health service it was said that Liberia continually refused to co-operate and refused to provide funds which were promised for conducting the necessary work and made no attempts at enforcing sanitary measures which the Liberian government had adopted.

NEW YORK TIMES

JAN 21 1931

DENIES WE SEEK END OF DUTY TO LIBERIA

Washington Says We Would Be Glad of World Cooperation to End Abuses of Slavery.

NEW RANK ASKED FOR ENVOY

Charles E. Mitchell, Now on Way to Take Post, Nominated by Hoover as Minister Plenipotentiary.

LONDON, Jan. 20 (AP).—An Exchange Telegraph dispatch from Geneva today said it was understood there that, following the recently published report of the League of Nations committee investigating slavery in Liberia, the United States intends to wash its hands off the Negro republic over which she has hitherto exercised a virtual protectorate.

The United States, the dispatch said, intends to seek a transfer of responsibility for Liberia to an international commisison which probably would include representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France and one or two other nations.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 20.—Aroused by an Exchange Telegraph dispatch from Geneva that the United States was going to wash its hands off Liberia, the State Department issued a denial today in the form of a statement announcing that it would welcome international cooperation to see that adequate slavery reforms were instituted.

"While it would not accord with the established policy of the United States," the statement said, "to assume any exclusive responsibilities on the African continent, the American Government, in view of the social and humanitarian principles involved and the traditional friendly interest of the American people in the welfare of Liberia, would be prepared to give sympathetic consideration to a proposal for affirmative international cooperation destined to assist the Liberian people in a solution of their present problems, concerning both slavery and sanitation.

"The method by which our tradi-

tional interest in this matter can be continued effectively to remedy the evils which have been disclosed by the slavery report has been under active discussion with representatives of other signatories of the slavery convention of 1926, including Liberia, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan."

The discussions with Liberia have been conducted by Samuel Reber Jr., American Chargé d'Affaires at Monrovia. Conversations with Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan have been held through their Ambassadors here in recent days by William R. Castle Jr., Assistant Secretary of State. His statement of the American attitude was practically identical with the formal statement issued by the State Department today and went no further.

President Hoover sent to the Senate today the nomination of Charles E. Mitchell of Charleston, W. Va., a Negro, to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Liberia. Mr. Mitchell previously was appointed Minister Resident and Consul General at Monrovia and left last week for his post. His elevation will place him on the same footing as other Ministers and give him standing with other foreign envoys to Liberia. It will also signify the importance the United States attaches to his office.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.
EAGLE

JAN 22 1931

Liberia Makes Protest Against Slavery Report

Accepts Reform Program but Says Needed Funds Are Lacking

Geneva, Jan. 22 (AP)—Liberia's permanent delegate to the League of Nations, directing sharp criticism at the recent report of an international commission on slavery in the Negro republic, today told the League Council his country repudiated any suggestion that Liberia could be compelled to accept the dictation—financial or political—of any "super-State."

Liberia's worst trouble, Antoine Sottile, the Liberian delegate said, is not human slavery. She would welcome financial aid from the League, he said, which would enable her to shake off financial bondage and maintain her sovereignty and self respect. Nevertheless Liberia accepts the international commission's recommendations for reform and is ready to carry them out so far as her resources permit. Those resources, Sottile asserted, are not sufficient to carry out the recommendations completely.

Sottile's allusions to "financial slavery" were interpreted in some quarters as referring primarily to the United States from which have come most of Liberia's international loans. There were persistent reports here that the American Government was on the point of making important new declarations of policy regarding Liberia.

Cuthbert Christy, the British chairman of the Liberian Commission, agreed that Liberia was not financially able to carry out the proposed reforms without assistance.

The commission of European foreign ministers appointed by the League of Nations to investigate possibilities of Aristide Briand's scheme for a federation of European States has adjourned its session until next May.

At that time Soviet Russia and Turkey will have opportunity to colaborate with it in working out problems of European co-operation, an invitation, to which all the nations did not agree, having gone forth to this end. It is not known if the governments will accept.

The commission adjourned after posting a manifesto in which the foreign ministers declared that they were more than ever "resolutely determined to use the machinery of the League of Nations to prevent any resort to violence."

The manifesto took note of prevailing economic depression in Europe and stated that "it has become plain that economic recovery is now being hindered by lack of confidence in the course of future events, due to widespread political anxiety. That anxiety has been increased by irresponsible talk in various quarters concerning the possibility of international war."

The Council of the League met in private session this forenoon and began, presumably, a discussion of minorities and disarmament questions.

It was understood that considerable difficulty is being encountered in reaching agreement upon the complaint of Polish treatment of German minorities in upper Silesia which was made to the Council yesterday by Julius Curtius, German Foreign Minister, and answered by August Zaleski, Polish Foreign Minister.

JOURNAL
St. Thomas, Ont.
JAN 19 1931

SLAVERY IN NEGRO LIBERIA

Although one of the minor activities of the League of Nations, the report of the commission it appointed to investigate charges that a system of forced labor, little different from actual slavery, existed in Liberia, has created an unusual degree of interest. That document, itself, was recently deposited with the secretariat at Geneva, and has since been the object of an almost excessive vigilance on the part of the responsible officials, whose laxity in that regard on previous occasions had been matter of complaint. The reason of this special care was probably prompted by advance accounts of the findings which were issued in both French and English last Saturday week, when the Washington State Department also published the English version. It confirmed the anticipations by disclosing that potential native workers had been secured in bulk—ten or twelve at a time—by agents of the Liberian government who employed full-fledged slave trader methods in order to furnish labor for a rubber company. But in fairness, the commissioners made it equally plain that after passing into the service of the American company the workmen became and remained at liberty.

Liberia is the only self-governing negro republic in the world and lies on the Southwest (Guinea) coast of Africa between the British possession of Sierra Leone and the French colony on the Ivory Coast. With a coast line on the South Atlantic of about 350 miles, it extends inland from 75 to 150 miles, but with no civilized settlement beyond 25 miles distance from the shore. Liberia also contains the million acres of land leased in 1925 by Harvey Firestone, of Akron, Ohio, head of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, for the purpose of raising rubber, his plan being to develop, ultimately, a production of 250,000 tons a year. Originally founded in 1822 when a settlement was made at Monrovia, the capital, of American negro freed men who moved from the United States, with the assistance of various colonization societies, Liberia was declared a free and independent republic on July 25, 1847, with a constitution modelled on that of the United States and has always been considered the peculiar protege and care of that country. Hence the interest expressed by Washington in its behavior and welfare. Liberia was also a signatory of the Versailles Treaty and is a member of the League of Nations.

The Washington State Department is not satisfied with the declaration of the Liberian Government that it "accept in principle" the recommendations of the League Commission. For this scepticism the Department no doubt finds justification in the fact that the Liberian Government used the identical phrase in its previous correspondence with Washington without making any very violent effort to fulfil its pledge. Apart from that, the report of the League Commission provides enough testimony regarding the practices used in the suspected areas. The evidence shows that the rubber company had by force of circumstances to secure its workers through the Liberian Government Department of Labor, the testimony conclusively and often harrowingly demonstrating the existence of an outrageous system among the agents of the Department, apparently endorsed by their official superiors. Geneva authorities appear to be satisfied that the United States Secretary of States' notes have already sent the implicated Liberian officials to cover and already brought a suspension of the system they denounced. The forthcoming session of the League Council is being anxiously awaited, however, by certain European Governments that at the last meeting of the League Assembly opposed the British proposal for a permanent commission to handle all complaints of slavery against member nations.

REVEALS SECRET OF SCHUYLER'S AFRICAN TRIP

NEW YORK CITY.—From authoritative sources it has just been learned that the reason for the secret trip to Africa last winter of George S. Schuyler, journalist and author of "Black No More," the satirical novel, was to gather information on existing conditions in Liberia for the New York Evening Post, the Philadelphia Public Ledger and the Baltimore Sun for which he was special correspondent.

Afro-American

Schuyler, it is reported, kept his mission a dead secret because he feared that it would hinder the gathering of news if the Liberians were aware of the truth. As it was, he had some difficulties, it is said.

Jan 30-31

The series of articles he has written are said to constitute a devastating criticism of the Liberian government and to make startling revelations about slavery, concubinage forcible food requisitions and reprisals against those who offered testimony to the International Commission.

Baltimore, Md

It is said that the articles, profusely illustrated with photographs taken by Mr. Schuyler, will appear in about ten days or so simultaneously in the three dailies mentioned.

He has been ill since his return with what friends believe is African fever.

Race Problem - 1931

Liberia

Africa

NEW YORK WORLD

JAN 10 1931

LIBERIAN SLAVERY WARNING RENEWED

Washington Tells Republic All Demands Must Be Met

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9 (A. P.)—The Washington and Liberian Governments have been in frequent communication in the last month, with the United States insisting that slavery be abolished in the Negro republic.

While it had first been indicated no correspondence had taken place between the American and Liberian Governments since the State Department's initial memorandum demanding abolition of the slave trade, it was disclosed today that diplomatic pressure on the question has been brought to bear.

Following an acknowledgement by Liberia of the State Department's original demand which precipitated the resignations of President King and Vice President Yancy, the two governments, it was learned, have been in constant communication.

Throughout the formal exchange of notes and informal discussions in Liberia between the American Legation and the Liberian Government, the State Department has pressed vigorously its position that Liberia must meet the recommendations of the commission which recently concluded an investigation of enforced labor conditions.

So far the State Department has met Liberia's replies with the assertion that its efforts and proposed efforts to abolish slavery have not been satisfactory.

The department will make public tomorrow night the full report of the commission which found slavery conditions existed. Demands for abolition were based upon this document.

After its sharp memorandum to Liberia early in December, the State Department made two subsequent demands for action.

On Dec. 5 the Liberian Government replied to the American Government, thanking it for the friendly tenor of its memorandum, which was communicated to the Liberian Legislature together with the resignations of President King and Vice President Yancy, against whom slavery charges were made in the American note.

Three days later the State Department again formally told Liberia that it had not met by some measures it had taken the recommendations of the commission.

On Dec. 24 Liberia replied pointing out certain other measures which had been taken. The American Government sharply replied that the actions of the Liberian Government to meet recommendations did not meet the situation.

Three days ago Liberia replied to the effect that it accepted in principle the commission's recommendations. To this the American Government replied that this statement did not represent a satisfactory solution.

NEW YORK TIMES

JAN 5 - 1931

Stimson Bill Asks Congress To Keep Aged Negro in Office

By The Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 4.—At the suggestion of Secretary Stimson, a bill will be introduced in Congress to permit a Negro of 85 to continue his fifty-nine years of service in the State Department as long as he is needed. The bill will be introduced by Representative Fish of New York, whose grandfather, a former Secretary of State, gave work to the Negro in 1871.

The employe, Eddie Augustine Savoy, is a familiar figure around Mr. Stimson's office. His duties consist of announcing visitors who call on the Secretary of State. He has demonstrated a remarkable memory for faces, names and titles. He is slated for retirement next August on account of old age under a civil service order.

NEW YORK SUN

JAN 9 - 1931

SEE SLAVERY ISSUE IN CLARK'S RULING

Counsel Seek to Intervene in Behalf of Negroes.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9 (A. P.).—Permission to intervene in the Supreme Court's hearing on the validity of the Eighteenth Amendment was asked today by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Argument upon the decision of Federal Judge William Clark in New Jersey that the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted in an unconstitutional manner has been set by the court for January 21.

Counsel for the association, in asking leave to file a brief, said that "The Negro citizens of this country have an important stake" in the recent decision of Judge Clark.

They contended that "if it is true that the Eighteenth Amendment was not constitutionally adopted because the surrender of state powers to the Federal Government could only be accomplished by action of state conventions, then it might similarly be argued that the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amends were unconstitutionally adopted. These three amendments likewise involved the surrender of state powers to the Federal Government."

The Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery, the Fourteenth requiring due process of law on the part of states and imposing a penalty upon such states as failed to recognize the rights of the Negroes, and the Fifteenth Amendment, which guaranteed the right to vote, were adopted in the same manner as the Eighteenth Amendment.

NEW YORK TIMES

JAN 8 - 1931

LIMITS TO LIBERIA DEMAND ON SLAVERY

Stimson Will Not Raise Question of Alleged Practice in Other Countries.

TO PUBLISH LEAGUE REPORT

Commission Was Appointed on Insistence of United States That Labor Conditions Be Investigated.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 7.—Although Liberian spokesmen at Geneva are charging that forced labor or slavery exists in Abyssinia and other countries as well as in Liberia, Secretary Stimson has no present intention of raising the issue outside of the African republic, notwithstanding the declaration in his memorandum of Nov. 17, 1930, to Liberia that "international public opinion will no longer tolerate those twin scourges of slavery and forced labor."

Copies of the memorandum may be sent to American diplomatic and consular officers in other countries or colonies where such conditions may exist, but only to inform them of the State Department's attitude.

No reply had been received to Secretary Stimson's memorandum, which was submitted to the Liberian Congress on Dec. 3, 1930, by President King, who soon afterward resigned with Vice President Yancy. Both are censured in the report of the international commission which investigated forced labor and slavery in Liberia. The commission's report will be given out by the State Department Saturday for publication on Sunday morning.

Enough of its contents was revealed in Secretary Stimson's memorandum to indicate a sweeping indictment of conditions in Liberia. Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University, Nashville, was the American member of the commission, the others being a Liberian and a representative of the League of Nations.

The commission was appointed at the invitation of the Liberian Government at the insistence of the United States, which took notice of charges of deplorable labor conditions in Liberia. Secretary Stimson's memorandum was prompted by the slowness of the Liberian Government in instituting reforms called for by the commission. The memorandum threatened cessation of the friendly feeling of the United States for Liberia if correctives were not applied.

Liberia is one of several governments, including the United States, which are parties to the convention on slavery signed at Geneva and binding its signatories to prevent and suppress the slave trade, bring about the abolition of slavery as soon as possible and take measures to prevent forced labor from developing into conditions analagous to slavery. Other signatories include Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Austria, Abyssinia, Portugal, Italy, Greece, the Netherlands and various South American countries.

The Liberian Commonwealth began with settlements established for American Negro slaves by private societies at the instance of President Monroe in 1819 and became a republic in 1847. In 1912 Liberia obtained a loan of $1,600,000 in the United States. An additional loan of $5,000,000 was granted in the course of the World War, conditional upon an American receivership.

The Firestone Tire and Rubber Company has engaged in extensive rubber plantation operations in Liberia, and it is understood the report of the slavery commission praises it highly for maintaining high standards of wages and working conditions.

N. Y. HERALD

JAN 8 - 1931

America Awaits Move by Liberia To End Slavery

State Department to Publish Findings of Inquiry Into Forced Labor in Republic

U. S. Note Is Unanswered

Negro Government Accused of Punishing Witnesses

By The Associated Press

WASHINGTON, Jan. 7.—A move by the Liberian government toward abolition of slavery was awaited by the State Department tonight as the American government prepared to publish a full report of the investigation of slavery conditions in the Negro republic.

Joseph P. Cotton, Under Secretary of State, said the department had not yet received a reply to its demand upon Liberia on November 17 that slavery be abolished and those responsible for it be brought to account. The demand was contained in a memorandum handed to the Liberian Consul General at Baltimore for communication to his government. Charles D. B. King, President, and Albert W. Yancy, Vice-President of Liberia, resigned after the memorandum was presented to the Liberian Legislature.

The memorandum termed "inadequate" the steps taken by the government up to that time toward correcting conditions, and pointed out that no proceedings had been started against those responsible. The slavery charges involved a traffic in natives to a point outside Liberia, and cited government officials said to have used enforced labor for private enterprises under the guise of public works. The American note sail also that natives who had appeared before the investigation commission despite reported government efforts to prevent them, were now being subjected to retaliation.

Aside from bringing pressure of public opinion through publicity, State Department officials have not yet determined the course to be taken in insisting upon compliance. Officials discredited suggestions of forcible intervention. Diplomatic pressure through the American legation at Monrovia was being considered, however.

Harvey Firestone jr., of the Firestone Rubber Company, of Akron, Ohio holders of large rubber concessions in Liberia, urged State Department offi-

cials to insist that their demands be carried out. Mr. Firestone told officials that reports from his representatives in Monrovia, the Liberian capital, were that conditions were bad. The Firestone company's holdings were given a clean bill of health in the report of the commission which recently investigated conditions in Liberia.

Mr. Firestone expressed the praise of his company for the stand taken by the Department in formally demanding that Liberia take measures to abolish enforced labor.

The sharp memorandum, based on the report of the commission of investigation, which will be made public Saturday by the department, probably will be sent to American legations abroad. At their discretion, American ambassadors and Ministers may furnish it to interested foreign offices as showing the position of the American government.

The Public Health Service, at the request of the State Department, has recalled a surgeon sent to Liberia last year, because it was said he had been unable to secure co-operation. Dr. H. F. Smith went to the republic to direct a sanitation campaign against yellow fever, which caused the death of the American Minister there more than a year ago. He will start back January 12.

Slavery Still Exists

Secretary of State Stimson has written a scathing note to Liberia threatening a break in relations between the United States and that country unless human slavery in Liberia is abolished. The Stimson note is reproduced in a Washington dispatch to the Baltimore Evening Sun.

Last April a commission was appointed consisting of one American member, one member nominated by the League of Nations and the third appointed by the Liberian government. In September the report of the commission was submitted to the Liberian government and early in October the state department of the United States government received the same report. "This report," according to Secretary Stimson, "is a shocking indictment of the Liberian government's policy of suppression of natives permitted, if not actually indulged in, by nearly all the high officials of Liberia, including the vice president of the republic. The conclusions are drawn from over 260 depositions. Many suspicious criminal practices and torture are cited. . . .

"High officials of the Liberian government made use on their private farms of forced labor, often brutally and ruthlessly, under the guise of government work. The report established the existence of domestic and tribal slavery as well as 'pawn' of natives."

Since the submission of the report, the Sun says, the Liberian officials have made promises of reform. The fact that nothing has been done in this direction has called forth Secretary Stimson's justifiable note. The United States' attitude regarding the evil in Liberia is summarized in this paragraph from Secretary Stimson's note: "International public opinion will no longer tolerate these twin scourges of slavery and forced labor. Unless they are abolished and unless there is instituted by the Liberian government a comprehensive system of reforms loyally and sincerely put into effect, it will result in the final alienation of the friendly feelings which the American government and people have entertained for Liberia since its establishment nearly a century ago."

The appropriateness of the intervention of the American government in this case will not be disputed.

NEW YORK TIMES

JAN 1 1 1931

LACK OF SANITATION IN LIBERIA CHARGED

Bank of British West Africa Gives That as Reason for Withdrawal From Country.

TWO DIED OF YELLOW FEVER

Englishman Is Quoted as Saying That Heaps of Rubbish Are Piled Up All Over the Capital.

Owing to alleged complete lack of sanitation in Liberia the Bank of British West Africa has decided to have no further financial dealings with the government or people of the Negro republic. This decision had been reached in October, but was put into execution only when the bank officials on Dec. 27 learned of the probable nature of the report of the International Commission, which investigated slavery and forced labor in Liberia.

The potential decision made by the bank in October was based on an independent investigation made by its own agents. The report of this investigation does not mention either "slavery" or "forced labor," although the investigators are said to have collected a quantity of material on these subjects, both official and unofficial. It bases its opinion that the bank should withdraw from Liberia solely on the fact that the lives of the bank employes were endangered on account of "complete lack of sanitation."

On Dec. 24 the British Postmaster General announced that money order business with Liberia had been suspended.

According to interviews given to the London press by officials of the Bank of British West Africa, presumably based on the unpublished parts of the report of its investigators, the shortage of labor in the republic is the cause of the curious efforts of J. F. Cooper, Secretary of the Interior, to obtain workers. This lack of labor is said to be caused by the fact that in recent years large numbers of natives, resenting the dominance of "educated" Negroes who came from the United States and the West Indies, have migrated to the British possession of Sierra Leone, where they found their work better paid and life more endurable.

Prior to 1927, on account of the British loan in 1912, British financial interests are said to have been preponderant in Liberia. Then American interests began to prevail, particularly as a result of the agreement connected with the $5,000,000 American loan of three years ago.

Lack of Sanitation Charged.

For twenty years the Bank of British West Africa had a branch in the capital, Monrovia, and another at Cape Palmas. According to the annual statements of this bank a good volume of business was done and foreigners with agencies in the country and commercial firms doing business in or with Liberia are said to have found the bank of immense convenience. And in spite of the growing business with Liberia of the National City Bank of New York, the Firestone Rubber Company and other American concerns, no business reasons are assigned by the Bank of British West Africa for its withdrawal—merely a matter of sanitation.

The Daily Telegraph of London on Dec. 30 printed a statement made by Sir Roy Wilson, a director of the Bank of British West Africa, in which he expressed his reluctance to indulge in "any general observations on Liberian affairs," described the sanitary conditions of Liberia as "intolerable," and then said:

"After all, the first concern of the bank at all its many branches overseas is, and always has been, the welfare of its staff. We have lost during the last few years in Monrovia two of our valuable white assistants by yellow fever, and we felt that as all our efforts to induce the government to remedy the deplorably unhygienic conditions in Liberia were unavailable, we had no option but to clear out. We regret the necessity of having had to take such a step."

Refuse Piled Up in Capital.

The foregoing explanation of the bank's withdrawal is supported by the London paper with an interview obtained from "an Englishman who had been there recently." He is quoted as saying:

"Heaps of refuse are allowed to accumulate all over the town [Monrovia]. There was a collection of such disease-breeding rubbish quite close to the premises of the bank. The bank officials, being unable to induce the authorities to remove this, set some men on to clear it away, but the operations were stopped by the local officials.

"There is a shocking absence of sanitary arrangements and in consequence outbreaks of yellow fever are of constant occurrence, and I am not surprised at the decision of the Bank of British West Africa to take its staff away from such a place."

The Daily Telegraph adds:

"When the President of the republic was in London three years ago he was urged by the bank and other representatives of British interests in his territory to adopt a scheme of sanitary reform, and similar representations have frequently been made through the Foreign Office.

"The commercial potentialities of the country are undoubtedly considerable, and there is scope for British enterprise in many directions. But competent observers, who know the country, are unanimous in saying that the development of the resources is impossible under existing conditions. The governments in the British West African Colonies have demonstrated that life in West Africa can be made tolerable and safe for Europeans if health conditions are studied and sanitary arrangements are planned and carried out on modern lines.

"Today in Liberia sanitation simply does not exist, and the withdrawal of the Bank of British West Africa from the country should be a warning to the government to undertake without delay the long overdue sanitary reforms."

U. S. PROTESTING LIBERIAN SLAVES

Telegraph 1-10-31

Diplomatic Pressure Brought to Bear on Question

MANY NOTES EXCHANGED

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9 (AP)—The Washington and Liberian governments have been in frequent communication in the last month—the United States insisting that slavery be abolished in the Negro republic.

While it had first been indicated no correspondence had taken place between the American and Liberian governments since the state department's initial memorandum demanding abolition of the slave trade, it was disclosed today that diplomatic pressure on the question has been brought to bear.

Efforts Not Satisfactory

Following an acknowledgment by Liberia of the state department's original demand which precipitated the resignations of President King and Vice President Yancy, the two governments, it was learned, have been in constant communication.

Throughout the formal exchange of notes and informal discussions in Liberia between the American legation and the Liberian government the state department has pressed vigorously its position that Liberia must meet the recommendations of the commission which recently concluded an investigation of enforced labor conditions.

So far the state department has met Liberia's replies with the assertion that its efforts and proposed efforts to abolish slavery have not been satisfactory. .

N. Y. EVE. WORLD

JAN 8 - 1931

SLAVERY IN A NEGRO REPUBLIC!

To many it will seem passing strange that Secretary Stimson has had to send an exceptionally sharp note of protest to the government of Liberia because that country tolerates and protects slavery and forced labor. It seems strange because most people imagine that, because of the experiences of the colored race in this and other countries in the past, the idea of slavery would be abhorrent to a Negro republic. It appears otherwise. There are few places where human slavery still exists, and one of these is where the Negroes are in control. It seems that some of the officials of Liberia profit through slavery and have not been impressed by the abolition literature that used to be a feature of American life. Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison must impress the Negro republic as rather silly creatures to have made so much of a fuss about a little thing like slavery.

And to think that Liberia was once a country to which American slaves could escape and have their freedom! It would be a strange turn if, as is threatened by implication, the United States should sever relations with the Negro republic because that republic will not end slavery.

Liberia

Race Problem - 1931

Africa

LIBERIA AND THE LEAGUE.

PROPOSED COMMISSION TO ENFORCE SUPPRESSION OF SLAVERY.

It is understood that conversations have been held in London between the American Embassy and the Foreign Office as to the best method of procedure in regard to the state of slavery which has been shown to exist in Liberia by the report of the special Commission (published last week). The Commissioners were Dr. Cuthbert Christy (British), Dr. Johnson (United States nominee), and Mr. Barclay (Liberian), and they unanimously recommended drastic changes in the Liberian administration, and notably the employment of a limited number of white officials.

The Commission was appointed by the Liberian Government, and reported to it, but the expenses of the inquiry were borne by the League of Nations, and the American Government has always had a special interest in the affairs of Liberia. Moreover, the British Government has requested that the report shall be brought before the League Council at its session this week—on which, of course, the United States is not represented. The exact method of procedure is therefore a matter of some perplexity, and it is hoped that the preliminary conversations between the British and American Governments may help to clear the way. It is understood that there is no disposition on the part of the United States to put any obstacle in the way of the League of Nations in dealing with the matter.

African World

The Liberian Government, it is stated, has agreed already to the suggestion that an International Commission should be established to advise and watch over the situation.

1-24-31

This acquiescence in the shelving of the responsibility is prompted by the fact that the Liberian Government has neither money nor power entirely to put down slavery and forced labour.

London England

A Central News telegram from Geneva states that the United States, which has hitherto exercised a kind of beneficent Protectorate over the Republic, intends to refuse any further responsibility, and will support the suggestion of a League Commission. It is understood that France and Great Britain will also support the idea.

GENEVA, January 22.

Debate at League Council.

The report of the Commission of Inquiry into slavery in Liberia came before the League Council for consideration on Thursday.

The rapporteur on Liberia, M. Zaleski (Poland), suggested that the representative of Liberia and the head of the Commission of Inquiry should first be heard, and deferred his proposals for action by the League to a later meeting. Signor Sottile, the Italian who represents Liberia at the League, and Dr. Cuthbert Christy (President of the Commission of Inquiry) accordingly made statements.

Signor Sottile criticised some of the points of the report, and claimed that the Commissioners had overstepped their terms of reference. Nevertheless, his Government had accepted their conclusions, and had already given effect to many of them by presidential decree.

Some of the proposals would involve heavy expenditure, and Liberia, said Signor Sottile, was a poor country. Further financial assistance would be acceptable if the independence of Liberia were properly respected.

It is expected that some form of economic reconstruction will be offered by the League and accepted by the Liberian Government, and that the Commissioners appointed to superintend the reform of the administration will be given wide powers by the Liberian Government itself.

Dr. Christy corrected some of the statements made by Signor Sottile about the Commission's report, and pointed out that it was not by any means out of date, as had been insinuated.

Mr. Henderson said that nothing in Signor Sottile's speech had weakened the force of the recommendations put forward by the Commission. Liberia had taken up a loyal attitude towards the League, for which he thanked the Liberian Government and its representatives. But a serious state of affairs existed, and big and numerous changes were necessary.

The reception of the Christy report in Liberia has been better than might have been expected, and the moment is propitious for the introduction of reform. Presidential elections are due to be held in May—that is before the next session of the Council—and a change of Government in the interval might materially alter the situation.—The "Times."

New President's Reforms.

According to the "Liberia Express," Monrovia, Provisional President Barclay has inaugurated his régime by a reduction of salaries of officials of all grades—including that of the President.

The Provisional President, who is stated to have other important reforms under consideration, has made an appeal for the help and good will of all sections of the community in the task of putting Liberia on her feet again and rehabilitating the Republic in the eyes of the world.

U.S. NOTE TO LIBERIA.

African World

Unfulfilled Promises.

1-19-31

On Saturday the Secretariat of the League of Nations made public a Note and a memorandum recently addressed to Liberia by the United States.

London England

In the Note delivered on November 5, 1930, the United States Government, which had received from the American member of the International Commission of Inquiry a signed copy of the unanimous report, records "the recent assurance of the Liberian Government 'that it accepts the recommendations and suggestions of the International Commission of Inquiry, and agrees to adopt such recommendations.'"

In the memorandum, delivered on November 17, 1930, the United States Government observes that:—

Since the submission of the Report on September 8, 1930, the Government of Liberia has made numerous promises of reform, but, in so far as the American Government is aware, the Government of Liberia has failed to submit definite plans for their execution. The Department of State is informed that a Cabinet committee was appointed to examine the report, but that its recommendations comprised a series of only partial reforms, without measures for carrying them out.

On September 30, 1930, the President of Liberia informed the American Government that the Liberian Government "accepted the recommendations of the International Commission" and agreed to carry them out. In its reply of October 3, the American Government stated that when the details of the reform programme were received the American Government would study them with a view to rendering assistance. Although the American Chargé d'Affaires ad interim has made frequent inquiries, no such details have yet been received from the Government of Liberia. Ten weeks have now elapsed since the formal submission of the report to the Liberian Government. The American Government understands that not only has no action been taken against the officials whose guilt was established therein, but apparently all of these officials continue to hold public office.

HERALD

JAN 21 1931

U. S. Acts to Aid Liberian People To End Slavery

State Department Reveals Plans on Sanitation and Forced Labor Problems

Minister May Be Elevated

President Nominates Negro as Envoy Extraordinary

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 20.—Two steps expected to have the effect of beginning definite action to end slavery and improve sanitary conditions in Liberia were announced today, one by the State Department and the other by the White House.

The State Department, after learning of an Exchange Telegraph dispatch from Geneva saying the understanding there was that the United States was ready to "wash its hands" of Liberia, issued a statement disclosing that, on the contrary, it has been active with a view to bringing about international co-operation to improve conditions there.

The White House, meanwhile, announced that President Hoover had sent to the Senate the nomination of Charles E. Mitchell, now Minister Resident and Consul General at Monrovia, to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Liberia. This will have the effect not only of doubling the Negro Minister designate's salary, now $5,000 a year, but of increasing his diplomatic prestige in the conduct of any business necessary to advance the desire of this government to see slavery ended in Liberia.

The State Department's statement follows:

"While it would not accord with the established policy of the United States to assume any exclusive responsibilities on the African continent, the American government, in view of the social and humanitarian principles involved and the traditional friendly interest of the American people in the welfare of Liberia, would be prepared to give sympathetic consideration to a proposal for affirmative international co-operation destined to assist the Liberian people in a solution of their present problems concerning both slavery and sanitation.

"The method by which our traditional interest in this matter can be continued effectively, to remedy the evils which have been disclosed by the slavery report, has been under active discussion with representatives of other signatories of the slavery convention of 1926, including Liberia, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan."

The slavery report mentioned in the statement was that of the international commission of inquiry into the existence of slavery and enforced labor in Liberia, a commission set up at the invitation of the Monrovian government, with representatives of the United States, Great Britain and Liberia participating.

It was after this report had failed to arouse action on the part of the Liberian government that Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State, served notice that if the conditions disclosed were allowed to continue the friendship of the United States might be sacrificed. The President and Vice-President of Liberia thereupon resigned and the government under the Secretary of State, notified the powers that it accepted the findings and recommendations of the report "in principle."

No specific action to remedy the conditions, however, has followed, and Great Britain in the meantime has had the report made part of the agenda of the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations which began today at Geneva. The conversations conducted here in the last few days by William R. Castle jr., Under Secretary of State, with interested ambassadors are expected in the normal course to find reflection in the discussion at Geneva.

Although it has been decided to elevate the Minister Resident at Monrovia to the rank of Minister, it has not been decided whether he shall present his credentials at once should the Senate confirm the nomination.

It was indicated, however, that further action by the State Department probably would await the outcome of the Geneva discussion.

The Minister-designate is now en route to Monrovia after conference with State Department officials. Born at St. Michael's, Md., he was educated here and in Massachusetts. He served in the Navy before and during the Spanish-American War, and then, for more than twenty-five years, was a teacher in and later business manager of the West Virginia State College, at Institute, W. Va. He was a Republican National Committeeman from that state for many years and in 1924 was appointed by the then President Coolidge to be Secretary of the Commission of Economic Investigation in the Virgin Islands. He founded the first Negro bank in West Virginia, and was its president for twelve years. He was made Minister Resident and Consul General in Liberia by President Hoover last September.

The Liberian Commission's Report.

The report of the International Commission of Inquiry into the allegations of the existence of forms of slavery and forced labour in Liberia, with the connivance and participation of high government officials, discloses a state of affairs almost incredible, and calling for immediate and drastic reform. Among the friends of African advancement, indignation will be mingled with grief at the setback to the cause through the demonstration of corruption and maladministration in one of the only two independent native states in Africa.

The accounts of the treatment of the helpless natives of the interior, whose sufferings had been hidden because their illiteracy had debarred them from making them known, recall conditions in the Congo in the days of "Red Rubber." The tale of brutalities wreaked upon the helpless villagers is the same; the use of the armed forces of the Government to terrorise and capture the men, the seizure of old men, women and children as hostages for the surrender of their sons and husbands and brothers, the floggings and ill-usage of the prisoners destined for deportation, the marching them to the coast in caravans like the kafalas of the old slave trade, revive the horrors which the civilised world thought it had suppressed. The acme of horror is attained by the fact that these cruelties are not inflicted by greedy and unscrupulous white men, callously seeking wealth, but by fellow Africans, the sufferings of whose ancestors moved the civilised world to abolish that hideous system by which Africans were violently seized and carried overseas, whose fathers had been delivered from the bondage they have been imposing on the inhabitants of the land in which their liberators planted them in order to set up a beacon of freedom, and an example of civilisation to their race. That the African slave trade should be revived by Africans will be "sorrow's crown of sorrow" to the friends of Africa.

The report makes it imperative on the Liberian Government to cut off its diseased members and purge itself of all the persons implicated in these misdeeds. It is unfortunate that one of the first consequences of the publication of the report, and of the American Government's note thereon, should be the resignation of President C. D. B. King, whose energy and authority would have been invaluable in carrying through the reforms which must be made at once. The Commission, which included a former President of the Republic, has recommended the appointment of white officials in the interior, and drastic reorganisation of the Civil Service with the advice and guidance of a white adviser at headquarters. The commission's recommendations include abandonment of the closed door policy, the removal of the barrier between the civilised and uncivilised, and the extension of education to all. The suggested re-establishment of the tribal authority of the Chiefs will help to restore contentment, and to maintain peace in the hinterland. The fact that the Liberian Government has, through its Charge d'Affairs at Geneva, promptly and frankly accepted the recommendations of the Commission "as a basis for regulating any improvement that may be made in the social policy of the Republic to the whole extent of its resources" is an earnest of sincere intention to carry them out. It will be some consolation to the United States, which has a peculiar and maternal interest in the Republic launched and nursed by American citizens a century ago, that the Firestone Plantations Company has been exonerated by the Commission from suspicion of impressing labour, or of consciously employing forced labour. The State Department can proceed with its delicate task of advice and guidance with the knowledge that its own citizens are unsmirched by the revelations.

"WEST AFRICA."

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LIBERIA AND ITS FUTURE.

HAVING now studied for ourselves the League of Nations' inquiry report on Liberia (Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 38, Great Ormond Street, W.C.2; 5s. net) we are of the opinion, which we believe every open-minded African will endorse, that the Government, headed by President King, failed woefully in its first duty, that of protecting the people over whom it assumed charge. It is only too clear that the late Vice-President, Mr. Yancy, and several humbler officials should not only have been expelled from office long ago but brought before a criminal court. It is to the credit of Mr. King that he did nothing to hamper but all he could to help the League inquiry, once it had been decided upon; but his conduct in resigning at the suggestion (if not the request) of the United States Secretary of State does not indicate conscious rectitude. It does not look well that his brother was one of the syndicate supplying Liberian labour in gangs to Fernando Po. An accusation of receipt of money from planters of Fernando Po was met by the then President's direct denial and by other testimony which may be held to offset the charge. Some people may go so far as to hold that the President, in accepting unpaid labour in building his country house (should he have had a second house, with Monrovia so lacking in means of elementary sanitation that at least one business enterprise withdrew rather than lose more of its representatives from yellow fever?) and on his farmlands, was not straining beyond recognition the just privileges of a Chief, though we hold such a view to be wrong. But upon one vital point Mr. King, being a West African, could have been in no doubt. He knew that when Africans are shipped in gangs beyond their own country outrageous mishandling is certain. He did nothing to stop the system; on the contrary. We agree that no European Power in Africa is in a position to throw stones at the late Liberian Government about forced labour; and the remark of the Secretary of State at Washington, that Liberia had delayed ten weeks in introducing reforms, is laughable, coming from a country which in more than ten times ten years has not even stopped private war among its own citizens, by disarming them, and which on the very date of publication of the Secretary's despatch was the scene of a horrible case of lynching. Mr. King's offence is against the African people, not against those outside critics. If he had been of the stuff of the pioneers of Liberia, let alone of Lincoln or Livingstone, he would have lived the simple life of the Africans and little by little have established the country. As it is he has given an opening to those who are always ready to make sweeping charges against Africans.

What is to be done in Liberia? The League has taken the affair in hand and it must see it through, otherwise there will be betrayal of the Africans whose testimony to the Commission rings both true and pathetic. Loss of nationhood we rule out, because the Versailles Conference endorsed nationhood, and it would be hypocrisy to hold that the late Liberian Government had acted so much worse than other Governments as to justify loss of existence; because the Afro-American section in the United States would denounce any attempt to abolish Liberian independence, by the United States or any other Government; because a majority in our own House of Commons would also oppose any such move; and because it would be an immense disservice to the great principle which the League of Nations illustrates, if it could be said that a weak State which submitted its affairs to League scrutiny lost its independence by so doing. It would do no good to lower down upon Liberians as from a height a Government and a system strange to them. To our thinking the course holding out the best hopes for success would be for the new Liberian Government and the League to enter into an arrangement whereby the League would raise a small loan (judging from the amounts paid by the people in illegal exactions as shown in the Report they could even in these ill times find the interest on at least £100,000), and have it expended under its own officer upon such elementary things as sanitation and water supply and road-making. Then, with the aid of Dr. Christy and his Afro-American and Liberian colleagues who have conducted the inquiry, the framework of a new public service should be set up. There could be no more inspiring head of such a body than Mr. Sherman, the Postmaster-General, who made such a gallant and successful effort to shame the authorities at Monrovia into countermanding the export of one body of labour which fortunately attracted his attention. There are at least a dozen of the witnesses, Chiefs and others, whose testimony suggests that they also would be good men in public posts. Then, an appeal could be made, with good hope of success, for volunteers from Tuskegee, from the various missionary societies (whose members if they added administrative to religious duties would only be following the lead of Livingstone), and, last and far from least important, from the ranks of serving and/or pensioned African officials of the four British Governments of West Africa. With a service thus recruited, and with the League Commissioners to advise the new Government and to see that Liberian labour was free to offer its work at the market price to employers, whether from the United States or elsewhere, Liberia might in the next decade prove to the world that she could be in the working out of Africa's problems a contribution worthier of remembrance than the chapter duly read out to the world by the League of Nations.

Race Problem—1931

Asia

BROOKLYN, N. Y
EAGLE

SEP 27 1931

Richmond Negro Lad Predicted Orient War

Brooklyn Engineer Sends Memo to Science Editor Citing Prophecy on Sept. 9 Foretelling China-Japan Conflict Which Started Sept. 19

By JOHN J. O'NEILL
Science Editor of The Eagle

Ten days before hostilities between China and Japan broke out in China a young Negro living on the outskirts of Richmond, Va., predicted the event.

On Sept. 10 Mr. D., an engineer and a resident of Brooklyn, returned from a motor trip through Virginia and handed me a memorandum on the prediction as the first contribution to a "Bureau of Predictions" which I had proposed.

I had suggested the need of such a bureau for checking up predictions, by whatever means they are made, whether astrology, clairvoyance, clairaudience, or otherwise. Predictions made known after they have been fulfilled are valueless.

I suggested that some organization should maintain such a bureau in order to check up the degree of fulfillment of such predictions, and if the proportion of accurate fulfillment is sufficiently high to use these results as a means of ascertaining the source of the knowledge upon which they are based and the means used in transmitting this knowledge.

No steps have been taken to establish such a bureau, but nevertheless the following memo from my engineer friend on Sept. 10 was accepted:

"Here is the first prediction for your Bureau of Predictions. The young Negro from whom I secured it promised to send you this and other predictions that come to him," he wrote.

"He made a number of statements concerning persons and events with which I am familiar and with such a high degree of accuracy that I feel it is worth while to send you the following prediction:

"He said: 'I see two soldiers. One is a Chinese and one is a Japanese. Between them is a strong red and yellow light, and I see blood. It means war. There is going to be a war between them in China.'

"The young Negro's name is Pediford and he lives in Ashland, outside Richmond. He is a barber.

"F. A. D."

While Pediford did not send me his version of the prediction, I did have the statement by Mr. D. in my hands Sept. 10. The outbreak of hostilities in China took place Sept. 19.

Race Problem - 1931

HOLD MASS MEETING RE BAN ON COLORED STUDENTS AT U.W.O.

Dawn of Tomorrow

A mass meeting was held in the B. M.E. Church on the no-non-white race shall enter the Western U. Mrs. Jenkins, Editor of the Dawn of Tomorrow, acting secretary for the evening, was also reinstated as secretary on the Offense Committee and Rev. Daly of the 1st Baptist Church, who was a speaker for the evening was reinstoted in Rev. McNeil's place on the Board. 4-29-31

The first speaker for the evening, Rev. Daly, gave a splendid address encouraging our people to stand up for our rights in due respect to our white brethren. Congregational singing wos indulged in. The second speaker, Lawyer Pitt then addressed the assemgly.

London Canada

Lawyer Pitt in his address claimed that there are times when we must speak ond be heard. This is the time registering our protest against the ban set on the colored students in the Western U. Mr. Pitt Asked to be read again President For's statement Again he does not deny that there is a ban on our race. He, President Fox, claims there is no such legislation or any passed. Mr. Pitt claims he has proof that there is such and has just come to light. If not then why must a stotement be sworn before an attorney that you are of a white race. The reason claimed by Mr. Pitt that this affidavit was asked for was because they woke up over night and found that which they expected to be white was not white.

The press says, and he, Lawyer Pitt says that he has evidence in his possession that it was through something happening in 3 or 4 years.

Referring to Dr. Hughes, he is from the same country as Lawyer Pitt, the West Indies of the British Empire. And if the Government knew of this act would it not resent it as it contributes to its needs. Mr. Pitt says no man should be judged by his color but by his qualifications. Nothing could be more inhuman than for any institution of education to shut the doors in the face of an educated race. Mr. Pitt says he, for himself, would not care to attend Western if it did not willingly welcome him there with open doors.

A University, a school, we look to them to raise up children and educate them. If we are to have institutions that put in the minds of boys ond girls superiority and tries to put Christianity in the same atmosphere it is impossible. The same boys who heeded and took up the cause of the Empire and helped make it safe for democracy then we must make the school safe for democracy. In conclusion Mr. Pitt encouraged the race to go on and not slip back at this time. He also presented a resolution to be sent to all those concerned and to every newspaper where our people are, to be published ond a copy to be submitted to the government notifying them of the conditions that exist in the Western U. so they will know our race will not lose time and thought of entering.

Questions on the Subject:

Mr. Williams asked: Are the requirements read by Mr. Pitt the original? Mr. Pitt: Yes.

Are the resolutions to be supported by the public or boy present? Mr Pitt: yes, by both. I have grounds by which to go about to clear it up one way or the other.

Resolution read.

Moved by Mr. Hamilton and seconded by Rev. Daly that the resolution be accepted and supported. Carried. Questiion by Mr. Hamilton: Is this due to citizens of Canada or otherwise? Dr. O. A. Proctor. As a citizen, anything that affects one of us affects the whole race. The American Negro is not particular about going to Canadian Universities. They have a splendid field in the U.S.A. to choose from.

The rst operation to be performed on a heart and the patient live was performed by one of our Neyro men, Dr. Dan Williams. You see what our race has taught the world and what this lone university is trying to do to cripple our race. I have been in practice for 7 years and have only had 4 objections. It is not the color, it is the qualifications. This color ban, if it exists, should be thrown out and we as a race should support the resolution.

Mr. Daly. This is one of the greatest things aimed at our people across the border. I want every one to know I am whole-heartedly in sympathy with the resolution. It is the first touch down in Canada and they mean to toke away privileges ye have and Western does not want us there and the greatest word in the world is the race queustion.

Rev. Jackson in expressing his sentiments feels that if our people are to succeed it is now in the greatest swim Canada has ever known.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dawn of Tomorrow

The Editor,
Dawn of Tomorrow
London, Ontario.

4-29-31

I read with much concern your report in your paper about the ban placed on coloured students contemplating attendance at the Medical School, at University of Western Ontario, London.

London Canada

It seems to me by the explanation given by the executive secretary, Colonel Walter James Brown that the ban on coloured students was placed because of objections by white patients in hospitals to being examined by Negro students and the authorities considered placing the ban as a "step necessary to maintain our standard of learning." What ideas of our standard of learning Colonel Brown and the Executive possess, I am at a loss to discover from the explanation, but I do know that any sane, right thinking human, Christian mind, will admit that the best standard of learning for any student is a standard which prepares him to face the world with human sympathy and a Christian understanding of Justice, fair play, equality, among the members of the human family, irrespective of color, class or creed.

It is a terrible blow, and a serious ipact to the van of Christian and human progress, when any representative, of our institutions of learning in our Christian loviing country, vounch-safe to set up a barrier and inject prejudice and discrimination in the minds of our youths, be they white or black, and have the audacity to play with words, sentiment, ond the effect of such injections, by representing them as "steps necessary to maintain our standard of learning."

How could one conceive of our standard of learning being lowered by the presence of coloured students, or Negro students, or black students in our white institutions, I fail to see, but I do see the splendid opportunity of black and white students mixing and intermingling in institutions of learning helping each to understand by contact, the different racial ideals, customs, aspirotions and hopes and what is most noble of all, understanding and realizing that we are of one blood, of one God, and have one ultimate purpose, fellowship and communion with God and man and maintaining and holding high, the pure banner of Christianity and humanity.

I think that the decision of the University authorities is to say the least, mawkish sentimentality, most un-British cowardly and a principal subversive of the best teachings of the most dear and illustriaus British Empire.

Further Colonel Brown seeks to do the impossible by juggling with words and attempting to suck and whistle at the same time. He says the "ban is placed on coloured students, because white patients complain, or object to being attended to by coloured students ond in the same breath he says that coloured Canadians are not banned and of course, I take it, that coloured West Indians and Americans are banned. A Negro is a Negro all over the world and there is no difference in a Canadian Negro, West Indian Negro or any other Negroes, and if this is aimed at West Indian Negroes at a time when Canada and the West Indies are endeavouring to build up a trade, for their mutual benefit and a more common understanding as members of the Empire it certainly would result in serious hardships and possible repercussion to both countries. I sincerely hope however as a West Indian and a Ne-

University, yea Dalhousie University of which I am justly proud, (and have had contact with white students and have the audacity to believe that they have been benefited and I have benefited by the contact, socially, morally and intel ectually). that the authorities of Un

Race Problem-1931

Canada

ASHEVILLE, N. C.
CITIZEN

JUN 9 - 1931

The Negro In Canada

Studies are now being made of an informative and valuable character of the progress of the negro in various communities in which efforts have been made by the race to find a footing. One such study, the author being Miss Ida Greaves has recently been published under the auspices of McGill University, in connection with a series of economic studies of Canadian problems which that great educational institution is sponsoring.

There are not any negroes in Canada and the number is not increasing, it was in fact only 18,291 in 1921 as compared with 21,396 in 1871, but the findings made by Miss Greaves as a result of her investigations are not without interest. They are summed up editorially by the Toronto Mail and Empire as follows:

Negroes in Canada have by law the same rights and status as other races, and neither the Federal nor any provincial government has passed any legislation discriminating against the negro as such. But there is scope within the law for the expression of personal prejudice, and the negro's choice of how he shall exercise his civic freedom is made for him by force of public opinion. Miss Greaves thinks that the customary declaration of the negro's unfitness for the climate is not an accurate nor an adequate explanation of the small numbers of the race now found in Canada. It is the limited sphere assigned to them in the economic life of the country that has been most influential in limiting their numbers. They cannot expect much improvement in their own position nor look forward to a more advantageous position for their children; the normal rewards of industry and scholarship are denied them, and they have little contact with the wide, community. Miss Greaves says that the situation is unsatisfactory, for it gives opportunity for nothing but the cultivation of a patient submission on the one hand and the indulgence of criminal talents on the other. In support of the latter remark she quotes from an official report on the origins of Canadian people: "There seems to be no question but that they are more given to serious crimes than any other people in Canada. Their rate was 12 1-2 times greater than that for the British stocks." Percentages, however, are sometimes deceptive. Negroes as a whole have the reputation of being a law-abiding people.

Remembering the absolutely destitute condition in which many of the first negroes reached Canada Miss Greaves thinks it is difficult to say that the economic position of the race here has sunk any lower, but it is clear that the promise of that early period of hope has not been fulfilled. The hopes of the first generation of settlers have vanished, and no tangible basis of security has taken their place. She concludes that the most of which the negroes of today can look forward is to re-cross the border over which their ancestors came so hopefully, the path to Canadian freedom having proved a cul-de-sac.

SYRACUSE, N. Y.
HERALD

MAY 15 1931

THE NEGRO IN CANADA

Canadian writers frequently criticize the United States for its alleged attitude toward the Negro. When some infuriated, lawless, insane Southern mob stages a lynching, out come the fountain pens. By some of these observers Americans seem to be regarded as a people who do not resent these brutalities quite as sincerely as others.

Today these writers who enjoy their playboy hours at our expense but who have no conception of the thought that is being devoted in the United States to the Negro problem, have a little hometown material.

Recently announcement was made that a Chicago organization intended to build a home for aged and poor Negroes at Ancaster, in the Province of Ontario. As soon as that fact was broadcast the Ancaster neighborhood went into the same kind of color fog that is so often encountered among the bogs and bayous of poor white districts in the South.

A fiery cross was burned on a nearby hill as warning that Ancaster citizenry would not be imposed on. Members of the township council, meeting in the shadow of the smoke that wreathed upward from that blazing cross, voted unanimously for a new village by-law to prohibit construction or maintenance of any variety of private hospital in Ancaster.

Of course that bars the Chicago organization's program. The home for aged Negroes will have to be erected elsewhere. Where that will be no one knows at present. Doubtless other Canadian townships will follow Ancaster's lead.

When the Canadian writers pen their next story of the admittedly crude way in which the people of many sections of the United States deal with the Negro, they might also make at least brief mention of the Ancaster exclusion policy, with its fiery crosses and special acts of the township council.

Winston, N. C. Sentinel
Thursday, June 4th, 1931

THE NEGRO IN CANADA

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"Negroes in Canada have by law the same rights and status as other races, and neither the Federal nor any provincial government has passed any legislation discriminating against the negro as such. But there is scope within the law for the expression of personal prejudice, and the negro's choice of how he shall exercise his civic freedom is made for him by force of public opinion. Miss Greaves thinks that the customary declaration of the negro's unfitness for the climate isnot an accurate nor an adequate explanation of the small numbers of the race now found in Canada. It is the limited sphere assigned to them in the economic life of the country that has been most influential in limiting their numbers. They cannot expect much improvement in their own position nor look forward to a more advantageous position for their children; the normal rewards of industry and scholarships are denied them, and they have little contact with the wide community. Miss Greaves says that the situation is unsatisfactory, for it gives opportunity for nothing but the cultivation of a patient submission on the one hand and the indulgence of criminal talents on the other. In support of the later remark she quotes from an official report on the origins of Canadian people: 'There seems to be no question but that they are more given to serious crimes than any other people in Canada. Their rate was 12 12 times greater than that for the British stocks.' Percentages, however, are sometimes deceptive. Negroes as a whole have the reputation of being a law abiding people.

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GOLDSBORO, N. C.
NEWS ARGUS

JUN 23 1931

THE NEGRO IN CANADA

Studies are now being made of an informative and valuable character of the progress of the negro in various communities in which efforts have been made by the race to find a footing. One such study, the author being Miss Ida Greaves, has recently been published under the auspices of McGill University, in connection with a series of economic studies of Canadian problems which that great educational institution is sponsoring.

There are not any negroes in Canada and the number is not increasing, it was in fact only 18,291 in 1921 as compared with 21,396 in 1871, but the findings made by Miss Greaves as a result of her investigations are not without interest. They are summed up editorially by the Toronto Mail and Empire as follows:

Negroes in Canada have by law the same rights and status as other

races, and neither the Federal nor any provincial Government has passed any legislation discriminating against the negro as such. But there is scope within the law for the expression of personal prejudice, and the negro's choice of how he shall exercise his civic freedom is made for him by force of public opinion. Miss Greaves thinks that the customary declaration of the negro's unfitness for the climate is not an accurate nor an adequate explanation of the small numbers of the race now found in Canada. It is the limited sphere assigned to them in the economic life of the country that has been most influential in limiting their numbers. They cannot expect much improvement in their own position nor look forward to a more advantageous position for their children; the normal rewards of industry and scholarships are denied them, and they have little contact with the wide community. Miss Greaves says that the situation is unsatisfactory, for it gives opportunity for nothing but the cultivation of a patient submission on the one hand and the indulgene of criminal talents on the other. In support of the latter remark she quotes from an official report on the origins of Canadian people: "There seem to be no question but that they are more given to serious crimes than any other people in Canada. Their rate was 12½ times greater than that for the British stocks." Percentages, however, are sometimes deceptive. Negroes as a whole have the reputation of being a law-abiding people.

Remembering the absolutely destitute condition in which many of the first negroes reached Canada Miss Greaves thinks it is difficult to say that the economic position of the race here has sunk any lower, but it is clear that the promise of that early period of hope has not been fulfilled. The hopes of the first generation of settlers have vanished, and no tangible basis of security has taken their place. She concludes that the most of which the negroes of today can look forward is to re-cross the border over which their ancestors came so hopefully, the path to Canadian freedom having proved a cul-de-sac.

JACKSONVILLE, FLA.
TIMES-UNION

JUN 23 1931

CANADA DOES NOT WANT THE NEGRO

Negroes emigrating to Canada have not found things a they were perhaps pictured by agents who were financiall interested in a movement started fifty years or more ag The negro's home is in the Southern States of the Unio and here he finds the greatest comfort and appreciatio It is often claimed that discrimination exists in the South that the negro is not given a fair chance; but this is chiefl "hokum." The colored people have every opportunity give them for industrial and financial advance, in the Southern States; just as other races differing from the white Americans. That they do not to a greater extent attain independence or affluence or reach great heights in professiona or scientific pursuits is due to their own negligence or lac of ability. Some races are more ambitious than others.

Half a century ago many negroes decided to go to Canada They were told—and it is true—that there were no racia barriers there and encouraged to think that social equality and all that this implies, would be granted them. They went; and in the years passing they discovered that without denial or actual effort being made to keep the colored people together, or to deny them approach, the natura selection of white and black prevails there as in many places. The white people, like the proverbial "birds of a feather," flock together. It is a natural law and cannot be overcome.

Discussed by a student of races and distribution, Ida Greaves, writing under the auspices of McGill University, the negro is found leaving Canada slowly; no doubt to return to a climate and conditions more favorable. The Toronto Mail and Empire editorially explained the situation, as indicated by Miss Greaves, and it is found an old story. Persuaded to move into Northern and Western sections of the United States, the negroes have found that there is but a cold welcome when they arrive, and that the "equality" which they have sought is little more than an empty sound.

"Negroes in Canada have by law the same rights and status as other races, and neither the Federal nor any provincial government has passed any legislation discriminating against the negro as such," says the Mail and Empire. "But there is scope within the law for the expression of personal prejudice, and the negro's choice of how he shall exercise his civic freedom is made for him by force of public opinion. Miss Greaves thinks that the customary declaration of the negro's unfitness for the climate is not an accurate nor an adequate explanation of the small numbers of the race now found in Canada."

In 1871 there were 21,396 negroes in Canada and only 18,291 there in 1921. Figures for the present year are not available, but are understood to be even less. "It is the limited sphere assigned to them in the life of the country that has been most influential in limiting their numbers," according to the Toronto newspaper. "They cannot expect much improvement in their own position nor look forward to a more advantageous position for their children; the normal rewards of industry and scholarship are denied them and they have little contact with the wide community."

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Remembering the absolutely destitute condition in which many of the first negroes reached Canada, Miss Greaves thinks it is difficult to say that the economic position of the race here has sunk any lower, but it is clear that the promise of that early period of hope has not been fulfilled. The hopes of the first generation of settlers have vanished, and no tangible basis of security has taken their place.

In the South, where the white people understand the negroes and where the latter are given the fullest liberty to develop their lives and to increase in prosperity according to their ability, with help and encouragement from their white neighbors, they must to a great extent work out their destiny. The social barrier can never be removed, but need not injure or hold back the enterprising ambitious negro intent upon improving his condition and his people.

Farmers Get Homesteads From Canadian Government

Defender
Chicago, Ill.
12-26-31

Interesting information concerning the present status of members of the Race in the Canadian northwest was revealed by Henry E. Williams of Winnipeg, Canada, for 19 years an employee in the sleeping car service of the Canadian National railroad, who paid a visit Tuesday to the office of The Chicago Defender.

Mr. Williams, who formerly lived in Edmonton, Alberta, and has been a Canadian resident for more than 20 years, told of a prosperous settlement of Race farmers, who some years ago were given homestead sites of 160 acres each by the Canadian government in the Pine Creek district, near Athabasca, Alberta.

Wheat is raised mostly by these farmers and they find a ready market for their product. While the dollar value of recent crops has in a measure been affected by the universal economic depression, these farmers, nevertheless, were able to dispose of their wheat at a substantial though reduced profit per acre.

One of the most prosperous pioneers of the settlement is Mr. Williams' father, J. W. Murphy, who owns 320 acres and has farmed them for more than 20 years. Mr. Murphy is now pensioned by the government as are all homesteaders who farm their land a similar length of time and are 65 years old. Mr. Williams took occasion to pay a deserved tribute to the Canadian Northwest Mounted police, who are held in high esteem by members of the settlement.

He especially mentioned Officer Acock, who supervises the Pine Creek district, and who during the severe snow storms last winter when the settlement was isolated from the world, drove 18 miles through the trackless wastes in subzero weather, carrying medicine, food and supplies to the farmers.

The prohibition problem in the Province of Alberta has been solved by the issuance of annual permits which entitle the holders to purchase the best grades of liquor and beer at a nominal price. The people generally are temperate in their habits, and according to Mr. Williams, drunken disorders even in the larger cities are a rare occurrence. Members of the Race are law abiding and work hard and in Vancouver, B. C., a great number are employed in the Swift Canadian and P. Burns' packing plants, where wages and working conditions are considered ideal.

On the Canadian National railroad the salary of sleeping car porters is $80 per month. They receive three meals a day and are given three uniforms a year by the company. After 27 years' of service they are pensioned on one-third of their salary at the time of their retirement, and are unionized, Local No. 130 of the Canadian Brotherhood, embracing the sleeping car porters. There are some waiters on the combination club cars, but the dining car waiters lost their jobs at the close of the World war when the returning Canadian veterans were placed in their positions.

Mr. Williams was born in Atlanta, Ga., and he and his wife, Mrs. Eva Williams, have recently sold their homestead of 160 acres near Edmonton in order to reside in Winnipeg. They have six children, all boys, the oldest being 10 years of age.

Dr. Taylor On Windsor, Can. School Board

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
12-26-31

WINDSOR, Ont., Can., Dec. 24—Polling one of the finest votes ever recorded and running for the first time for an office of such nature, Dr. H. D. Taylor, a McGill University graduate and a practitioner in Windsor for about twelve years, was elected to the Board of Education of Windsor. Dr. Taylor first led in the early returns, but finally relinquished the highest vote honors to Mr. P. McCallum, who polled 2946 votes to Taylor's 2868.

When it is considered that there is only three or four hundred colored people in Windsor, the popularity of Dr. Taylor is easily ascertained. He is a Canadian war veteran, having served abroad as lieutenant in the medical corps and recently receiving a permanent commission.

He is a brother of Dr. A. R. Taylor, of Pittsburgh.

Race Problem - 1931

Central America and Mexico

MEXICAN COLOR LINE ROILS THE SOUTH

Afro-American

3-7-31

Baltimore, Md

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The consideration of measures to limit migration of Mexicans into the southwestern states indicates that that section of the country is very much peeved by the color line.

John C. Box (Dem., Texas) read in the House last Friday, a statement from various southerners and organizations which indicated dissatisfaction with present conditions.

Mexicans are accused of breeding more rapidly than Americans, of suffering from tubercular and veneral diseases, of carrying lice and bedbugs.

In 19 states of the southwest, where Mexicans live in large numbers, it is said, 1,157 reports show Mexicans and whites attending the same schools while 148 reports show that the two races attend separate schools.

Cora Campbell, a white public school teacher in Houston, Texas, was reported as saying:

Look Negroid

"Some of our Mexican children look decidedly Negroid, but we cannot prove it and so cannot send them to the colored schools where they probably belong. They are very dirty."

Question Serious

Max R. Webb, white, retail merchant in Miami, Ariz., reports that, "Mexicans and whites attend the same schools which is most disgusting. The Mexicans have now boycotted our new theatre because the manager has given them a separate section. If it wasn't for our strict police department, the race question would be serious."

To the committee, 429 instances of intermarriage between whites and Mexicans were reported in states.

There were 250 reports of intermarriage between Negroes and Mexicans in 14 states.

The report continues:

Mixing Races

"No other alien people entering America have freer channels for blood mixture through intermarriage than do these Mexicans with whom black and white races inter-marry to a limited extent.

"It must be kept in mind that the humbler classes of the Mexicans are basically Indians, many of whom have a strain of Negro blood derived from black slaves carried to Mexico from Africa and the West Indies.

Blood Strains

"Many of them have a considerable strain of Caucasian blood of Spanish and other stock sufficient to increase the number of intermarriages between them and Caucasian-Americans while their Indian and limited amount of African blood facilitates marriage between them and Negroes.

"Such a situation will make the blood of all three races flow back and forth between them in a distressing process of mongrelization."

Race Problem - 1931

Europe.

NEW YORK TELEGRAM

JAN 8 - 1931

LISBON BARS NEGRO PARLEY.

By the United Press.

LISBON, Jan. 3.—Permission to hold an international Negro congress in Lisbon in 1931 has been withdrawn by the Portuguese government, it is understood in consideration of friendly colonial powers, including France, England, the United States and Italy.

INDIA MASSES IN VIOLENT BATTLES

Daily Worker

Storm Jail When 4 Are Hanged

1-14-31

While the Round Table Conference of Indian princes, mahrajas, big feudal landowners, and their collaborators, the Labor, Conservative and Liberal Parties of British imperialism plan a tighter yoke on the Indian masses, increased mass uprisings of the Indian workers and peasants are reported in all parts of India.

In Poona huge crowds stormed the Yerovda jail where four Indians were hanged because of their terrorist acts against British imperialists. The British authorities tried to keep the hanging secret, but when the workers heard of it they showed their militant and anti-Gandhist spirit by massing on the jail and battling with the police.

New York,

The terrorists violent acts, and the mass approval of them, show the switch from Gandhi's non-violent fakery to open mass violent clashes with the British imperialists. In order to keep abreast of the movement which is rapidly getting out of Gandhi's hand, Gandhi's agents ordered the closing of all shops in Bombay and Poona. A general strike was called in Bombay, tying up all business. Barricades were erected at the Kalbadevi Road, Bombay holding up all street trafic.

Demonstrators Fight Police.

In Karachi violent clashes took place between police and Indian demonstrators. Stones were hurled at the police when the cops sailed into the crowd with their iron staves. Over 150 were injured, 50 so seriously that they were sent to the hospital. The superintendent of police and a number of his constablers were hit by stones.

Police fired at a crowd of peasants in a village near Allahabad when the peasants put up a stern resistance to tax collectors. Seven police were injured when the peasants replied to the volley of shots with a shower of stones, sticks and bottles.

Reports from Nagpur, Central Provinces, states that a serious financial crisis is gripping this section of India. "We want something a rescue us from the insolvency that has suddenly come upon us," said Sir Montague Butler, the British governor of the Provinces. His remedy will be increased exploitation of the poverty-stricken peasants.

SENEGALESE 2ND AFRO-AMERICAN IN PARIS CABINET

1-31-31

M. DELMONT

Blaise Daigne deputy from Senegal West Africa, was appointed genera under Secretary of State for the colonies in Paris last week.

Daily newspaper reports that this was the first colored person ever to be appointed to the French Cabinet are erroneous. In November, 1929, A. M. Alcide Delmont, a colored deputy from Martinique, French West Africa, held the same position in the cabinet of M. Tardieu.

Diagne, who is 58 years old, was a commissioner in charge of mobilization of colonial troops during the war.

MacDonald Pledges India A Part In Government Of British Empire

Question 20-31

LONDON, Jan. 19.—(AP)—Partnership of India as a dominion with responsible self-government in the British commonwealth of nations was pledged today by Ramsay MacDonald as the great Indian Round Table Conference in old St. James Palace came to a close.

"You have opened a new chapter in the history of India," was King George's message to the 100 or more delegates, but it was Mother India who had the last word after nine weeks of oratory and debate.

Montgomery

The Prime Minister, in a long and earnest speech outlining British policy in India, extended the hand of Dominion fellowship to the great Asian sub-continent where a fifth of the world's population dwells.

The policy he enunciated promised these innovations:

(1) Amnesty for India's 50,000 political prisoners if "civil order" is restored in India.

(2) An invitation to the Indian extremists to participate in the negotiations still to come before the new Indian government is established.

(3) Establishment of full responsible self-government in India with the imperial British government reserving control of finances, foreign affairs and defense.

(4) Extension of the voting franchise in India and the lifting of restrictions based on religion and caste.

(5) Establishment of a legislature of two houses modelled along the line of the Congress of the United States.

(6) Encouragement of Indians to settle their own communal problems.

(7) Uninterrupted continuance of negotiations to settle the details of the new government.

NEW YORK SUN

JAN 3 - 1931

Portugal Bars Negro Congress.

LISBON, Jan. 3 (U. P.)—Permission to hold an international Negro congress in Lisbon in 1931 has been withdrawn by the Portuguese Government, in consideration of friendly colonial Powers, including France, England, the United States and Italy.

The Brown Man's Burden

One of the reasons why India is anxious to get rid of English rule is that one-third of India's revenues is going into the pockets of English officials.

Afro-American

Starting with the English Viceroy, who is paid $95,000 a year, brown men are paying the handsome sum of $160,000,000 a year for the pleasure of being bossed by Anglo-Saxons.

2-7-31

Note the difference in pay between Englishmen and Indians in the government service in India:

Baltimore Md.

	Indian Per Mo.	Englishman Per Mo.
Civil Service	$30-$200	$175-$925
Police Inspector	$50	$100
School Professors	$100-300	$200-$1,000
Engineers	$30	$225
Railway Service	$20-$60	$250

Such is the brown man's burden in India. It's precisely what Haiti complains of (Haitian teachers paid $6-$75 per month; American teachers in Haiti paid $75-$650 per month).

In fact, this same sort of inequality is one of the burdens of the black man in the United States. At this moment, there is a bill in the Maryland legislature to equalize the salaries of colored and white teachers.

FRANCE HAS BETRAYED WHITES,

—Says German Paper

Courier

Announcement of Appointment Of Blaise Diagne Causes Storm of Protest.

2-7-31

CHICAGO, Feb. 5—(ANP)—According to an article cabled by the foreign news service of the Chicago Daily News, the announcement of the appointment of Blaise Diagne, Senegalese Negro deputy, to be undersecretary of colonies in the new French cabinet has stimulated Adolf Hitler's newspaper to a six-column streamer headline which announces the fact in letters over an inch high.

Pittsburgh Pa.

A smaller headline runs "A Negro as Tribute Collector of German Enslavement Politicians."

After a simple announcement of facts, the writer proceeds:

"France, which has always bombastically labeled itself the bearer of European culture, has with this new case of racial treason documented its unfitness furthermore to represent Europe. For us Germans the fact that a Negro has entered the ranks of our torturers and tribute collectors is doubly humiliating. Is it possible that Herr Curtius will soon be negotiating with this colored man from Algeria in order to beg for alleviations for us young slaves?"

Fortunately, the expression of this newspaper is not to be taken as representing the attitude of the whole German people. Germany is today torn with internal strife, the Hitlerites representing one of the extreme political elements, all of which are fighting desperately for ascendancy and are willing to use any means to obtain control in the nation.

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PAWTUCKET, R. I.
TIMES

JAN 3 1 1931

BREAKING DOWN THE COLOR LINE.

When a Negro takes a place in the cabinet of a great nation the advocate of equal rights for all, regardless of color, race or creed, may feel encouraged. This has occurred in France. Blaise Daigne, Senegalese member of the Chamber of Deputies, with a notable executive record in the war, becomes undersecretary for the colonies in the new ministry of Premier Laval, and the appointment has caused much favorable comment.

It is too much to expect that he will make an extraordinary reputation in the position, for the reason that his opportunities are likely to be limited. French ministries are notoriously short-lived. They change so often that they are difficult to follow, and hardly anybody today can remember who held a given position in the cabinet six months ago. To be voted out of office in Paris is not even a political setback of great moment; it is universally expected when a ministry is formed.

But nevertheless the appointment of M. Daigne is an important event in the history of government. He has had a notable career since entering the French parliament in 1914, attracting the attention of Clemenceau, who made him a commissioner with the duty of mobilizing colonial troops, a service in which he rendered an excellent account of himself. He has a reputation as an able, convincing speaker, one of the foremost orators, indeed, in the Parliament of France, but he must have had other ability to secure the recognition of the great war premier.

They have no such color question in Europe as we have in the United States, and France is proverbially liberal in this respect. Its action in this instance, however, is a lesson to us and to all countries. Nowhere can there be a surplus of governmental genius, and color should be no bar. Premier Laval has taken a real forward step in making this selection and his government has once more given proof of its skill in the administration of a colonial dependency. The Senegalese people and all peoples whose skins are not white may well feel gratified at the presence of this colored man in the ministry of France.

GIVE US A GHANDI!

Chicago Whip

Mahatma Ghandi, the leader of India's hordes to liberty and freedom, offers an example which the colored leaders in America might well emulate. Just released from prison, Ghandi resumes his battle and calls on his followers to gird their loin to do battle against the salt tax and other laws which the mighty lion of Great Britain has imposed upon the Indian subjects. Starved and emaciated, this leader emerges from prison and instead of taking time out to get his second wind immediately starts an offensive against those whom he thinks are enemies of his people. Creator of the doctrine of passive resistance, this aged leader forgets the ills and trials of his prison life and launches at once into the fight.

2-17-31

Chicago, Ill.

Ghandi willingly faces the fact that he might in the end be a martyr to the cause which he espouses, but apparently gives that not a thought. His satisfaction comes from getting relief for his people. His wife has steadfastly stuck with him and carried on the fight by his side, while he was in prison and while he marches through the country. Here is something that leaders among the colored people might pause to consider. Here is something that the colored people might also ponder over when weighing their leaders. How many of our leaders are willing to sacrifice their all in the cause of their people? How many can come out of prison and begin at once right where they left off? How many are willing to lose all in the interests of those whom they say they serve? Let us put the yard stick against every one of our leaders and see if he measures up to the standard set by Ghandi and if not let him step out of the role of leader. Give us some leaders of the Ghandi type and if we cannot have several let us at least get one.

STAR
MARION, O.

FEB 1 4 1931

NEGRO IN FRENCH CABINET.

A native Senegalese Negro, Blaise Diagne, has been named under-secretary of state for the colonies in the new French cabinet of Premier Laval. This is the first time in the history of the French republic that a Negro has held cabinet rank. The nomination throws an increasing light on France's policy toward her African colonies. She confers equality of citizenship upon her African nationals under her flag, and that citizenship is of France, not of Africa. Such a policy has been a tower of strength to the French in their work of pacific colonization, and this latest proof of its application in practice will tend still further to strengthen the bonds that bind the French colonies to La Patrie.—Montreal Star.

COLUMBUS, O.
OHIO STATE JOURNAL

FEB 1 3 1931

Negro in French Cabinet.

Montreal Star.

A native Senegalese Negro, Blaise Diagne, has been named under-secretary of state for the colonies in the new French cabinet of Premier Laval. This is the first time in the history of the French republic that a Negro has held cabinet rank. The nomination throws an interesting light on France's policy toward her African colonies. She confers equality of citizenship upon her African nationals under her flag, and that citizenship is of France, not of Africa. Such a policy has been a tower of strength to the French in their work of pacific colonization, and this latest proof of its application in practice will tend still further to strengthen the bonds that bind the French colonies to La Patrie.

FOREIGN OBSERVATIONS
By J. A. ROGERS

BLAISE DIAGNE A MEMBER OF FRENCH CABINET

Reproduction

Paris.—A native Senegalese has just been made a member of the French Cabinet in the person of M. Blaise Diagne.

2-21-31

J. A. Rogers

M. Diagne, who holds the portfolio of Undersecretary of State for the Colonies, is the second to hold a Cabinet position, the first being M. Alcide Delmont of Martinique. The new Under Secretary was Commissioner of Colonial troops during the war, being conveyed to parts of Africa on a warship, where he was saluted by cannon at the different ports as a government official.

Many years ago he was elected to Parliament and has since held other high governmental positions, being at the head of several important committees from time to time. Prior to entering Parliament he had served as an inspector of customs, traveling over France, Madagascar, the West Indies and other parts of France's colonial empire, thus making him by experience well fitted for his important post.

GERMAN U. WON'T OUST WRIGHT TO PLEASE DIXIE

Afro-American 2-21-31

20 of 35 Americans in Heidelberg Urged Club to Bar Him.

Baltimore, Md.

GERMANS SAY, NO

Kin of Former U.S. Pres. Supports Wright.

(Special to the Afro-American)

HEIDELBERG, Germany—White Southerners at the famous university here have failed in their attempts to oust Milton S. J. Wright, only colored student, from the foreign students' club.

Twenty of the 35 American students signed a petition to bar him, but Prof. Brinkmann, a German, head of the club, ruled that since Wright was a foreign student, he had the same rights as the white Americans or any of the hundreds of other foreign students.

Joining in the propaganda against Wright were the white South Africans. The Americans told the Germans that Wright was not an American but an African; the South Africans, in their turn, denied that he was an African.

Ex-President's Kin Courteous

Wright has received warm support from some of the other white Americans, among them, Ward Taylor, a descendant of President Zachary Taylor. Recently Taylor was invited to attend the home of the only American family in the town, and to bring two friends with him. He invited Wright but when it was learned that he was colored, the other American students used their pressure against his being received, whereupon Taylor refused to go.

Two-thirds of those signing the petition against Wright were naturalized Americans, and five of them were Jews, although Jews are looked down upon in Germany.

Native of Savannah

Mr. Wright is an A.M. of Columbia University, and is studying journalism, economics, and sociology on an exchange fellowship from that university. He has also studied at Ohio University, at Harvard, and is a native of Savannah, Ga. Wright is named as representative from the university to the great Colonial Exposition to be opened in Paris in May. While in America, Mr. Wright was instructor in sociology at Columbia University.

Race Problem—1931

Europe

The Biggest Black Cabinet Member in the World

Afro American 4-25-31 Baltimore, Md.

From very poor and humble parentage to the post of Cabinet Minister in a great country is at all times a notable achievement; when to this is added the early environments of an African village, barely touched by civilization, then such accomplishment becomes truly extraordinary.

AN EXCLUSIVE STORY

By J. A. ROGERS

Born on the rocky island of Goree, off Dakar, capital of Senegal, French West Africa, Blaise Diagne's opportunities for education were as meagre as his ambitions were great. The French language, however, was spoken around him, and deciding to meagre as his ambitions were great. new arrivals in the colony gladly employed him as an interpreter.

Senegal, by the way, is France's oldest African possession, dating back to the seventeenth century, and there is a story of the Diagne family in this connection that is worth repeating:

During the Revolution of 1793, the Senegalese, learning of the struggles of the French people to establish liberty, equality, and fraternity, and especially out of gratitude for the abolition of slavery by the Convention, sent a Diagne, great-grandfather of the present Cabinet Minister to Paris with a purse of five thousand francs in gold as their contribution to the cause.

Was Brilliant Interpreter

As to Blaise, he proved such an excellent and obliging interpreter that the customs service employed him in that capacity. Into this service he carried the same thoroughness and devotion. Later he took the government examination as inspector, and was first.

For the next twenty-two years he served as customs officer in various parts of Africa and France until he was promoted to controllership of customs in French Guiana, South America, in 1914.

First Native African to Parliament

In that same year occurred another memorable event in his life. His people in Senegal, recognizing him as the born leader, elected him as the first native African to the French Parliament. This was accomplished over the opposition of many leading white merchants and officials who had been accustomed to name a white representative from Bordeaux.

In Parliament he quickly made a name for himself by his restrained, dignified manner, and his clear patriotic vision. With no interests to serve other than those of his country and his race, he wasted no time in useless debates. During the war he served on several important committees.

Blacks to Front in Taxis

It was not until 1917, however, that his great opportunity came. The World War was in its most desperate stage, and the outlook was dubious for the Allied armies. Russia had withdrawn, leaving Germany free to pour her men on the Western front. America, though in a state of war with Germany, was not yet ready to enter actively. France, bled almost white, stood with her back to the wall. Where should she turn next?

The answer was: Africa.

Oh, for more of those valiant blacks, who, rushing to the front in taxis in those crucial days of August, 1914, had turned defeat into victory in favor of the French, sweeping back the Germans from the Marne.

Premier Clemenceau, gathering his recruiters, sent them into the jungles. But everywhere: in Senegal, in Upper Senegal, the Congo, the Soudan, Dohomey, the Ivory Coast, the blacks, instead of responding, revolted.

Clemenceau Believed in Him

It was then that Clemenceau realized that there was but one man in France capable of dealing with the situation. Ever since Diagne's entry into Parliament, Clemenceau had been impressed with his record. He knew above all, that Diagne had the confidence of his people. He offered him the post of Commissioner General of Black Troops and sent him to Africa.

Diagne accepted for two reasons: he felt that of all the great nations, France was most liberal towards the blacks, hence France should be saved if black men could save her. Again, he decided that it would be to the benefit of the blacks; in Parliament he would be in a stronger position to make demands in their favor.

To Africa he went accordingly, on a war ship, receiving at all the ports the salute of guns that his rank demanded.

When he arrived off Dakar, the scene of his youthful struggles, the white governor-general instead of observing the etiquette of the occasion, and coming himself to receive Diagne, merely sent a detachment of black troops as a guard of honor. Personally, Diagne cared little, but he felt that the governor's attitude was a slight to the dignity of his mission; worse, that it semeed an act of color prejudice.

Reprimanded White Officer

Diagne decided to teach him a lesson. Remaining on the ship he cabled Clemenceau. Clemenceau peremptorily wired the governor to receive Diagne with his staff and the white troops—an order that was promptly carried out.

Into the bush, through the lands of all the rebellious blacks, Diagne now went. At his call, "France is in danger; black men, to her rescue!" eighty thousand answered. This exceeded the expectations of Clemenceau by one hundred per cent. The latter had asked for only 40,000.

Refused the Legion of Honor

Thanks to the skill of Diagne and the faith of the blacks in him, the men had been recruited without any friction, in only three months.

When Diagne returned, the overjoyed Tiger conferred the coveted Legion of Honor on him but Diagne refused it. He protested that he had merely done his duty, and that was reward enough. He had still another reason; he wanted freedom of action.

When President Poincare heard of the refusal he sent for Diagne to come to the Elysee Palace. "But you must take it," said the President; "it is yours by merit." But Diagne still declined.

These blacks played a very important part in holding off the Germans until the United States entered. Born warriors, with the warrior's tradition, they brought a new terror into hand-to-hand combat.

Charged Like Mad Dogs

A German captain, Eichacher, described a charge of these Negro troops thus:

"On they came. First singly at wide intervals. Feeling their way like the arms of a horrible cuttle-fish. Eager, grasping like the claws of a mighty monster. Strong, wild fellows, their log-like, fat, black skulls wrapped in pieces of dirty rags, showing their grinning teeth, like panthers with their bellies drawn in and their necks stretched forward. Some with baycnets on their rifles. Many armed only with knives. Frightful their distorted dark grimaces. Horrible their unnaturally wide-opened, blood-shot eyes. Eyes that seemed like terrible beings themselves. Eyes that seemed to run ahead of their owners. unchained, no longer to be restrained.

"On they came like dogs gone mad and cats spitting and yowling with a burning lust for human blood with a cruel dissemblance of their beastly malice. Behind them came the first wave of the attackers in close order, a solid, rolling black wall, rising and falling and heaving, impenetrable and endless. . . .

". . . Our artillery sent them its greeting Whole groups melted away. Dismembered bodies, sticky earth, shattered rocks were mixed in wild disorder. The black cloud halted, wavered, closed its ranks and rolled nearer and nearer, irresistible, cushing, devastating."

Won Affection of Men

For the remainder of the war, Diagne was at his post, going even into the trenches, amid flying shells to look after his men. He protected them materially and morally, got pensions for the invalids, sent them back home, and generally won their affection by his unceasing devotion.

Later, his honesty was questioned A Paris periodical, Les Continents asserted that as recruiting officer he had received a dollar a man, a total of $80,000.

Diagne brought suit against the editor.

Clemenceau, testifying for him, said that there had "never been raised the question of money or any other reward for recruiting per man," and that Diagne had insistently refused any compensation. Minister of War Painleve also corroborated his testimony and told how Diagne had stopped the revolts in Africa by sheer power of his personality. The verdict was a decisive victory for Diagne; the editor was sentenced to six months in jail, on parole, and a heavy fine.

Stopped American Pastimes

Minister Diagne's next victory was over Americans who try to establish color discrimination abroad. When American tourists in Paris ejected Prince Kojo Touvalou of Dahomey from a Mortmartre cabaret, and two African officers from a sight-seeing bus, Deputy Diagne protested in parliament and was instrumental in having Premier Poincare to issue an order against color discrimination under penalty of prosecution. While Diagne has the power, color prejudice will have difficulty making any headway in France.

4-25-31

Fought in Behalf of Siki

In his native land, blacks and whites live in racial equality. In contrast to the colonies of most of the other nations, unskilled whites and unskilled blacks work together. For many years, Diagne himself was mayor of Dakar.

Baltimore

Always a defender of his people and their rights, M. Diagne came prominently again to public attention when he arose in Parliament in 1922 and opposed the taking away of the light-heavyweight championship from Battling Siki, the Senegalese.

Siki, it will be recalled, was the ex-dishwasher and distinguished war veteran who had won the title from Carpentier, the Beau Brummel and lady's idol of Paris. The fight, it seems, had been planned for Carpentier's benefit, and was to have been in the nature of an exhibition rather than a decisive contest. At a certain stage of the match, it is said, Siki had agreed to permit Carpentier to fake a knock-out, this, it seems, being the only way in which Siki would be accepted. But in the ring, Siki charged and polished Carpentier, broke his defense, crumpled him up in short order, and won a victory that will remain one of the great sensations of the ring. The referee, alleging that Siki had fouled Carpentier, awarded the decision to the latter, but the crowd howled him down, and Siki was acclaimed the winner.

Obtained Title for Siki

Later, when Siki's title was taken away on a pretext, Diagne attacked the organizers of the match and the French Boxing Federation. He asserted that both were motivated by color prejudice and forced its restitution.

Eloquent Denunciation

In Parliament he pointed out how such an unjust decision would be viewed by Siki's countrymen, who had come so willingly to the defense of France, as well as its effect on the morale of black soldiers. "If I speak of this prize fight here," he said, eloquently, "it is because I fear that in the future similar men will be called to judge mlitiary championships, and that they will decide against others simply because of their color. They have acted over Carpentier as if he had won. It is unthinkable that they should take away Siki's title only because he is black."

Has Met Much Opposition

As is to be expected, there are Negroes (not to mention whites), who disagree with Diagne's policies—some because they are jealous; some because of the old misunderstanding between Africans and the Negroes of the New World, and others who are

honest in their opinions.

There are colored persons who think that he should not have gone to Africa to recruit the soldiers, and who declare that he is sacrificing his people to the rich white colonial interests.

On the other hand, there are those who regard him as having done more than any other individual toward consolidating the position of the Negro in France, and who say that in his bringing the blacks to the aid of France at a crucial moment he has struck a death-blow for all time at any rising color prejudice in that country. Whatever the shade of opinion, however, all agree that he possesses unusual ability and value, and that he has won his place by hard work.

Defeated Keen Competitors

Politics is a much more difficult game in France than in America; while there are only two political parties in America, there are more than six in France. Hence only the politician of extraordinary ability and shrewdness arrives to the Cabinet. Diagne's career is argument of the most effective kind against the theory of the inferiority of the black man.

Diagne believes that the blacks have more to gain by aligning themselves with France and in thinking themselves French, than by thinking racially and forming a government of their own. He was president of the first Pan-African Congress held in Brussels and Paris, and it is currently said that he maneuvered it almost into futility, because of this.

Rebukes Garvey's Offer

His policy is perhaps best summed up in his letter of reply to Marcus Garvey:

"We, French natives, wish to remain French since France has given us every liberty and since she has unreservedly accepted us upon the basis of her own European children. . . . No propaganda, no influence of the blacks, or of the whites, will take from us the pure sentiment that France alone is capable of working generously for the advancement of the black race."

Other Natives Disapprove

And the positions that Diagne himself and other blacks hold, give considerable strength to his argument. Diagne has a princely suite of offices on the Rue Oudinot, with hundreds of white subordinates, and is playing an important part in helping to shape the destinies of a great nation. His appointment caused a wave of disapproval in the nationalist German press, it being felt that France has thus tightened her hold on the former German colonies in Africa. Other nations, with suppressed black populations, are likewise stirring uneasily, fearing that their blacks will be asking: "If France, why not us, also?"

Diagne is tall, thin, and dry. In age he looks rather like forty than fifty-eight. There is no sign of gray in his hair. His long, active stride and erect figure attests his remarkable nervous energy.

Puts "Dignity" before "Love" and "Justice"

He is one of the most effective speakers in Parliament; the purity of his French is that of a member of the Academy, yet there is nothing of oratorical pose or display in him. His delivery is clear, calm, balanced, and to the point, thereby shattering the superstition that noisy and acrobatic speakers appeal most to black peoples. For Diagne is popular in West Africa—so popular that many predicted he would be another Samory or Mahmadou Lamine. In 1918 he was too ill to return to Senegal for the election, yet out of the 8,000 odd voters in his district he polled 7,343. The three greatest things in life, he says, are: "Dignity, love, and justice." Note: he puts dignity first.

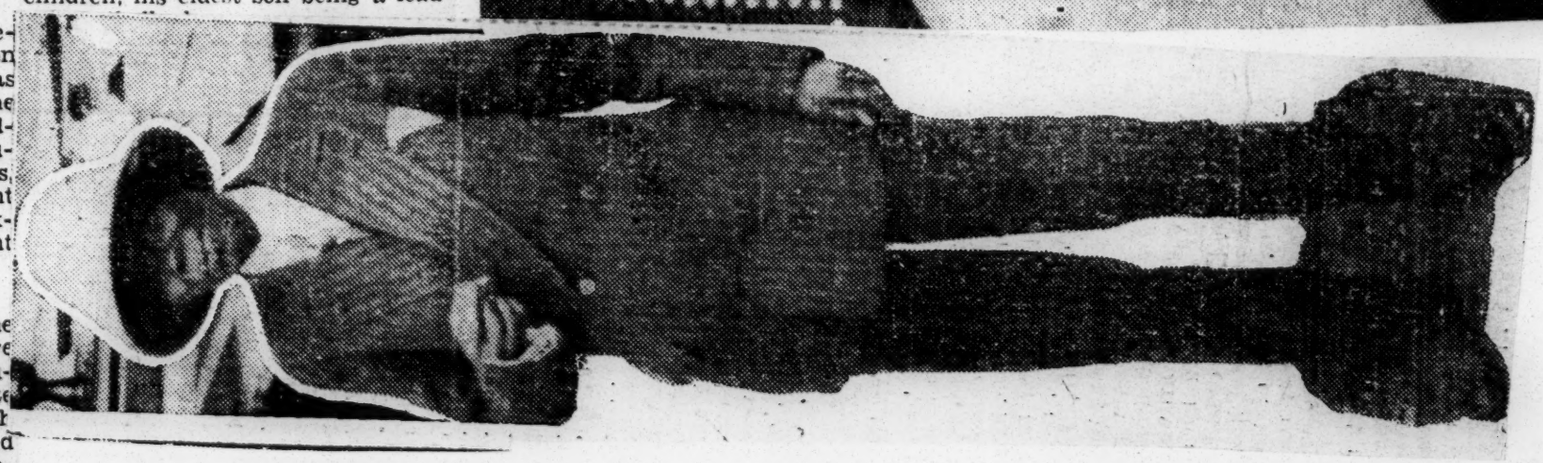
From Ancient African Tribe

His tribe is the Woloff, an ancient African one. He is fond of saying to his West Indian colleagues and friends: "I am the original tree; you are but the branches."

One of his best known traits is modesty. While mayor of Dakar he would point out reminiscently to European visitors some little barefooted urchin on the street: "That little one there: it is I," he would say.

In Senegal he has built schools, agricultural centers, and a medical college. Throughout his thirty-nine years of public service his integrity has stood all tests—a fact that even his worst enemies will readily admit.

He is married, and has several children, his eldest son being a lead-



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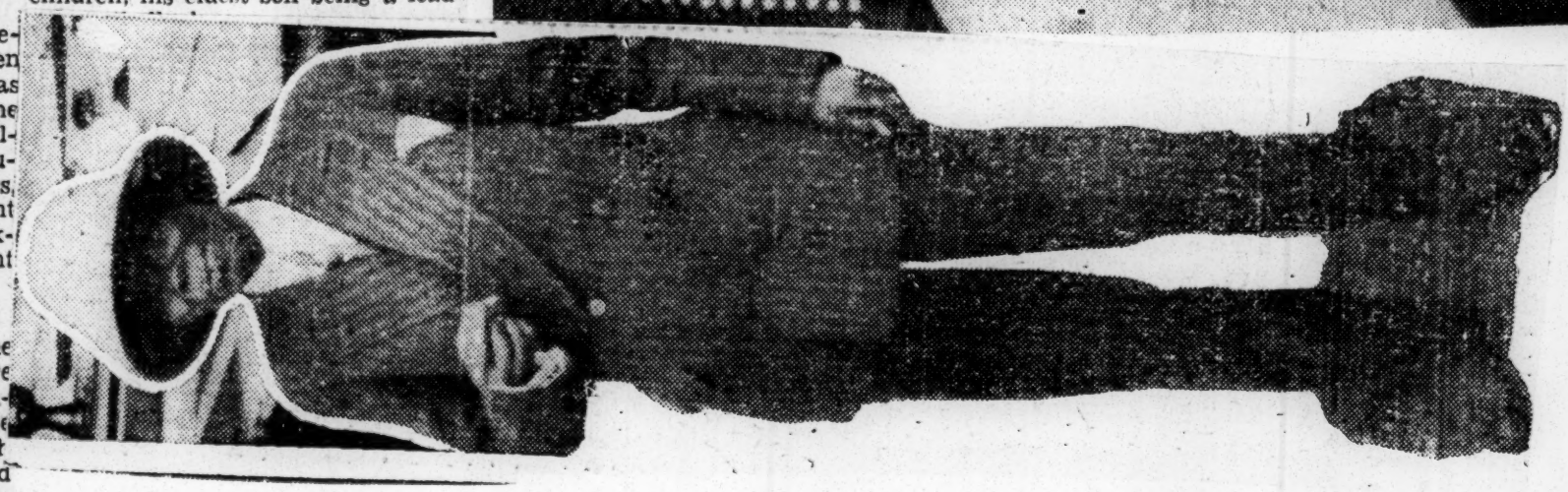

Race Problem-1931

Europe

BROOKLYN, N. Y.
EAGLE

MAR 17 1931

Negro's Cabinet Rank In Paris Thrills Race

Naming of Ebony Parliament Member From Senegal to Post of Under Secretary in Ministry of Colonies Attracts World-Wide Attention

By GUY HICKOK

Eagle Bureau, 53 Rue Cambon.

Paris, March 10—The naming of ebony Blaise Diagne, member of Parliament from Senegal, to the post of Under Secretary of State in the Ministry of Colonies passed almost unnoticed in France.

Except for the comment that during the great Colonial Exposition it was appropriate to have at least one cabinet minister from the colonies, little attention was given the appointment.

Among men of the black race throughout the world the appointment is viewed quite differently. Wherever black men can read they have noted and thrilled at the fact that one of their color has been given equal political rank with white politicians.

Praised in America

An American daily, written and published by Negroes, is quoted in Paris as saying:

"One of our brothers of Senegal is now at the head of the French Colonial Empire. M. Diagne is not a mulatto. He has the finest black complexion imaginable.

"This did not prevent President Doumergue from conferring the rank of Cabinet Minister upon him, nor does it prevent M. Diagne from standing at the left of the chief of the government in public ceremonies.

"This demonstrates the intelligence of our race and the incomparable liberality of the French nation, which tolerates no distinction between its members, be they white, black or yellow."

It is a slight overstatement of the case. Diagne, black as printers' ink, though he is, is not the head of the French Colonial Empire.

Appointment Temporary

The Minister of Colonies is Paul Reynaud (Tardieu's Minister of Finance) and a very capable white man. Diagne's appointment as under-secretary of the same ministry is merely a symbolical compliment, and when the Colonial Exposition is closed next October, if not before, he will return to the ranks as a simple member of the Chamber of Deputies.

Approach of the opening of the exposition released the ambitions of all three of the black deputies in the lower house. They knew that now if ever was their chance to rise in political rank. Rene Boisneuf, bearded mahogany deputy from Guadalupe, did his best to be elected vice president of the Chamber of Deputies. He did not get a vote.

With some amusement it has been noticed that in the fraternity of dusky skins the blacks themselves draw distinctions of color.

Gratien Candace of Martinique, the third black deputy; Boisneuf and Diagne were debating in the lower house not long ago when Diagne suddenly cried:

"Silence, sons of slaves, I have no more time to waste on you."

Diagne is descended from chiefs, and feels a slight disdain for those from the western continent whose ancestors were enslaved.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

COLOUR SENSE IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The British Empire is often compared to the Roman. In one respect the comparison is altogether to our disadvantage. For the Roman Empire created a form of equality between races and peoples which had great civilising consequences. Montesquieu said of that Empire that the Romans received slaves from all parts of the world and returned them as Romans. That, of course, is an exaggeration, but the Romans created a large world in which distinctions of colour ceased to count. The mingling of the nations and races of the world in that vast society, if it created problems for rulers, moralists, and thinkers, represented a most important aspect of the Roman Empire as a great unifying institution, held together by ties that disregarded the boundaries which separate nations in the modern world. That indifference to colour has survived in those parts of Europe where the Roman Empire left the strongest impression. When the French sent African troops to the Rhine provinces in the evil days of military occupation it was suspected that they were deliberately wounding German feeling, but the ordinary Frenchman would not have regarded it as worse to have coloured troops rather than others garrisoning his towns. It was possible in the war to find coloured officers commanding French soldiers in the field.

Mr. David Freeman discusses this problem in the "Contemporary Review," and he lays stress on the serious obstacle which the colour sense that is strong in Englishmen offers to the success of a great Empire alike in its government and its commerce. How old is this prejudice in England? He points out that it left no mark on the eighteenth century. Dr. Norman Leys in his book on Kenya suggested that it arose about the time of the abolition of the slave trade. The first British Governor in Capetown worshipped in the same pew with his African servants; if a Governor of Kenya did this to-day he would outrage European liking dark we resent their intrusion. As a people anxious to keep a moral influence over these races we ought to rejoice that an Indian prefers to go to London for education or training or society rather than to Tokio or Moscow, but in fact our hotels often cold-shoulder him.

The problem arises in an acute form in administration abroad. In India, the home of anti-social distinctions which as a great governing people we desire to discourage, we ourselves created new distinctions. "The late "Lord Sinha was the first Asiatic to "enter the House of Lords. He filled "the responsible post of Under Secretary of State for India, and was subsequently Governor of an Indian "province. He dined with the Viceroy, "but could never dine, even as a guest, "at the club at Bombay." Things are a little better now. Indians are admitted to some clubs, but they are still excluded from many. We exclaim, and rightly exclaim, against the treatment of the outcaste classes in India, and we point out how difficult it is to govern well when such inequalities are deep in the habits and the instincts of races. But what arrogance could be greater than that of living in a country and announcing that you will not consort in social life with any native however distinguished? We will govern you; we will tax you; we will trade with you; but we won't eat with you. Mr. Freeman gives an instance from the Straits Settlements. "Some "years ago a graduate of Cambridge, a "Chinese scientist, who afterwards discovered the identity of the germ of "septi-pneumonic plague in Manchuria "with that of bubonic plague in Hong-"Kong, was giving evidence before a "Commission in the Straits Settlements. He was asked by the chairman, "when the Commission adjourned for "tiffin in the middle of his examination, to accompany them to the local 'club. The outcry, which I myself witnessed, could not have been greater 'had a Tamil sweeper been brought in 'from the streets. These same protesting clubmen had no objection to go "to banquets given by wealthy Chinese "merchants, but any suggestion that "they should be returned was considered as unthinkable." Mr. Freeman makes the alarming statement that from experience extending over twenty years of voyages in the Far East he is convinced that colour prejudice is spreading in British possessions, and he adds that an increasing number of Asiatics who are British subjects travel by Dutch or Japanese lines in order to avoid the distant and unfriendly manners on British boats. The crude truth about such behaviour is that it represents the old Latin saying "Oderint dum metuant"—"I care not that they hate me if only they fear,"—a saying of which Cicero observed that it should not be put into the mouth of just and considerate men but only of tyrants. There were times when we were a convenience to Eastern races and they could put up with our manners because we rendered them services or provided something that they wanted. But our colonial Empire will not last for ever on that past. It will crack, as Mr. Baldwin said in a speech to Glasgow students, when we cease to be respected. The East is moving; new ideas are in the air; other nations seem as important as we seem and as well able to serve the needs of distant peoples; to be respected to-day it is necessary to win sympathy and not merely to inspire fear. Meanwhile, if Mr. Freeman is correct, our manners on shipboard instead of improving are growing worse. This is grave news both for our credit as a Great Power and for our prospects as a commercial people. Burke observed how difficult it was to combine great empires with little minds. It is not less difficult to combine great trade with little manners.

Liberal and Labour

The declaration of policy which Mr. Lloyd George made to the Liberal Candidates' Association makes no fundamental change in the existing situation. If it goes rather farther than any previous declaration in assuring the Government of Liberal co-operation it is also more precise in specifying the objects which the Liberal party has in mind, and which

the Government must also have in mind if that support is to be continued. There is no bargain with the Government, or pact or agreement or understanding of any kind, which will in any way hinder the Liberal party from voting against the Government or, if necessary, from turning it out of office at any moment it wishes—that is, when it thinks the objects specified are not being pursued with sufficient determination and success by the Government. There is nothing which in any way diminishes the complete independence of the party. That being so clearly the fact, it is difficult to see why Sir John Simon and his little group should be at such pains to spread the contrary impression. It may also be wondered what all the excitement has been about if in the result there is so very little change. Perhaps the change is rather bigger than appears on the surface. It implies a further step towards making the three-party system a workable basis of government, and a greater appreciation of the fact that, as Sir Herbert Samuel put it, an independent Liberal party, which all Liberals desire, is not quite the same thing as a party of independent Liberals.

If there were three parties none of which had a clear majority in the House of Commons, and if they all disagreed so profoundly with one another that no co-operation between any two of them was practicable, then the system of Parliamentary government as we know it would have definitely broken down, and if a general election failed to resolve the difficulty some other system of government would have to be substituted. The English people are commonly credited with a fairly high degree of political sense, and such a situation is not in the least likely to arise. But there are only two alternatives. One is that one of the three parties shall always have a clear majority over the other two (a result which even our present system of election, violently though it exaggerates the size of majorities, cannot be relied upon to achieve); the other alternative is that two of the parties shall discover how large a field they have in common and confine their activities to that. It is this last solution which Mr. Lloyd George put before the Liberal party at Great Yarmouth before the general election, and to which he still adheres. But the present party declaration goes farther in defining seven particular points upon which Liberals lay stress and which they put before the Labour party as indispensable to harmonious co-operation. It is for the Government to say how far these points accord with its own views. Or rather, since there is really no doubt that the Government's views do accord, to prove by its actions that it is pursuing them vigorously and courageously. There has been no preliminary interchange of opinions between Mr. Lloyd George and the Government on these points, so that here again the independence of the party has been strictly observed.

There is so little escape from the logic of this position that it is not obvious why any Liberals (except those who were followers of Sir John Simon) should have had any difficulty in accepting it as the basis of Liberal policy. Their trouble evidently is in the constituencies. They may know themselves perfectly well that the Liberal party has preserved its independence and has a distinctive policy of its own—in some respects as opposed to that of the Labour party as it is in others to that of the Conservatives,—but it is not always easy to convince the electorate of that. It is not so easy suddenly to denounce a candidate when you have been going into the same Division Lobby with him for years. But that cuts both ways, and one of the reasons for the exaggerated truculence of the Labour party towards Liberals has been just this fear of being thought not so very different from them. The Labour party will also lose in the constituencies, though not so much as the Liberals, by having co-operated with Liberals. It is a pity, but it is a fact that both parties appear to lose some of their vigour and independence, even if they do not in reality, by working together. The Liberals who complain of this would rather not advertise the fact of co-operation by making public declarations about it; they do not apparently really dispute the desirability of co-operation. No doubt there are many Labour men who feel the same way. The difficulty is that without public declarations of policy sentiment. There is a curious irony in the suggestion that we have taken from India her bad caste system and substituted it for the better traditions that we owe to our share in the history of the Roman Empire. To-day, as Mr. Freeman observes, although we like to think of ourselves as a great Empire, the dark races of our Empire are often shut out from hotels and restaurants in our capital. The colour sense is stronger than the Empire sense. As a great Empire we ought to rejoice that men of all colours living under our flag in some distant part of the world resort there is considerable risk, as experience has shown, of inflicting defeats upon the Government which are not intended, which impede progress, create friction, and are very likely to bring about a general election when neither party really desires one, and for no good reason. In any event there is no escape from the broad choice between co-operation and opposition. The word independence cannot really be used to indicate a policy of an indeterminate kind between these two. And those Liberals who dislike being committed to public declarations of co-operation should not be restive under Labour attacks in the constituencies, for these attacks are at least good evidence of independence. The broad conclusion at which the great majority of Liberals have arrived is that there is a large field in which co-operation with the Government is not only possible but greatly to be desired, that it would be a mistake not to give the Government every chance of making good in that field, and that when the general election does come it should be as a consequence of deliberate policy, not of accumulated resentment at misunderstandings.

Rambling Ruminations

Amsterdam News

5-27-31

By J. A. ROGERS.

New York, N. Y.

Open International Colonial Exposition

PARIS.

THE International Colonial Exposition was formally opned here by President Doumergue, but it will be at least six weeks before all the buildings and exhibits will be ready due to almost daily rain for the past five months. Nevertheless, it is thronged daily by tens of thousands of visitors.

The inauguration ceremony was impressive. Soldiers — black, brown, yellow — from the various French colonies lined the path of the President's auto and cortege, all the way to the exposition gates. Most striking of all were the Spahis, or colored North African troops, with their white head coverings, flowing robes, on their spirited white Arabian steeds.

J. A. Rogers.

Addresses were made by the President, Secretary of the Colonies Reynaud, and Under-Secretary of State Blaise-Diagne. Marshal Lyautey, builder of the exposition, in his speech, said: "The aim of our colonial penetration is neither to vanquish nor to assimilate the native, but to assocaite with him. It is for this reason that every doctor in the bush, every colony in the far-off plains, every new factory is each worth more than a battalion."

The great lesson that the exposition is intended to teach, he said, is "unica of the races—all the races. Human beings cannot be divided into inferior and superior races. Such do not exist. There are only different races. The great purpose of this exposition is to make the different races acquainted with one another and to learn to adapt their ways to one another in a common brotherhood."

The exposition grounds cover several hundred acres with a variety of human life and activity such as perhaps has been seen by only those who have made a tour of the world.

All the great colonial powers, except England, have participated. There are exhibits from nearly all parts of Africa, India, Madagascar, Indo-China, the South Sea Islands, Canada, the United States—truly such a meeting of races to delight the heart of an anthropologist, Moroccans, Tunisians. Egyptians, Sudanese, Senegalese, Annamites, Cambodians, colored West Indians and South Americans in numbers.

The most impressive building by far in the exposition is what is said to be an exact reproduction of the great temple of Angkhor Vat from Cambodia, which was built in the twelfth century; the next is the model of an immense African fortress from Central Africa in the region of Timbuctoo. Other picturesque buildings are those of the Belgian Congo, Madagascar, Morocco, Portuguese East Africa, and French West Africa. When these buildings are ready, natives will pursue their daily occupations in them and give their native dances and render their songs. There is also a replica of George Washington's mansion at Mount Vernon.

Among other interesting features are the Zoological Gardens, with an abundance of animals, chiefly from Africa. The animals are not kept in cages but are permitted to wander about, with a certain confinement, of course. Most of the attractions are free; good meals with wine may be had on the grounds for 50 cents, and a second-class ride on the subway to the grounds, a distance of several miles from the city, is less than 3 cents. The cost of entrance is 12 cents.

The American building is to be inaugurated this week. The feature will be an American Indian orchestra, of which three or four members are genuine Indians and the remainder of which are said to be white people bronzed especially for the occasion.

The illumination of the grounds and the buildings is very effective and gives the exposition an appearance of rare splendor and beauty at night.

Race Problem -1931

Europe.

NEW YORK WORLD

JAN 28 1931

LAVAL MAJORITY OF 50 INDICATED

And New French Premier's Margin May Reach 70

IS FORMULATING POLICY

Diagne, Negro Deputy, Made Chief for Colonies

By Alfred M. Murray

PARIS, Jan. 27—The new French cabinet, formed at 1.30 this morning by Pierre Laval, one of the youngest statesman ever to head a ministry in this country, was presented this forenoon to President Gaston Doumergue and immediately afterward began formulation of the declaration of policy with which it will go before the Chamber of Deputies either Friday of this week or Tuesday of next. The government's program will be outlined to the President at a cabinet council Friday morning.

Premier Laval can count on a vote of confidence by a majority of from 30 to 50 votes, in the opinion of the best informed observers here. Some commentators believe his majority will be as high as 70. This estimate is based upon the fact that his ministry is of much the same complexion as that of Andre Tardieu which had a normal majority of about sixty votes before the Oustric Bank scandal led to its overthrow in the Senate Dec. 4.

Laval's government leans a little further to the Right, perhaps, than Tardieu's, and is stronger in the Senate than was that of his former chief.

Negro in New Cabinet

Inclusion in Laval's cabinet of Blaise Diagne, Negro deputy from Senegal, as under secretary for colonies, is regarded as an astute stroke since it is in accord with French sentiment favoring assimilation of the colonies.

Diagne, born fifty-eight years ago in Goree, Senegal, has been in the Chamber of Deputies since 1914, having previously served France as a Comptroller of Customs.

Americans will remember Diagne for the eloquence he displayed in the French Chamber in 1922 on behalf of Battling Siki, late light heavyweight boxing champion of the world, after Siki had knocked out Georges Carpentier in Paris in September of that year. The French Boxing Federation had ruled Siki out of the ring.

Diagne argued so effectively that this ruling was discrimination because Siki was a Negro that the federation under parliamentary pressure, reinstated the boxer, who later was shot dead on a New York street. During the World War Clemenceau made Diagne Commissioner of Colonial recruiting.

Second of Race Honored

The deputy from Senegal is the second Negro to attain cabinet rank in France. Alcide Delmont, deputy from Martinique, was Under Secretary for the Colonies in the first government formed by Andre Tardieu.

Before going to the Elysee Palace today Laval announced that Camille Blaisot, deputy from Calvados and a member of the group led by Louis Marin, had accepted the ministry of public health, which had been left vacant when the cabinet list was first announced.

The Laval government will have to weather the attack of the Radical Socialists the moment it seeks a vote of confidence. Nine of the eighteen ministers and five of the eleven under secretaries who will face the Chamber with him faced similar assaults while serving in the Tardieu government.

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NEGRO TOOL IN FRENCH CABINET

Daily Worker 2-9-31

Diagne Betrayer of the Senegal Masses

newspaper

PARIS, Feb. 1.—In line with the rapidly crystallizing policy of the world bourgeoisie of making increasing use of the Negro petty bourgeois elements for the betrayal of the struggles of the Negro masses, the French imperialists have, for the first time in French history, included a Negro Deputy in the new French Cabinet which was organized a few days ago under the leadership of Pierre Laval.

The Negro member of the Cabinet is Deputy Blaise Diagne, of Senegal, who has been appointed Under-Secretary of Colonies as a reward for his support of the imperialists in their exploitation and oppression of the native masses in the French African colonies.

Negro workers will realize, however, that the imperialist oppressors reward only those who are willing tools of imperialism and apologists for the system under which tens of millions of Negro workers are being ground underfoot. The Negro masses will see in this move to utilize the Negro reformists, an additional reason for repudiating the leadership of this treacherous element.

NEW YORK SUN

MAR 1 3 1931

Color Prejudice in Britain.

For a great many years Britons particularly Englishmen, have displayed deep interest in the race problem in the United States. Not infrequently these students of human relations have criticized adversely the general attitude of the whites here toward the blacks, contending that the restrictions imposed on Negroes were ethically unjustified and unreasonable. They pointed to the commonly good terms on which whites and blacks live in many British colonies, particularly the West Indies, as exemplifying a more enlightened spirit than that existing here.

Because of this historic fact the emergence of racial prejudice as an issue in England is of particular interest. Elsewhere on this page is printed an article on the subject from the London *Spectator*, sketching the problem in its broadest outline with reference to the importance of racial toleration in an empire composed, as the British establishment is, of many peoples of many hues. London is accustomed to receiving with official honors princes and potentates of all descriptions. It is a great, cosmopolitan city, yet CHARLES E. MITCHELL, the United States Minister to Liberia, and his wife, both educated Negroes, found some difficulty, because of their color, in housing themselves suitably in a London hotel recently. Among British military authorities General PERSHING found strong disinclination to accept Negro regiments from this country in the war; he spoke with unmistakable firmness concerning Negro citizens in the United States service, making it plain he would sanction no discrimination against them.

The British discussion of a subject of grave concern to the United States will be followed closely in this country. If the problem can be solved in England a way may be pointed toward mitigation of the hardships in the United States, but this possibility should not be greatly emphasized. Great Britain does not have a black belt such as that which distinguishes the South Atlantic and Gulf States of this country.

NEW YORK SUN

MAR 1 3 1931

A Problem for Britain

Exhibitions of Race Prejudice Inspire Serious Misgivings.

From the Spectator.

We print in our correspondence columns this week a letter from the chairman of the executive of the recently formed "Joint Council to Promote Understanding Between White and Colored People in Great Britain." The title explains the objects of the new society; among its aims are the study of the misunderstandings arising from color prejudice; an attempt to deal wisely with cases of the "color bar" as they arise, the encouragement of personal contacts and the encouragement of an appreciation in Great Britain of the contribution of colored people to human welfare. We warmly welcome the new society.

The task which the society is undertaking is one of extraordinary difficulty, and it would be foolish to underestimate it, but if the British commonwealth is to endure, as we hope and believe, we think it essential that we should frankly discuss the question of the "color bar," how it arises, and what we can do to improve matters. We are not among those (living in a fool's paradise) who expect that the publication of a few articles in the press or the holding of meetings at the Friends House in Euston Road will persuade men to change their outlook overnight. We know how difficult it is to deal with deeply ingrained prejudices. But as the largest and most populous empire—we do not count China, because it is not an empire or world commonwealth as we use the term—with over 300,000,000 colored fellow subjects, there is an urgent need that we should clear our minds and ask ourselves, "Why have the French and certain other European nations practically no color prejudice?"

Color prejudice—found in its extreme degree among the Anglo-Saxons and to a lesser extent among the Nordic peoples in Europe—cannot be regarded as the hall mark of civilization, for some of the most civilized peoples do not possess it. France is usually assumed, even by Anglo-Saxons, to be one of the most highly cultured nations. Yet in France we had an object lesson in her attitude to color last month in the appointment of M. Diagne, a native of Senegal, to the post of Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

As our readers are aware, the *Spectator* has devoted much space and thought to the Indian problem during the past eighteen months. In the course of our investigations one of the things which has constantly struck us is that much of the ill-feeling toward Great Britain in India today arises not from a sense of political grievance but from some personal slight, imagined or real. We could give chapter and verse for this statement. To our knowledge several of the most advanced leaders of Indian nationalism were formerly warm friends of Great Britain, and it was owing to their treatment by white British subjects that their outlook changed. We know from experience in other countries, not necessarily inhabited by colored peoples, that nations striving for political freedom are apt to be hypersensitive and are prone to imagine condescension where none exists. But after making full allowance for the touchiness of some of our colored fellow subjects we think the sense of injustice and grievance is in many cases fully justified.

Recently we printed a letter from the secretary of the Y. M. C. A. Indian Students Union and Hostel in Gower street, in which the writer dealt with an aspect of the problem which especially concerns Londoners. He said that it was becoming more and more difficult for colored students and visitors to London to obtain suitable accommodation. Mr. Aiman also quoted instances of rooms having been booked in advance for well-known and distinguished Indian visitors, who, when they came to install themselves in their hotels, were refused accommodation "on a flimsy excuse." From our experience we could give many similar instances.

What are we going to do about it? A great empire and little minds go ill together. At a moment when we are straining every nerve to bring about a permanent understanding between the peoples of India and ourselves, based on friendship and an appreciation of the good qualities of the other, can we afford "to send home [to India] every year hundreds of embittered and disillusioned students, with nothing but unhappy memories of their stay in England"? The problem is not confined to India, but concerns our colored fellow subjects from the West Indies, West Africa and elsewhere; but in view of India's size and present political position the problem is perhaps more urgent with regard to that country.

Those of us—Conservatives, Liberals and members of the Labor party—who are working for a peace-

able solution of the Indian problem cannot afford to have our work undone by the boarding houses of Bloomsbury. Indians feel their treatment in Great Britain and in British steamship lines very deeply, for it is in marked contrast to the reception accorded them on the Continent of Europe and in the French, Italian and Japanese steamers, where they are received with all the courtesy shown to white travelers. Last week we discussed the problem with an Englishman long resident in the East, and he said, "I fully admit the justice of what you say, but you must remember that as far as caste and class prejudice are concerned Indians are the worst offenders; we have nothing quite so bad over here as their treatment of the 'untouchables.'"

There are, of course, many features of Indian life which we deplore just as much as does Mr. Gandhi, but our task is to set our own house in order before we start pulling out the motes in our brothers' eyes. The fact that there are grave social evils in India and elsewhere does not minimize our responsibility.

Cecil Rhodes used to proclaim as the "slogan" for South Africa, "Equal rights for every civilized man south of the Zambesi." The only possible motto for a world commonwealth such as ours to adopt is "Equal rights and equal treatment for every civilized man, whatever his color."

Mussolini's Ambitions in Africa

RECENT despatches confirm the persistent rumors that Signor Mussolini, the Premier of Italy, has been hatching numerous plans of annexing either by war or by diplomatic moves a huge, fertile slice of Africa. His plans conflict with the interests of the French and with the interests of the Africans, but that only gives an additional zest to the ventures of the modern Roman. He still dreamily looks back to the old Rome's African Empire.

Mussolini has involved Italy into a costly rivalry of naval building with France. For the latter knows the ill-disguised ambitions of the fiery Italian for swallowing the entire Northern Africa if possible. The break in the Franco-Italian parleys looking forward to a naval "holiday" has even stirred Great Britain to announce that she might herself build some more battleships if the French and Italians did not stop further building. Well, all this is a preparation for a coming war. Wars have a way of materializing through a maze of goody goody, insistent talks of peace.

In the meanwhile the population of Italy is increasing at a terrific rate. In 1930 alone the rate of increase was 12.3 per thousand. Mussolini and the Pope have conspired to reduce the marriagable age for girls to twelve and for boys to fifteen, thus accelerating the rapid growth of population in Italy. But how to feed these new mouths is a question that is confronting Mussolini and his fellow ambition-hatchers.

Mussolini's plans are directed to achieve some relief in this respect while his African Empire is in the process of being hatched. He is dissatisfied with the present Italian possessions in Africa. The Italian Somaliland, Eretrea and Tripoli are considered merely waste deserts. Mussolini is sorry that he cannot conquer either Abyssinia or Tunis and Morocco. The Abyssinians are blocking his way in the former and the French in the latter. What else to do?

According to reliable information Mussolini has hit upon a new diplomatic plan. He has discovered that Portugal holds a huge portion of Africa but that she has neither exploited it for her own benefit nor has she benefited the natives. That being the case, he is now approaching Great Britain to persuade Portugal to cede a portion of her possessions in Africa, preferably in Angola. He is assuring the British that such a deal would not only benefit the Italians but also the natives.

Do you think the plan is preposterous? Not at all. Mussolini has a theory, and that is, he thinks that Portugal is merely an unofficial appendage to the British Empire, continuing its existence on the latters' sufference. No doubt that there is a great deal of truth in this theory, but it is not workable. And why?

If Great Britain were to recommend cession of territory to Italy by Portugal the latter may throw in her alliance with the French as did the Spanish when threatened with destruction in Morocco by the Riffs. Europe is still an armed camp, and old diplomacy is still working. But the game is very interesting from the standpoint of the Negro, for from the frictions of the present exploiters of Africa a spark may dart forth that will set all Africans free.

PRESS CENSORSHIP IN INDIA.

All India has been hanging upon the result of the extended conferences being held between Mahatma Ghandi and Lord Irwin, the Viceroy of India. An Associated Press dispatch, dated February 28, stated that the working committee of the All India Congress party, Ghandi's nationalist organization, had voted to reject the Viceroy's terms of conciliation, and no one could say what the result would be. The refusal by the government of Ghandi's demand that Indians be granted the right to make their own salt was said to be the cause of the deadlock.

The strict censorship enforced by the British government is not favorable to the giving out of any exact information as to the situation, as was shown by the following extract from the Bombay Congress Bulletin of several months back:

> Under the British flag everything is possible. If any paper write anything favorable for India, it must either be proscribed or if that is not possible, censored. Unity of Chicago and The New York Age both have for the last several years sponsored the cause of India and it is no wonder that officials should frown, for the candid exposure of the British regime finding space at length in the columns of these two journals. It is nearly three months passed, and we are without our copies of these two papers. Let the Police Department and Post Office cooperate to deprive us of our copies. Let them steal private post, but we are confident that despite all censorship, these two journals will go on ventilating our grievances—and we shall get our copies too.

This shows the difficulty of getting any uncensored statement of the progress of negotiations between the Indian Congress representatives and the British authorities. The news that is sent by cable is only that form of statement approved by the British censor. Even American newspaper correspondents have found it impossible to send their uncensored communications, either by cable or mail, unless they smuggle them over the boarder and are able to find a medium of transit not under British control.

In the meantime, all India waits upon the Mahatma and the Viceroy.

"SIERRA LEONE AND A 'SLAVERY' CHARGE."

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,

I have been much interested in the correspondence on the above in your well-known and valuable review and I cannot help thinking that it is time that some reply was given to the two questions with which "J. D." ends his letter published in your issue of February 14. Silence on the part of individuals or organisations who could reply does not argue well for the strength of their case or for the truth of their claims.

I do not see WEST AFRICA regularly, but if any recent attempt to answer "J. D." has been published, I should be interested to see it.

Yours faithfully,

R. O. WILSON.

The Vicarage,
Old Brampton, Chesterfield. May 7.

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Race Problem - 1931

Europe

WHITE MAN'S WANING PRESTIGE AMONG THE 'BACKWARD PEOPLES'

N. Y. Times

Recent Events in India and China, Where There Is Political Revolt Against Europe, Point to an Altered Relationship

6-24-31

The Chinese Government at Nanking announces the abrogation of extraterritorial treaties with foreign powers; India demands self-government; an African chief stands up in the King's robing room in the British House of Lords and tells a Parliamentary committee that a closer union of three East Africa territories could benefit the natives only if they could have representation in the legislative councils. Such are recent signs of a new relationship between Europeans and Asiatics and Africans, discussed in the following article by the Director of the Institute of International Education.

New York, N. Y.

By STEPHEN P. DUGGAN.

AN epic that no poet has yet sung is contained in the story of the expansion of the white man from his little habitat in Western Europe to the overlordship of practically the whole earth. Beginning with about the year 1500, he conquered all of North and South America, Africa, Australia and a large part of Asia, and dominated the regions which he did not annex. Moreover, during this period of expansion the white man developed a civilization which he considered superior to that of men of any other color, despite the fact that some ancient civilizations antedated his own by thousands of years. While the average white man welcomed people serious doubts as to the vaunted value of the white man's civilization.

Also, the education introduced by the white man himself into the so-called "backward" countries naturally increased the doubt as to the justifiability of his superior position. This was particularly true wherever Anglo-Saxon peoples assumed control. The educational system established by Macaulay in India emphasizing the literary element in instruction impressed the native with the place of liberty in life. The American missionary teacher in China and later in the Philippines lauded the statement in the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal."

The actions of the white man were nowhere in accordance with his preaching, for although French, Germans, Dutch and Belgians did not instruct their colored subjects in the advanced political principles taught by the Anglo-Saxons, their missionaries did teach moral and religious doctrines which were not in conformity with the conduct of their fellow-countrymen in the "backward regions." The outrageous methods of the European powers in the last decade of the nineteenth century in dividing up China among themselves brought to a head the growing resentment in that country against the white man's scorn of the native and eventuated in the blind outburst against foreign domination known as the Boxer Rebellion.

The Boxer Rebellion was really the first notice to the white man that the political principle upon which his own life was founded—nationalism—had taken root among backward and colored peoples. Up to that time the political doctrine of nationalism—that is, loyalty to a group of common traditions, ideals and aspirations usually expressed in a common language—was unknown among them. The Japanese were the only exception. The loyalty of an Indian had been to his caste, of the Mohammedan to his religion, of the Chinese to his local community. The average Chinese was seldom interested in what took place even in the neighboring province and had never conceived of China as an entity.

The Russo-Japanese War.

The victory of the Japanese over the Russians in 1905, the first instance in modern times of the defeat of a nation of white men by a nation of colored men, had profound repercussions throughout all lands inhabited by so-called "backward" peoples. Nationalism spread among them like wildfire. But it was a different nationalism from that of the West. Nationalism in the West is aggressive; in the East, it is defensive. In the West it aims at territorial expansion or economic exploitation or cultural superiority. In the East it aims to enable a country to determine its own destiny, to retain control of its economic resources for its own benefit, and to prevent the country from being placed in a position of international inferiority.

Nevertheless, when the World War broke out, the supremacy of the white man was unquestioned. He expected colored peoples to admit it, and with few exceptions they did admit it. White men had engaged in fierce competition among themselves for supremacy in areas which would provide them with raw materials and markets, but they presented a united front as against the colored man, joined together as they were by a cohesive power of race superiority.

Result of the War.

The World War spelled the doom of that superiority. In discussions upon the consequences of that catastrophe, attention is usually directed to the terrible loss of life among young combatants and old non-combatants, to the enormous burden of debts and their evil economic consequences, and to the hatred aroused by the conflict itself and the treaties resulting from it. Seldom is attention directed to the remarkable phenomenon of the great change in interracial orientation, which in less than two decades brought a downfall in white prestige that had taken more than two generations to build up.

In the World War white men of different nations not only engaged in slaughtering one another; they called in the black and yellow men to assist in the process, and the brutalities they engaged in further reduced the belief in the superiority of their civilization. If it were worth while to call in "backward" peoples like Indians and Arabs to cooperate in activities of war, why not in activities of peace? Positive promises in this direction were made. "Self-determination" was promised. Hopes ran high. But the peace conference impressed the "backward" peoples with the belief that the promises were made as a war measure to win a victory. The failure of fulfillment was regarded as a moral betrayal.

Moreover, the superiority of the white man had hitherto rested largely upon an economic foundation. He was better off than the colored man in all the necessities and luxuries of life. But the war reduced many white men to the economic level of colored men. In China a beggar is an outcast. One may throw him a copper to get rid of his importunities, but he receives no consideration. Imagine the effect upon white prestige when hundreds of white Russians driven from their country by the Bolshevist revolution were found in the streets of Chinese cities with outstretched hands begging.

Unfortunately, the white man had not appreciated what was taking place in the minds of backward nations and colored peoples during the war and he attempted to restore the status quo ante. His awakening was startling. Amritsar, where in 1919 troops fired upon a mass meeting and killed inoffensive protestants, was as a fire alarm in the night throughout the whole of India. Amritsar, before the war, would have been an incident resulting in little more than sullen anger upon the part of Indians. Not so in 1919. From Amritsar dates the decline of British control in India. The riot of May 30, 1925, in Shanghai, in which protesting students and laborers were shot down by the foreign police, became the Lexington in the Chinese struggle for independence from foreign domination.

All over Asia the different peoples were heartened in their determination to get rid of the white man's control by Turkey's revival. Partly by the prowess of their own arms, partly as a result of division among their enemies—Great Britain, France and Italy—the Turks had been able to throw the Treaty of Sèvres, which dismembered their country, into the waste basket; dictate the Treaty of Lausanne, which ended every vestige of foreign interference in their domestic affairs; rebuild their country upon a thoroughly national basis; eradicate old abuses, and introduce reforms which put them upon the path leading toward a modern progressive State.

Boycott and Resistance.

The Turks have ever been warriors, the Indians and Chinese pacifists. But the Indians and Chinese had learned to use peaceful methods of coercion far more efficacious than warlike methods—the boycott and passive resistance. Neither the individual Chinese nor the individual Indian has a high purchasing power, but the combined population of the two countries is enormous and equals almost half that of the entire earth. The immense losses in China sustained by the Japanese and British as a result of the boycott of their goods caused a rapid reorientation of attitude on their part favorable to Chinese demands. The boycott and passive resistance in India resulted in the movement toward greater control of Indian affairs by Indians making such rapid progress that it may eventuate at a comparatively early date in dominion status for India.

The white man's domination throughout the world has been based upon force. Force is powerless against the boycott and passive resistance. The successful use of those methods of coercion provides additional evidence that the military era in human history is rapidly giving way to the economic.

Enforced Change of Attitude.

Today the colored man in Asia, at least, considers himself the inferior of the white man in force alone, his equal in most other respects and his superior in some. For this change in attitude the white man has himself only to blame. He has never known when to yield. The renascence of "backward" peoples was always made in the face of contemptuous disbelief on his part. He shows greater respect today for peoples of other color, but they regard the change as forced, not voluntary. The white man in the world of today is really on the defensive. In his own lands he is trying to maintain his racial integrity by means of exclusion laws. In his international relations he is not yet ready to admit racial equality even in principle.

The request of the Japanese delegation at the Peace Conference to have some expression of that principle embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations met with a prompt and absolute refusal. But the attitude of the white man today toward colored peoples is very different from the soulless exploitation of the ante-war period. His actions are no longer those of an overlord. The law of life is changed. The growing respect of the white man for the accomplishments of colored peoples may eventuate earlier than now seems possible in a real acceptance of evaluation of men upon no other principle than that of worth.

White Man's Contribution.

Nothing that has been written in this article is intended to depreciate the marvelous contributions of the white man to civilization and to the welfare of colored peoples. The social organization of tomorrow will everywhere be based upon his scientific and material equipment. "Backward" peoples have learned to appreciate the place in life of personal hygiene, public health and sanitation and medicine. Roads and railroads, the telegraph, telephone, radio and electric light are rapidly becoming essential elements in their daily lives. Moreover the white man's influence has been very effective in securing a different status for one half of the human race, women, wherever he came in contact with other peoples. Foot-binding has been abolished in China, the veil has been torn from the faces of women in Turkey and the institution of purdah in India, whereby women are kept in seclusion to the detriment of their physical and mental health, is crumbling.

There is no justification for a pessimistic belief in the downfall of Western civilization. If space permitted, reasons might readily be adduced to justify a belief in its more general adoption. But one contribution of the West most highly prized today by peoples of other regions is found not in the domain of matter but of spirit—the sanctity of personality; and the white man has yet to demonstrate his belief that personality knows not race, color or religion.

COLOUR SENSE IN THE EMPIRE

Prejudice Against Indians

From the Correspondence columns of the "Manchester Guardian."

Sir,—You are entitled to the grateful thanks of the coloured as well as the white races for your admirable article under this heading. May I, as an Indian, make a few brief remarks in regard to some of the statements contained in that article?

It is a fact that if there were no difficulty of language—most Indians know only one European language, and that is English—and political considerations, many Indians would prefer other European countries, and especially France and Germany, for "education, training, or society," to England. It is also a fact that there is a growing tendency among Indians to travel by non-English-owned steamers in preference to English-owned steamers. An Indian, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service of the British Government, whilst returning to India in an Italian steamer humorously remarked to me, "We are nonentities in English steamers; here we are at least entities." I could cite—and every Indian could do the same—innumerable examples of British arrogance in India; but I would not add to the existing tension and bitterness.

The consequences of this racial pride and hauteur are disastrous. The late Mr. Edwin Montagu, when he visited India as the Secretary of State, recorded his deliberate opinion in his Indian diary that the political trouble in India had its origin in social acerbities. What is far more significant is that the absence of political strife and turmoil in the French possessions in India can be ascribed to better social relations between the French and the Indian.

I am constrained to observe that things instead of improving are getting distinctly worse. The position of an Indian to-day in England is decidedly more uncomfortable than it was some time back. Nationalism has given a new consciousness to Indians, and, being sensitive by nature and intensely proud of their ancient culture and civilisation, they resent the superior attitude adopted towards them.

May I take courage to suggest a vigorous and systematic propaganda to fight down this prejudice, important and influential newspapers like the "Manchester Guardian" taking the lead? If the present unfortunate attitude of the white races towards the coloured races does not undergo a complete change a clash is inevitable. A conflict of colour will be a terrible disaster. Wisdom and courage may avert it.—Yours, &c.,

ISWAR SARAN.

6, Edmonstone Road, Allahabad,
April 30.

Sir,—It is disturbing to find in the "Manchester Guardian Weekly" for April 10 the intelligence that a negro vocalist was lately unable to find hotel accommodation in London. I am old enough to remember a time when transatlantic visitors at one well-known London hotel, who complained of the presence of negroes, were politely told that they could go elsewhere. Can the new intolerance be one more result of the kinema?—Yours, &c.,

T. BATY.

Tokio, Japan, April 27

NEGROES ORGANIZE LEAGUE IN LONDON

LONDON, June 5.—(AP)—Formation of a "league of colored people" was agreed upon tonight at a meeting of Negro men and women.

Dr. Harold A. Moody, who was elected president, said the organization was formed because of difficulties which recently have been experienced by certain of their people in Great Britain.

Paul Robeson, American negro actor, referred to "two or three little annoyances in London," but added that the incidents have occurred in places frequented mostly by Americans.

Rambling Ruminations

By J. A. ROGERS

Ass'n to Combat Color Prejudice

PARIS.

THE better-thinking people in England are at last awaking to the dangers of color prejudice in the British Empire, and have formed an association to combat the evil under the presidency of Sir Francis Young husband.

J. A. Rogers.

Several members of Parliament present at the opening session pointed to the fact that in the colonies of the other European powers color prejudice was almost absent. In the French colonies, for instance, said one, the blacks considered themselves as French subjects, while in British territory the natives are made to feel themselves as strangers in their own land. The speakers expressed their regrets that the great English writers were not using their talents in a manner to dispel color prejudice.

Dr. Harold Moody maintained that "the color bar" was a sort of mental malady, born of suggestion. He demanded that British subjects be judged not by the color of their skin but by their culture and character. He told of several instances of glaring color prejudice, one of them being the case of a distinguished Negro surgeon who was recently refused admission into a London hospital.

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At Sidi-Bel-Abbes, Morocco, in one of the largest cafes, is an international jazz band recruited from the French Foreign Legion. Its members include an Englishman, a Scotchman, a Frenchman, two white Americans, and a black American named Jack Walker. Walker is the leader of the orchestra.

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Communism Goes Into Africa

COMMUNIST propaganda continues its penetration into Africa, according to La Depeche Coloniale of this city, which hints that the Soviets had a hand in the recent attack of the Senussi on the Italians at Koufra, in North Africa.

The Senussi is the greatest of all the secret organizations in Africa. It has branches in Senegal, the Belgian Congo, Central Africa and North Africa, as well as East Africa, including Abyssinia. Recently a branch of the Senussi in Italian North Africa, aided by neighboring tribes, opposed the Italians. All were well armed with modern guns and an abundance of ammunition.

Finally, when the Italians, with airplanes and armored motor cars, captured Koufra, they were, says La Depeche Coloniale, "astonished to discover under what conditions the Senussi had fought against them. They had, let us repeat, plenty of modern arms and ammunition and enough money to raise important contingents." The Italians finally found an abundance of used match boxes on which were the hammer and the scythe, symbols of the Soviet Republic. "The Italians, therefore, conclude that the resistance they met at Koufra was financed and organized by Moscow."

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Without Name And Country

A YOUNG Negro girl, known only as Mademoiselle Maria (no surname), beautiful and well educated, finds herself in a peculiar predicament here. She is practically a woman without a country, and if she wanted to get married she would not be able to legally.

Twenty-five years ago a French princess, visiting the Cape of Good Hope, South Africa, saw Maria, then a baby, and, falling in love with her, took her back to France where she reared her as if she were her own child.

The best private teachers were employed for her, and she played in the beautiful park of the magnificent chateau. Later she was placed in a convent, where her education was given the finishing touches. When she came out she mixed in high society as a protege of the princess.

Then the princess died and Maria found herself all alone. The family of the princess was no longer willing to keep her. In the years that passed the princess had neglected to get papers of identity for her, and without which one has no civil status whatever in France. She is a girl without a name and without a country.

Last week, through her attorney, she appealed to the civil tribunal of the Seine, asking for the establishment of her civil status. She argues that, since she was taken from her native Africa by a French princess and had lived under French laws for twenty-five years, she certainly has the right now to be regarded as a citizen.

Race Problem—1931

Europe

Rambling Ruminations

By J. A. ROGERS

Africans Look on Whites With Contempt

PARIS, France.

MOST white persons, however benevolent they may be, are inclined to think themselves superior to Negroes, but that the African Negroes do not at all share in this viewpoint of the whites is the opinion of the Gazette de Lausanne, Switzerland. These blacks, in their inner being, are just as emphatically sure that black is superior as the whites feel that their color is.

J. A. Rogers.

Moreover, blacks do not only wish to be black, but those of a particular region, it finds, do not wish to be mistaken for the blacks of another region, as Frenchmen do not care to be taken for Germans, or Germans for Englishmen, and so on.

"At Vincennes," it adds, "the whites go to see the blacks and to enjoy themselves by looking at the primitive simplicity of the blacks; they take pleasure in seeing them work, dance and live; they greet the blacks in a mood of protective good nature and with the certainty of being considered the most amiable visitors in the world."

The blacks, however, the Gazette finds, have their own feelings on the matter. "If one takes the pains or has the leisure to examine carefully the reactions of the blacks to the curiosity of which they are the objects, the contempt of the blacks may be clearly seen in their looks and their gestures."

As to the word Negro the Gazette thinks it is purely a European stereotype and uttely incapable of describing all the blacks of many shades, some of whom, like "the Touaregs of Mauretania, have profiles like those of the antique Greeks, and whose women are draped like statuettes of Tanagra.

"Negro! That is a purely European word. Imagine, in a world reversed, an exposition of Europeans organized in Nigeria and in this exposition white people on show. In that case the visitors would probably be unable to distinguish the inhabitants of Scandinavia, Germany or France. The Scandinavian, nevertheless, would hardly like being mistaken for the German, the German for the French, and so on. The other day at the exposition in a black village I heard a native deny with great vehemence that he was a native of a certain other region in Africa and the expressions on his face, which the questioner failed to observe, were such as to leave no doubt that he considered the error an insult."

The blacks, the writer thinks, are geniuses at showing their contempt. "A hundred times," he says, "I have seen a Touareg fix his eyes upon a customer whom he considered not very generous, and watch the look of contempt suddenly form around his mouth—a look that the greatest actor could not imitate."

Even when the customer is generous the look on the African's face, the writer thinks, is still one of contempt. There is a certain different gleam, but "the look is certainly not one of gratitude. The sons of the desert possess truly a genius for being contemptuous."

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Havoc on British Trade

THE battle between a half-naked 90-pound man named Gandhi and the mastodonic British Empire continues, with Gandhi winning, according to certain figures given out by the Bombay Mill Owners' Association.

These figures disclose the havoc that has been wrought in British trade by Gandhi's philosophy of the spinning wheel and non-co-operation, not only in India but in the whole East. Trade that once supported millions of English people is now largely in the hands of Japan.

In less than one year Japan has more than doubled her export of cotton and artificial silk into India; further, with the financial strength thus gained, Japan is increasing her hold on the cloth trade in most of the countries bordering on or near the Indian Ocean. If Gandhi's policy continues (and it seems too late to stop the slide now), it will be a matter of a few years more when Lancashire will be practically driven from the world cotton market. Today in Abyssinia and adjoining countries it is Japanese manufactured cloth that leads, with Indian one next. Demands for British cloth are rare. England, with her high-priced labor, cannot compete with Japan.

The figures mentioned here show that in 1928 India imported from England 124,000,000 yards of plain gray cotton goods; in 1929, only 90,000,000; in 1930, the figures of the previous year had fallen to less than half, or 40,000,000. Japan, on the other hand, leaped from 500,000 to 325,000,000 in the same period, although she had a setback last year, due to the boycott of all foreign cloth in India.

Other figures also show devastating inroads on British commerce in India. English gray cotton goods export fell from 442,000,000 yards in 1929 to 250,000,000 in 1930. In brief, English cloth exportation to India within less than three years has fallen from 1,022,000,000 yards to 458,000,000, or considerably less than half.

Britain is the bulwark of color prejudice. She was the originator of the color line; she instilled it into her daughter, America. When British power wanes, color prejudice also will wane. Forces, and powerful ones, too, outside of America are working for the amelioration of the lot of American Negroes. More knowledge of what these outside forces are is necessary.

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M. Diagne Presents Medals to Veterans

SPEAKING of M. Diagne, this writer was recently invited to the Sorbonne to take part in a reunion of French war veterans at which there were to be a presentation of medals, the police band of the city of Paris, and the appearance of leading stars from the various music halls of the city.

At the opening of the meeting the Marseillaise was played, the audience stood up, and the presiding officer, followed by a long line of officials, walked in. This presiding officer was no other than M. Diagne, who had been named by the Government for the occasion.

M. Diagne made a speech and the vast audience, all white, applauded him for several minutes until he got up again and bowed. Later he presented the medals to the veterans and the certificates to the orphans of soldiers. All seemed highly contented.

The nearest American approach we have to Diagne is Congressman DePriest, except that Diagne is simon-pure black. Imagine President Hoover delegating DePriest to present medals to white war veterans in Washington. The inhabitants of this part of France, by the way, are North Europeans just as white or whiter than Southerners, and certainly much less mixed with Negro.

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Lead Fight Against Hoover Moratorium

The fight against President Hoover's proposal to release Germany from her payment of war debts for a year was led in the French Senate by M. Lemery, colored senator from Martinique.

"We deliberate today," said M. Lemery, "under moral pressure as in 1929, except that in 1929 America took us by the throat demanding payment; today America is summoning the nations not to pay us."

"We can say plainly," declared the senator, "that we do not wish to let off Germany's paying a debt of twelve billion francs if Germany is going to use it in arming herself against the allies."

M. Lemery is a leading figure in French politics and served as Assistant Secretary of State under President Poincare.

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"The Americans," says Le Sourire, Paris weekly, "turn their backs upon the Negroes, but borrow from them their music, the paraphernalia of their dance and their color in order to win success."

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Among recent arrivals in Paris are Prof. Alain LeRoy Locke of Howard University, Prof. Willis N. Huggins and Mrs. Huggins of New York City, who arrived on the Paris together with Mrs. Walker and Mrs. Nella Larsen Imes, well-known author of New York City.

Countee Cullen is revisiting his old haunts in Paris and is working on a novel, it is said.

THE GLORY THAT IS FRANCE

Certainly in one respect, morally, France is greater than any other country on earth. There is no color line. France's great empire is composed of the white French in the homeland, and millions of black, brown and yellow Frenchmen scattered over the far-flung empire—in Asia, Africa, Oceania and the French colonies in or near America. Algeria, although in Africa, is not a colony but, politically, a province of France, and black and brown Algerians sit in the Chamber of Deputies in Paris. Black men represent Senegal, Guadaloupe and Martinique in the French Parliament.

The Nordic nations have been brutal and savage in their treatment of colored races and in many cases have segregated them and treated them not only with brutality but with contempt. On the other hand France has treated the colored people kindly and has not drawn the color line.

All Hail the Power of France's Name! Here's to France, the "white hope" of the colored races of the world!

Demand for Racial Equality Seen as Root of India Revolt

Athens Speaker Says British Control Has Been Beneficent

ATHENS, Ga., July 28.—India's chief grievance against the rBitish, the one which has most to do with the present nationalist movement, is the demand for equality with the Europeans, Dr. Robert Preston Brooks informed the University of Georgia institute of public affairs here tonight.

Dr. Brooks, a recent visitor to India, where he conducted a study o social, political and economic conditions, brought to a close with his address tonight the foreign affairs section of the institute.

Dean Brooks said that "it is a phenomenon, observed by all students of India, that Indian students who have studied in England return to India with the most bitter hatred of England and Englishmen. Most of the leaders in the present nationalist movement, such as Gandhi and the Nehrus, are English educated. Insults heaped upon them while they were in England in English colleges, or in English hotels, or on the streets of London, rankle in their hearts and make them the undying enemies of the British.

Dean Brooks denied that the British exploit the Indians and "bleed the country of its wealth," declaring that the British naturally reap a dividend from capital invested there, but that the major profit goes to India herself.

"No other subject people in history," the Georgian said, "have so benefited from their control as have the Indians. Why is it, then, that they are so determined to overthrow this government, on the whole so beneficent? I think the explanation is to be found in the natural desire of all men to manage their own affairs.

"Even those Indians who fully realize the perils through which they would of necessity pass, if given complete self-control, are willing to incur the risks. They feel that self-government is better than good government. It is, therefore, to be expected that, being determined to achieve independence, they deny or minimize the advantages which they have received from England, and in the heat of political controversy greatly exaggerate the evils of this foreign control."

Colored Peoples League Is Active

Character Stressed by President; Must Take Part in Solution of WORLD'S PROBLEMS

The objects of the League of Colored Peoples, which was recently formed in London, have already been published. The President is Dr. Harold Moody (a Jamaican) who is now resident in England, and the following is the inaugural address which he delivered to members of the organization in London.—

Ladies and Gentlemen, a few of us like Mr. Barbour-James and others have held a watching brief in the interests of our race in this country for more than a quarter of a century now. We have been studying the Englishman in his den and we have come to some conclusions about him. We have watched him in his home, some sumptuous, some simple.

"We sat down to the table, and otherwise. We have served with him on committees. We have served with him on committees. We have been placed by him in the chair of some of his important organisations. We have observed his reaction when great issues of a racial character came into the foreground, and we quite agree with some of the things Siegfried said about him in "The Times" of Wednesday last. The Englishman is "self-satisfied"—"he not only shrinks from the effort needed to solve his problems; he will not even formulate them. His mental laziness is extraordinary. It bores him to think, and he is particularly hostile when anyone raises a discussion of principles upsetting his peace of mind. When he is forced into a corner he contents himself with half-explanations or some snap judgment which will give him an excuse to think no more about it." And to this we would add that you can get almost anything you like out of the Englishman if you know the right way to go about it and can impress him sufficiently with your deserts.

We have also observed with

CONSIDERABLE CHAGRIN

the ever increasing affronts which are being offered to our race. To quote only one instance, on Wednesday last, Bruce Wendel, so well known to all of us here told me that he was recently invited by a lady of some influence in this country to join herself and another lady o. some distinction at ten in her club, just around Piccadilly in order to discuss some musical subject. When this lady went to pay her bill she was told by the Management that they did not like the color of her guest. On which she promptly resigned from this important club.

These are some of the facts which have driven us to the conclusion that the time is now ripe when we should seek to impress upon this somewhat obtuse and unimaginative individual the sense of our worth by the formation of a strong, effective and representative organization right here in his midst.

Accordingly, a small committee appointed at a meeting here and composed of Messrs. Koi of the Gold Coast, Sinanan of Trinidad, Thompson of Antigua, Tucker of Bermuda, Dr. Wesley of U. S. A., and myself, met to consider the whole question, and as a result of this meeting decided to summon you here to-night to form an organisation of Colored Peoples in London.

This may well be one of the momentous happenings in the history of humanity and I want you to regard it thus. We can clothe this movement with whateve. thoughts and ideas we wish. We may even accept the connotation which some of our white friends may place upon it. We may go still lower and believe that we are too weak and insignificant to accomplish anything really great, but I would exhort you tonight

TO RISE ABOVE ALL

such thought. I want you to believe that we are called to a great task and that we have the ability to accomplish it with distinction If, however, we are to accomplish this task there are certain essentials which we must have clearly before us.

We want the very best brains and the very best talents at our disposal. I know you are all quite busy and much occupied, and I am not asking you to apply yourselves less to your studies—it is essential that you should excel in these if you are to be of the best service to this organisation—but I am asking you to remember that while you are here you have a contribution to make for the benefit of the coloured peoples which it is vital to our future and the future of the world that you do make. No worthy representative of Coloured Peoples can afford to be outside this organisation.

On the other hand, we are not seeking the assistance of anyone who is out merely for the purpose of self-glory. Nor do we intend to be hampered by those Coloured People, either here or in the respective countries from which we come, who are so much white in appearance, that they are now hanging upon the coat tails of White cilivisation and just waiting to see how the cat jumps.

We only want those who are proud of their colour and will join our ranks because it is their purpose to help the Coloured Peoples of the world to make their contribution to civilisation which will enrich the life of humanity and emancipate man.

No longer shall Coloured Peoples be despised, merely because they are coloured. We want you to give a new meaning to the word colour and no longer merely to accept the implications of our White friends. No longer shall the world continue to be deceived into believing that the "Almighty Dollar" is indeed "Almighty." They must be made to understand that after all there is something greater—even character or as Gandhi calls it,

"SOUL-FORCE."

Let us therefore be prepared for big sacrifices, for hard work, for long and hard plodding, yea, even for misunderstanding by our fellows, in order that we may achieve our goal. We cannot make our standards too high.

We have no wealth but I would say at the very outset that although we will not refuse any generous and genuine offer for the carrying on of our work, and we need such, we do not intend to have our liberties enchained by any such contribution. We want to be able to carry out the work which we believe is ours, wholly unencumbered, with a strong conviction and with a pure desire to further the very best interests of Coloured Peoples all the world o'er. I believe we shall have provided for us all we need for the execution of this most important task. Let me therefore call upon you to a big vision.

If we have this, there will be no bickerings among ourselves. A great task and little minds go ill together. We will have our differences. You will have your criticisms to offer, but let them be constructive. The other type of criticisms will come, but I do beseech you to let it come from the outside, and thus it will act as the icy blast to strengthen the

YOUNG AND VIGOROUS SHOOT.

It is only in so far as we can be united, each one making his best contribution, with a single eye for the achievement of a great ideal that we can ever hope to accomplish anything. I exhort you to let us show to the world that we are big enough for this.

We are not out to sow the seeds of bitterness and recrimination. If socalled distinguished representatives of the White race can refer to Gandhi as "a complete hypocrite"—"the poorest imposter that ever fooled a credulous people or frightened a cowardly Government," then, gentlemen, let us not seek distinction thus. Let us observe the laws of the ring and never hit below the belt. We do not need to do so. We have right on our side and we must win through.

Even though it may be granted that the root of white civilisation is still intact, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that some of the leaves and branches are showing signs of decay—if indeed they are not already gangrenous.. The White races left to themselves will never solve the problem of race, the problem of war, or the problem of the equitable distribution of this world's goods. If these problems are to be solved, and solved they must be, then the Coloured races must make their contribution to their solution. In doing so let us not seek to rejoice over, nor to hasten the debacle of the white races.

Race Problem - 1931

Europe

Professor Hunt Returns From Denmar.. With Admiration For Its Governmen

'Few Have Too Much and Still Fewer Have Too Little," Educator Finds

By WILLIE SNOW ETHRIDGE

Having spent most of the summer n Denmark studying the co-operative movement by which the wealth of that little nation is distributed among practically all the Danes, instead of among a few capitalists, Prof. H. A. Hunt, Negro president of the Fort Valley High and Industrial school returned home this week tremendously enthusiastic over everything Danish.

He went to Europe, accompanied by his wife, on a scholarship fund of the Julius Rosenwald foundation with the expressed purpose of learning all that he could about the co-operative movement. He stayed in Denmark six weeks; then traveled in England, Sweden, Germany Cyecko-Slovakia, and Switzerland It was his second trip abroad.

"There are practically no very wealthy people in Denmark and only a very few poor ones," declared Professor Hunt the day after his return home. "Almost all the capital is equally distributed among all the people. Instead of big fortunes being amassed by a few magnates the capital is distributed in small amounts among the masses of the people. The Danes accepted many years ago the theory that the people of that country are happiest where there are few who have too much and fewer still who have too little. It is, you might say, a slogan with them."

They have accomplished equal distribution of wealth chiefly through the co-operative movement, Professor Hunt explained. The Danes not only have co-operative production but co-operative consumption. They have co-operative dairies, meat packing plants, markets, bakeries, banks, factories, dry good stores, groceries and other kinds of businesses. For instance, a large group of people will join together to run a grocery. They will each put in a little capital and hire a clerk or two. At the end of the year, the dividends will be divided among all of them, according to what each man has put in. The fundamental difference in this system and the one in operation in the United States is that a great number of people, with only a very little capital to invest, share in the profits instead of a few people receiving exorbitant dividends.

"The co-operative movement has been brought to its highest perfection in dairying, poultry raising and meat packing, according to Professor Hunt. These are the big money crops of Denmark. The bulk of its exports are butter, pork and eggs.

Co-operative Dairy

"Every community has a co-operative dairy and packing plant," Professor Hunt stated, "or else has them in easy reach. Usually a co-operative dairy serves a radius of 20 miles or so. All the farmers of that community belong to the co-operative dairy. They take their milk there and sell the cream. Then they carry the skimmed milk home to feed their hogs, or else they sell it to other farmers who need it to feed their hogs.

"This local co-operative dairy belongs to a national coop, which has as its business the selling of the product," Professor Hunt explained. "The local dairy is chiefly interested in producing the product. It takes in the milk and manufactures it into butter. The national co-operative, to which all the local dairies belong, is the selling agency. It takes the finished product, which is standardized to 'nth degree, and sells it in England, Germany and other countries. The money that comes in goes to the farmers who produce the milk. The middle man has been practically eliminated."

The meat packing plants work similarly to the dairies, according to the Fort Valley educator. Each farming section has its own co-op, but each local co-op belongs to a national co-op. This national co-op has men in England and Germany and other countries, studying the markets and arranging for the sale of the Danish pork. The same is true in the egg industry.

The Danes standardize their products as no other nation on earth, in the opinion of Professor Hunt. Through their co-ops, they see that every piece of meat meets every requirement of the market. If the English market wants lean pork, the Danish coops sees that it gets lean pork. Every piece of meat is graded in every particular.

"If you have an egg from a Denmark farm in your kitchen you can trace it back to the exact farm from which it came," Professor Hunt declared. "The farmer's name is stamped on the egg before it leaves the community co-op. Eggs, just like butter and pork, are standardized. Of course, all these regulations make it possible for the national co-ops to sell their products at the very best prices."

Switch From Wheat

Denmark became a great dairying and meat raising country about 60 years ago when she realized that she could not compete with the United States in the raising of wheat. Up until that time she grew wheat, oats, rye and barley in large quantities, and marketed them in England and other countries. As soon as the United States entered the world market with wheat, Denmark had the good sense to switch almost overnight to dairying, poultry and pork production.

In addition to keeping cows, raising pigs and chickens, all the Danish farmers grow vegetable and flower gardens; Irish potato crops, which they use to feed their hogs, and enough grain for their own consumption. They have been taught, according to Professor Hunt, to grow their own food on their farms and to depend on butter, pork and eggs for their money.

Denmark is predominantly agricultural. She has no mineral deposits no ores, no timber resources. There is very little manufacturing, other than the manufacture of brick and tile and porcelain from her clay, which is of an exceptionally fine quality. Practically everybody in the country is a "cowboy," according to the Fort Valley professor, that is, everyone has at some time tended cows.

Even the people who work in Copenhagen have small plots of land in the suburbs which they tend diligently. This land is owned by the government and it is rented at a small fee to the Copenhagens who labor in the city. A waiter, or a street car conductor, or a grocery man will have an "allotment" on the outskirts of the city. Here he builds a small box-car house in which he keeps his tools and seeds. Then during the long evenings of summer he cultivates his allotment. It blossoms with gay flowers and fresh vegetables of all kinds and the most delicious fruits.

"These allotments, which spread out like an open fan on the edge of Copenhagen, are the loveliest things you ever saw," declared Professor Hunt with his light tan cheeks flushed with enthusiasm and his small eyes shining. "They all look like the pictures you see in seed catalogues. In fact, the whole of Denmark looks that way. There are flowers everywhere. The yards are crowded with them, the stores, the windows of the houses, the doorways are full of flowers. The farms are beautiful. They are neat and trim and rich looking.

Charming Small Houses

"As there are few wealthy people and few poor ones, most of the houses are little cottages of brick and stucco. There are no frame ones, for lumber is very scarce in Denmark. All the houses are so clean that they shine and their yards are bright with blossoms. Everywhere you go, you see these charming small houses with the men and women working in the gardens. The people seem so content and peaceful. They haven't the harassed and worried looks that the men and women of the United States have. They don't expect to be rich, so they are happy with neat little homes. They know that if by some chance they did amass fortunes the government would take great portions of them away. The income tax is terrifically heavy in the upper brackets. So the people are content to live comfortably. They don't have to worry about keeping up with the Joneses.

"Neither do they have to worry about their old age," continued Professor Hunt. "As I understand it the government carries old-age pensions for everyone. Every Dane knows that he will be taken care of in his old age. This gives him a feeling of security and he spends what he makes rather freely. He doesn't have to hoard his money away for that distant day when he will not be able to work."

Professor Hunt visited several old people's homes in Denmark and was delighted with their cozy, home-like atmosphere. He saw attractive apartments in these institutions in which couples who were physically able could keep house. There were a bedroom, dining room and kitchen for those who could wait on themselves. The men and women who were too old to keep house, ate, of course, in the common dining room. In some instances, old people were allowed to stay on in their homes at the government's expense, Professor Hunt said.

The tremendous success of the co-op movement and of the old age pension laws and many other socializing forces in Denmark rests, in the opinion of Professor Hunt, on the fact that the people are 100 per cent homogeneous. Their racial stock, religion, political outlook, and business interests are 100 per cent homogeneous. They are also 100 per cent literate.

"Everybody in Denmark is intelligent" Professor Hunt declared. 'Practically everybody pays an income tax, for the income tax reaches much further down than ours, and yet everybody is intelligent enough to fill out his own income tax blanks."

Fort Valley School President Studies Co-operative Movement Six Weeks

The professor scratched his chin, covered with a short, close-clipped grey beard, and his eyes twinkled.

"And, of course, they are very Democratic. There are a few artistocrats of the old order left, but the great majority of Danes have become democratized. The king is the most democratic fellow ever you saw. When I first reached Denmark I attended the International Dairy congress. The king came to one of the sessions and said a few words. He wore a regular colored preacher's coat. You know, one of those old Jim-swinger tail coats And when he got through speaking he came down in the hall and shook hands with many of the delegates He came up to a man next to me, shook his hand in the most cordial fashion and asked him where he was from. The man said he was from England. Then he turned to me, shook my hand and said: "Are you an Englishman, too." I told him, no, I was an American. He was just as friendly as an East Side politician."

The unusual intelligence of the Dane is due largely, according to Professor Hunt, to a gentleman named Grundtvig, who lived about a half century ago. Grundtvig got the idea that what the Danes needed was not so much enlightenment as enlivenment. In those years, the Danes were stolid, sober peasants. They were in a lethargy, like the peasants of Russia. He longed to wake them up, to make them proud of their country, to stir their ambitions. He wanted them to get an inner urge.

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Though the folk movement is still on, some Danes, according to the Georgia educator, think it has outgrown its original mission. The peasants are thoroughly awake and the old subjects are no longer necessary. The schools are now teaching languages, especially English; encouraging young men and women to develop their talents, along artis-

Europe

Professor Hunt Returns From Denmar... With Admiration For Its Governmen...

'Few Have Too Much and Still Fewer Have Too Little," Educator Finds

By WILLIE SNOW ETHRIDGE

Having spent most of the summer in Denmark studying the co-operative movement by which the wealth of that little nation is distributed among practically all the Danes, instead of among a few capitalists, Prof. H. A. Hunt, Negro president of the Fort Valley High and Industrial school returned home this week tremendously enthusiastic over everything Danish.

He went to Europe, accompanied by his wife, on a scholarship fund of the Julius Rosenwald foundation with the expressed purpose of learning all that he could about the co-operative movement. He stayed in Denmark six weeks; then traveled in England, Sweden, Germany Cyecko-Slovakia, and Switzerland It was his second trip abroad.

"There are practically no very wealthy people in Denmark and only a very few poor ones," declared Professor Hunt the day after his return home. "Almost all the capital is equally distributed among all the people. Instead of big fortunes being amassed by a few magnates the capital is distributed in small amounts among the masses of the people. The Danes accepted many years ago the theory that the people of that country are happiest where there are few who have too much and fewer still who have too little. It is, you might say, a slogan with them."

They have accomplished equal distribution of wealth chiefly through the co-operative movement, Professor Hunt explained. The Danes not only have co-operative production but co-operative consumption. They have co-operative dairies, meat packing plants, markets, bakeries, banks, factories, dry good stores, groceries and other kinds of businesses. For instance, a large group of people will join together to run a grocery store. They will each put in a little capital and hire a clerk or two. At the end of the year, the dividends will be divided among all of them, according to what each man has put in. The fundamental difference in this system and the one in operation in the United States is that a great number of people, with only a very little capital to invest, share in the profits instead of a few people receiving exorbitant dividends.

"The co-operative movement has been brought to its highest perfection in dairying, poultry raising and meat packing, according to Professor Hunt. These are the big money crops of Denmark. The bulk of its exports are butter, pork and eggs.

Co-operative Dairy

"Every community has a co-operative dairy and packing plant," Professor Hunt stated, "or else having them in easy reach. Usually a co-operative dairy serves a radius of 20 miles or so. All the farmers of that community belong to the co-operative dairy. They take their milk there and sell the cream. Then they carry the skimmed milk home to feed their hogs, or else they sell it to other farmers who need it to feed their hogs.

"This local co-operative dairy belongs to a national coop, which has as its business the selling of the product," Professor Hunt explained. "The local dairy is chiefly interested in producing the product. It takes in the milk and manufactures it into butter. The national co-operative, to which all the local dairies belong, is the selling agency. It takes the finished product, which is standardized to 'nth degree, and sells it in England, Germany and other countries. The money that comes in goes to the farmers who produce the milk. The middle man has been practically eliminated."

The meat packing plants work similarly to the dairies, according to the Fort Valley educator. Each farming section has its own co-op, but each local co-op belongs to a national co-op. This national co-op has men in England and Germany and other countries, studying the markets and arranging for the sale of the Danish pork. The same is true in the egg industry.

The Danes standardize their products as no other nation on earth, in the opinion of Professor Hunt. Through their co-ops, they see that every piece of meat meets every requirement of the market. If the English market wants lean pork, the Danish coops sees that it gets lean pork. Every piece of meat is graded in every particular.

"If you have an egg from a Denmark farm in your kitchen you can trace it back to the exact farm from which it came," Professor Hunt declared. "The farmer's name is stamped on the egg before it leaves the community co-op. Eggs, just like butter and pork, are standardized. Of course, all these regulations make it possible for the national co-ops to sell their products at the very best prices."

Switch From Wheat

Denmark became a great dairying and meat raising country about 60 years ago when she realized that she could not compete with the United States in the raising of wheat. Up until that time she grew wheat, oats, rye and barley in large quantities, and marketed them in England and other countries. As soon as the United States entered the world market with wheat, Denmark had the good sense to switch almost overnight to dairying, poultry and pork production.

In addition to keeping cows, raising pigs and chickens, all the Danish farmers grow vegetable and flower gardens; Irish potato crops, which they use to feed their hogs, and enough grain for their own consumption. They have been taught, according to Professor Hunt, to grow their own food on their farms and to depend on butter, pork and eggs for their money.

Denmark is predominantly agricultural. She has no mineral deposits no ores, no timber resources. There is very little manufacturing, other than the manufacture of brick and tile and porcelain from her clay, which is of an exceptionally fine quality. Practically everybody in the country is a "cowboy," according to the Fort Valley professor, that is, everyone has at some time tended cows.

Even the people who work in Copenhagen have small plots of land in the suburbs which they tend diligently. This land is owned by the government and it is rented at a small fee to the Copenhagens who work. A waiter, or a labor in the city. A waiter, or a street car conductor, or a grocery-man will have an "allotment" on the outskirts of the city. Here he builds a small box-car house in which he keeps his tools and seeds. Then during the long evenings of summer he cultivates his allotment. It blossoms with gay flowers and fresh vegetables of all kinds and the most delicious fruits.

"These allotments, which spread like an open fan on the edge of Copenhagen, are the loveliest things you ever saw," declared Professor Hunt with his light tan cheeks flushed with enthusiasm and his small eyes shining. "They all look like the pictures you see in seed catalogues. In fact, the whole of Denmark looks that way. There are flowers everywhere. The yards are crowded with them, the stores, the windows of the houses, the doorways are full of flowers. The farms are beautiful. They are neat and trim and rich looking.

Charming Small Houses

"As there are few wealthy people and few poor ones, most of the houses are little cottages of brick and stucco. There are no frame ones, for lumber is very scarce in Denmark. All the houses are so clean that they shine and their yards are bright with blossoms. Everywhere you go, you see these charming small houses with the men and women working in the gardens. The people seem so content and peaceful. They haven't the harassed and worried looks that the men and women of the United States have. They don't expect to be rich, so they are happy with neat little homes. They know that if by some chance they did amass fortunes the government would take great portions of them away. The income tax is terrifically heavy in the upper brackets. So the people are content to live comfortably. They don't have to worry about keeping up with the Joneses.

"Neither do they have to worry about their old age," continued Professor Hunt. "As I understand it the government carries old-age pensions for everyone. Every Dane knows that he will be taken care of in his old age. This gives him a feeling of security and he spends what he makes rather freely. He doesn't have to hoard his money away for that distant day when he will not be able to work."

Professor Hunt visited several old people's homes in Denmark and was delighted with their cozy, home-like atmosphere. He saw attractive apartments in these institutions in which couples who were physically able could keep house. There were a bedroom, dining room and kitchen for those who could wait on themselves. The men and women who were too old to keep house, ate, of course, in the common dining room. In some instances, old people were allowed to stay on in their homes at the government's expense, Professor Hunt said.

The tremendous success of the co-op movement and of the old age pension laws and many other socializing forces in Denmark rests, in the opinion of Professor Hunt, on the fact that the people are 100 per cent homogeneous. Their racial stock, religion, political outlook, and business interests are 100 per cent homogeneous. They are also 100 per cent literate.

"Everybody in Denmark is intelligent" Professor Hunt declared. "Practically everybody pays an income tax, for the income tax reaches much further down than ours, and yet everybody is intelligent enough to fill out his own income tax blanks."

The professor scratched his chin, covered with a short, close-clipped grey beard, and his eyes twinkled.

"And, of course, they are very Democratic. There are a few artistocrats of the old order left, but the great majority of Danes have become democratized. The king is the most democratic fellow ever you saw. When I first reached Denmark I attended the International Dairy congress. The king came to one of the sessions and said a few words. He wore a regular colored-preacher's coat. You know, one of those old Jim-swinger tail coats. And when he got through speaking he came down in the hall and shook hands with many of the delegates. He came up to a man next to me, shook his hand in the most cordial fashion and asked him where he was from. The man said he was from England. Then he turned to me, shook my hand and said: "Are you an Englishman, too." I told him, no, I was an American. He was just as friendly as an East Side politician."

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Fort Valley School President Studies Co-operative Movement Six Weeks

Rambling Ruminations

By J. A. ROGERS

No Color Line On the Continent

8-11-31

PARIS.

SEVERAL correspondents have written asking me to deny the statement recently made in the colored and white press to the effect that there is a color line in the Paris hotels, and that England is a much better place for the Negro.

J. A. Rogers.

To the best of my knowledge, nothing is further from the truth than that statement. Nowhere on the continent of Europe is there a color line, and I am willing to wager that a Negro of decent appearance, however dark in color, may go anywhere and instead of being refused will receive that fineness of courtesy to which America at its best is yet a stranger.

And this holds true even in Paris where the Americans are most abundant.

Personally, I have escorted colored Americans, some of them quite black, to some of the best and most exclusive places and I have yet to encounter other than the most perfectly courteous reception. After more than seven years' observation I feel free to say that American color prejudice has made no noticeable headway in Paris.

But recently four of us colored Americans were the guests of an African prince to dinner at a hotel patronized largely by well-to-do Americans. In the afternoon he took us to tea in the finest establishment in the Bois de Boulogne, and his white guests also danced with the colored on the same floor on which the white Americans were.

The fact is that most white Americans who spend any time on the continent soon become aware of the fact that color prejudice is imbecility, pure and simple, and that those who indulge in it are freaks, since no one can help being the color he is. Again their lack of knowledge of the language is against them.

In England they are more at home, and can spread their propaganda. American influence is, no doubt, largely responsible for the fact that England is the only country in Europe in which color prejudice exists. The more cultivated English classes, however, are among the finest in the world and give, on the whole, spontaneous recognition to cultured Negroes of wealth and those who have something exceptional to offer in the artistic field as, say, Paul Robeson, Lawrence Brown and others.

Color prejudice in England is far from being the raw, pervasive, jim-crow article it is in America. The finer the hotel or the restaurant in England, the more likely it is to accept Negroes. In America the boot-licking, white-man-fawning Negro is more welcome than the manly, cultured one. In England the former type would be quickly set in his proper place.

For the poor black man England is the hardest country I know of. He will meet prejudice of a kind which is more directly inspired by economic conditions than in America. The English do not like foreigners, regardless of color, and the Negro's foreign color when unrelieved by wealth or genius makes it doubly hard for him. Were there more employment in England color prejudice, I am convinced, would be very much less than it is as the white man, in his native land, is not naturally prejudiced against the black.

There have been instances where Negroes in large numbers have been refused in Parisian hotels patronized largely by Americans. Nevertheless, it may be stated as a rule that ANY Negro coming to the continent will find no objectionable reminder of his color from the moment he touches its soil. The same statement cannot be made with regard to the British Isles.

* * *

Tidbits on Some American Tourists

Prof. and Mrs. Willis N. Huggins and Mrs. John W. Walker of New York City, with Prof. J. H. Fair of Tuskegee Institute, after spending several weeks in Paris, have left for a tour of Belgium, Germany and the British Isles. While in England they will visit Oxford University, Shakespeare's home at Stratford-on-Avon, and other places of interest.

Mrs. Bertha M. Cotton, wife of Dr. Norman Cotton of New York City and Paterson, N. J., who has already made several trips to Europe, will leave Paris shortly for a tour of Southern France, Switzerland, Germany, Holland, Belgium and England. She is accompanied by her daughter, Gloria Helene, who will remain in England to study.

Mrs. Nella Larsen Imes, author, has arrived in Paris after a tour of Spain. She is a recent recipient of a Guggenheim fellowship.

Garland Anderson, author of "Appearances," is in Paris for a holiday. He will also tour Italy, Germany and Switzerland, in which latter country he will spend several weeks working on a new book.

Among other arrivals in Paris are Mrs. W. T. Poole of Pittsburgh, Pa., and daughter Margery, family of the well-known Pittsburgh undertaker of that name. Miss Poole is taking an advanced course in French literature at the Sorbonne, and generally perfecting her knowledge of the French language, of which she already has an excellent working knowledge.

Unlike most newcomers, Miss Poole is able to hold a rapid-fire conversation with native Parisians understanding them and being understood by them. After her daily classes at the Sorbonne she visits the Colonial Exposition and other places of interest with a French lady companion, conversing in French.

Miss Poole is a student at New York University, and led her class in French. Mrs. Poole is interested in club, civic and N. A. A. C. P. activities in Pittsburgh. Before returning to America she and Miss Poole will visit Switzerland, Germany, Holland and England.

BUDAPEST WON'T LISTEN TO U.S. JIM-CROW TALK

Mayor Orders Hotel Pool Opened to Dr. Costello

CONTINENT AWAKE

Scottsboro Case Causes Anti-U.S. Riots

PARIS. — The sowers of American color prejudice in Europe met with complete defeat at Budapest, Hungary when they attempted to bar Dr. Roman Costello, a black Cuban, from one of the most elegant bathing pools of the city.

Dr. Costello, who is an amateur boxing champion of Cuba, came to Budapest to take part in the international boxing meet, and delighted the city with his skill.

At the St. Gerhardt Hotel, at which he stayed, there is an artificial wave bath conducted by the municipal authorities there. Dr. Costello went in to bathe and there was a chorus of protest from the American tourists who objected to a black man's being in the same pool with their wives and children. To this objection several of the English tourists gave their support.

At this the proprietor of the hotel forbad Dr. Costello to enter the bath on pain of ejection from the hotel. When he insisted, he was ordered to leave immediately. The doctors of Budapest at once took up the matter but met with no success, the manager of the hotel insisted that he could not afford to lose sixty customers in order to please a single one.

The doctors, not satisfied with their conference with the proprietor took the matter to the mayor of the city. They pointed out that Dr. Costello was in all respects a gentleman and that to bar him solely on account of color was insanity, pure and simple.

The mayor ended by agreeing with them that to bar Dr. Costello on account of his color would be nothing short of a disgrace to the city, and ended by issuing a decree to the effect that Dr. Costello and all other colored persons were free to enter.

Scottsboro Affects U.S.

American color propagandists are meeting with no success on the continent. The Scottsboro injustice has stirred lovers of justice in Europe. There have been several attacks on American consulates by Communists. At present the Berlin consulate is being guarded night and day by German police.

England Still More Color Conscious Than France

8-22-31 Baltimore, Md.

No Truth in Reports of White Dailies that there is a Color Line in Paris Hotels.

By J. A. ROGERS
Paris Correspondent of the AFRO

PARIS. — Several correspondents have written asking me to deny the statement recently made in the colored and the white press to the effect that there is a color line in the Paris hotels, and that England is a much better place for the Negro.

To the best of my knowledge nothing is further from the truth than that statement. Nowhere on the Continent of Europe is here a color line, and I am willing to wager that a colored man of decent appearance however dark in color may go anywhere and instead of being refused will receive that fineness of courtesy to which America is yet a stranger.

And this holds true even in Paris where the Americans are most abundant. Personally, I have escorted colored Americans, some of the best and most exclusive places and I have yet to encounter other than the most perfectly courteous reception. After more than seven years' observation I feel free to say that American color prejudice has made no noticeable headway in Paris.

At Dinner

But a few days ago four of us colored Americans were the guests of an African prince to dinner at a hotel patronized largely by well-to-do Americans. In the afenoon he took us to tea in the finest establishment in the Bois de Boulogne, and his white guests also danced with the colored on the same floor on which the white Americans were.

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England More Like Home

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Not Raw

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Race Problem - 1931

Europe

CHIEFTAINS OF FRANCE'S COLONIES CALL AT THE ELYSEE PALACE:
M. DOUMER,
President of France, Receives a Delegation of Fifty Chiefs From the Soudan,
Who Went to Paris to See the Colonial Exposition.
(Times Wide World Photos, Paris Bureau.)

Gandhi Will Preach Non-Violence in Ireland; Harlem Negroes Invite Him as 'Second Moses'

By The Associated Press

LONDON, Oct. 11.—Mahatma Gandhi announcd today that he intended to visit Ireland soon and that after the round-table conference on India was over he planned visits to France, Germany, Italy, Palestine and possibly the United States, if the British Government had no objection.

"I have the deepest sympathy for Prime Minister MacDonald," he said. "He is worn out. He is carrying a load which would have crushed a man of less spirit and courage long ago. You can see the terrible fatigue and anxiety in his face. How he can bear up under his political troubles and the terrific national problem, along with the round-table conference, is quite beyond me. England has not seen his like for many a year."

Ever since Ireland won its independence from Great Britain Mr Gandhi has felt he could learn much from the people of the Irish Free State, who, he believes, would value him and his fight for India's liberation.

At the conclusion of the conference he plans his visits to the other countries, if they are made. If he visited the United States he would speak on his doctrines in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Boston and other large cities. The latest of the invitations he has received to go to the United States have come from Negro organizations in Harlem, New York City. In these the mahatma was described as "a second Moses to lead all colored races from the wilderness of bondage into the light of freedom."

Asked if he was discouraged over the lack of progress of the round-table conference, he replied:

"Well, up to now they have given me nothing, and I really expect nothing. I can see nothing but darkness on the horizon. But as long as I know there are certain enlightened constructive forces at work to prevent the conferences from breaking down I shall not return to India. I cannot hold a blackjack over England's head while she is tottering and gouge India's freedom out of her."

Mahatma Gandhi May Visit In United States

10-12-31

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FOREIGN OBSERVATIONS

By J. A. ROGERS

MANY COUNTRIES OF WORLD STILL PRACTICE SLAVERY

PARIS.—There are more than 15,000,000 human beings still held as slaves in various countries of the world, according to Lord Lytton, the British delegate at the recent conference held on slavery by the League of Nations at Geneva. These slaves, he said, are chiefly to be found in Asia and Africa, notably China, Abyssinia, Arabia, Liberia, and other regions in the African interior. Britain, he said, had ended slavery in her colonies in the 19th century by paying millions of pounds to the owners.

J. A. Rogers

Count Penna Da Garcia of Portugal in opposing the establishment of a permanent slave commission at Geneva, stressed the impossibility of getting certain countries to abolish slavery due to the lack of funds to indemnify the owners.

Dr. A. Sottile, representing Liberia, accused the press of the world in holding up Liberia as the center of the world's slave traffic. By making of Liberia a horrible example, he said, the press diverted attention from the European countries who permit slave traffic in their African colonies. Dr. Sottile promised an exposure of these countries for the League.

The Emperor Haile Selassie of Abyssinia according to the European press, recently freed all the remainder of the slaves in his territory.

Recent Arrivals in Paris

Paris.—Hilyard Robert Robinson, professor of architecture at Howard University, has arrived in this city after a tour of Germany, Holland and Belgium where he has been making an investigation of the economical and social consequences of housing by the government for persons with low in comes with special emphasis on the development of an improved technique in dwellings which he intends to apply to Negro communities when he returns to America.

At the end of the tour he will return to Berlin where he will study for one year.

Paris.—Miss Viola B. Goin, daughter of Rev. and Mrs. E. F. Goin of New Haven, Conn., arrived here on the Berengaria and will study the French language and literature for one year at the Sorbonne. She is living with her cousin, Clarence Cameron White, at 4 rue de Parc Montsouris.

Find New Works of Pushkin

In the archives of library of the Academy of Science at Moscow have been discovered several autograph manuscripts of the celebrated Negro poet Pushkin, together with a portrait of poet painted by himself and dating from 1820, as well as several other designs.

Among the manuscripts were an unfinished novel, entitled, "On Caucasian waters," a poem, "Vadime," and an anthology of poems by students at the lyceum he attended, preparade by Pushkin.

HARLEM NEGROES ASK GANDHI HERE

10-12-31

Mahatma Says He May Make Tour After Conference

TO GET BRITISH APPROVAL

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GANDHI GOES BACK WITH EMPTY HANDS

Round Table Conference Adjourns After Ignoring His Demands.

12-2-31

PEACE HANGS IN BALANCE

Indian Congress Must Decide Future Policy—Britain Ready to Apply Mailed Fist to Any Subversive Movement.

BY JAMES A. MILLS.
Associated Press Staff Writer.

LONDON, Dec. 1.—After deliberating nearly three months and spending almost $1,0000,000, the second Indian round table conference ended today with India standing virtually where she stood last January at the conclusion of the first conference.

Although Prime Minister MacDonald announced in his final speech that great strides forward had been made, the vital problem of apportioning power among the various racial groups, which he admitted was the whole key to the success of the conference, apparently was as far as ever from settlement.

Handles Gandhi With Gloves.

In his address, the prime minister dealt with Mahatma Gandhi with velvet gloves. But while he was calling the Nationalist leader "my dear Mahatma," the viceroy of India was preparing to handle any new subversive movement by Gandhi followers in the Bengal district with an iron fist.

Immediate death or deportation for life is the penalty prescribed under new ordinances in Bengal for those who challenge King George's rule or attempt political crimes.

The army, police and even civilians may be called upon under these new regulartions to assist in the suppression of any rebellious moves on the part of Indian subjects.

Prepared to Extend "Mailed Fist."

While these repressive measures apply for the present only to the Bengal Province, the government is prepared if necessary to extend them to all India.

"What gives me the greatest concern," said Mr. Gandhi tonight, "is not the outcome of the round table conference but the grave events in India where the government has been stampeded into panic by a few political crimes committed by irresponsible Indian youths thirsting for their country's freedom."

"Is it to be peace or war?" the Mahatma was asked.

"I cannot say at present," he replied. "The (Nationalist) Congress may have no choice except to renew the struggle.

Actions, Speeches, Inconsistent.

"The extraordinary powers of repression with which the Bengal government has armed itself seem to be wholly inconsistent with the desire expressed at the round table conference today to part with power and give India real freedom.

"The ugly situation in Bengal leaves little room for hope that anything big will emerge from the conference. The government has become panicky."

Several other highly controversial questions in addition to the matter of apportioning power among racial groups remained unsolved at the conclusion of the conference. Among these were the problem of safeguards for India's defense and finances.

While Mr. MacDonald reaffirmed the Socialist government's program of last January for an all-India federation as offering the only hopeful solution of India's constitutional problems, the conference ignored completely every one of Mr. Gandhi's demands. This was interpreted to mean that the Indian Nationalists would begin all over again their fight for independence.

2-2-31

Mr. MacDonald announced that the work of the conference would be continued through a committee.

He admonished the Indians that they themselves must come to an agreement on the problem of representation for minority groups.

The prime minister pleaded with the diminutive Indian Nationalist not to give up hope of concilitaion.

MacDonald Solicitous.

"My dear Mahatma," he said, "let us go the way of friendship. It is the best way and you may find it is the only way. It is certainly a way which will enable both of us to take great pride in our work."

It was learned that Sir Samuel Hoare, Indian secretary, has informed Mr. Gandhi privately that if the Indian Nationalists get out of hand again, the government will crush the movement by military force.

While the conference proved a disappointment to Mr. Gandhi, neutral observers felt distinct progress has been achieved in certain directions. They cited creation of a northwest frontier province as a regular governor's province, and the establishment of Sind as a separate entity.

Prepare for Attack.

With the termination of the conference, Winston Churchill and other opponents of self-government for India prepared for their attack upon the ministry's Indian policy in the House of Commons tomorrow and Thursday, when Mr. MacDonald will ask parliamentary approval of his program.

Mr. Churchill will move an amendment approving that policy providing

Race Problem - 1931

Europe.

Rambling Ruminations

Amsterdam News 9-16-31

By J. A. ROGERS

HENRI NOEL HOHENZOLLERN, Negro uncle of ex-Kaiser William of Germany—by adoption—has just died at Ancona, aged 72. New York, N.Y.

Henri Noel had an interesting but tragic career. Born in the French Sudan, in the region of Lake Tchad, the son of a native chief named Taradi, Noel was captured in a raid on his tribe and sold into slavery. In 1865 the German explorer, Frederick Rohlfs, leaving Tripoli, North Africa, started to cross the desert toward Lake Tchad. On the way he encountered a slave caravan, and the chief of the caravan, being ill, sent for Rohlfs, who was a physician.

J. A. Rogers.

Rohlfs succeeded in curing the merchant, who, out of gratitude, presented him with a large sum of money and a little slave boy. Rohlfs took the youth with him and, returning to Germany two years after, presented him to William, King of Prussia, later to be the first German Emperor. King William was so pleased with the vivacity and intelligence of the boy that he adopted him as his son, took him to live in the palace, where he was surrounded with every luxury and given the best tutors.

King William took the little Negro lad with him everywhere, and in the pictures of the period he may be seen with the King at the military reviews and receptions. Later he was sent to the military school at Potsdam, where he completed the necessary studies and entered the German army as an officer.

In the war betwen Russia and Turkey, King William sent his favorite as an attache to the Turkish army. In the battle of of Plevna, Henri Noel was wounded in the head by a fragment of a shell and taken to Malta for treatment.

Some time later Rohlfs, arriving in Malta for another trip into Africa, stopped at the King's request to see his former protege, and after a diagnosis discovered that Henri was suffering from cerebral troubles, caused by his wound. He dispatched a report to Kaiser William I, who decided to have his adopted son treated in an asylum at Ancona, Italy.

It was soon discovered there that Henri was incurable. He was quite harmless, however, but suffered from delusions of grandeur. Kaiser William cared for him until his death, after which the present ex-Kaiser looked after him, expenses for his keep being paid through the German embassy at Rome. In 1918, after the abdication of William II, it was the German republic that paid the bill.

Henri Noel's story, minus its tragic aspect, is not unlike that of two other native Africans who rose to high power in the Russian and the Austrian courts, respectively. The first was Abraham Hannibal, ancestor of Pushkin, an ex-slave adopted by Peter the Great, who rose to be commander-in-chief of the Russian army under the Empress Elisabeth; the second, Angela Solliman, who was companion of the Prince de Lichtenstein and later that of the Emperor Joseph II, son of Maria Theresa. Both of these Negroes married into the nobility.

At the Russian, Germany and Austrian courts there were always a number of Negroes. In the park at Potsdam there are statuettes of some of these Negro favorites. The ex-Kaiser had two Negroes among his bodyguard; the bandmaster of his favorite regiment for many years was a Negro named Sabac-el-Cher, while that of a regiment stationed at Konigsberg was an American Negro named Wilson, whose family still lives in Germany.

• • •

Slavery in South Africa

THE London Times, which recently exposed a form of slavery that existed in Hong-Kong, now tells of slavery in Bechualand, South Africa, a British protectorate.

The enslaved people are known as the Masarwas and, according to a son of one of the Bechuana chiefs named Simon Ratshota, "are in a state of cruel and abject slavery."

Ratshota, who was converted to Christianity and is the director of a native school, recently wrote the government in London denouncing the treatment of these peoples. They are attached, he says, to the herds of their masters, and are considered a part of them. Their wives and children do not belong to them; the master has the right to give them away or to sell them to anyone he pleases; he may beat and even kill them without interference by the local authorities.

Ratshota also says that it is only with great difficulty the slaves can be torn away from their abject state and be made to acquire a little civilization. He says that they are marvellous hunters, very clever at following the traces of wild beasts; can run long distances without water, and are so fleet of foot that they can follow a horseman, no matter how swift his horse. They also learn to read and write with little difficulty.

In 1926 Ratshota made a similar protest and, after a lengthy inquiry, was met with the same objection made against freeing the slaves in America, namely, that they were content and that freedom would condemn them to die of hunger.

14 OF 15 OFAY LODGINGS REFUSE BLACK GUESTS

Afro-American

One "Light Colored" Might be Accepted, they Declare.

INDIANS INSULTED

10-3-31

Gandhi Darker than Many Americans.

(Paris Bureau of the AFRO)

PARIS—A warning to the English people that color prejudice is undermining the British Empire is issued by "The Joint Council to Promote Understanding between White and Colored People in Great Britain."

"As the largest and most populous Empire . . . with over 300,000,000 colored fellow-subjects," says the circular of the association, "we should clear our minds and ask ourselves questions such as, 'Why have the French and certain other European nations practically no color prejudice?'

Baltimore, Md

Uncivilized

"Color prejudice found in extreme degree among Anglo-Saxons . . . cannot be regarded as the hall-mark of civilisation, for some of the most highly civilised peoples do not possess it. France is usually assumed, even by Anglo-Saxons, to be one of the most highly cultured nations. Yet in France we had an object lesson in her attitude to color in the appointment of M. Diagne to the post of Undersecretary of State. . ."

"Light Colored"

Speaking of color discrimination in London the association reports the great difficulty it has in getting colored students into lodging-houses, especially in the Bloomsbury district.

"In Bedford Place," it says, "out of fifteen lodging houses visited, fourteen refused to take colored students. The objection in each case was the refusal of the white lodgers to live in the same house with colored people. In Brunswick Square the objection was put forward. Here the idea was based on a 'superiority'; an intimation had been passed around the Square requesting the keeping out of colored people if the reputation was to be maintained. One landlady said she might consider a light colored lodger." (The neighborhood spoken of is that around the British Museum and the Y.M.C.A., which is the principal student district of London.)

East Indians

East Indians, says the circular, are equally discriminated against. (In England, Hindus are called "niggers.") Rooms, it says, "have been booked in advance for well-known and distinguished Indian visitors who, when they came to instal themselves in their hotels, were refused accommodation on a flimsy excuse. From our experience we could give many similar instances.

"What are we going to do about it? A great empire and little minds go ill together. The problem is not confined to India, but concerns our colored fellow-subjects from the West Indies, West Africa and elsewhere but in view of India's size and present political position, the problem is, perhaps, more urgent with regard to that country."

'Colored' Races Threaten 'Supremacy' of Whites

Negro owned

What will happen to white supremacy when 400,000,000 Chinese and 300,000,000 Indians and 200,000,000 Africans arrive at the same sense of racial solidarity and have similar astute leadership as the Japanese and Turks? 10-10-31

The proud Japanese and the arrogant Turks feel without any reservations that they are the equals of white races and white nations. They demand and receive equality of treatment in international affairs. What has been accomplished in a few years by these two Asiatic races has aroused all Asia and part of Africa into a seething ferment of racial and nationalist aspirations.

The challenge of yellow, brown and black races is not a mere bogey to be quieted either by soft words or by threats of force. With the ever present example of Japan and Turkey, the other people of color do not feel that their aspirations for a "place in the sun" are hopeless and futile.

New York

The Turks were enabled to dictate to the much stronger European pow-

rs because they knew those powers ould never come to an agreement as o "spheres of influence" and rights f exploitation. They have lost their ear of Europe and have learned Eur pean methods of warfare and diplo nacy.—Pasadena Star News.

HERALD

NEWPORT, R. I.

SEP 19 1931

ENGLAND'S PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOR

For a great many years Britons, particularly Englishmen, have displayed deep interest in the race problem in the United States. Not infrequently these students of human relations have criticized adversely the general attitude of the whites here toward the blacks, contending that the restrictions imposed on Negroes were ethically unjustified and unreasonable. They pointed to the commonly good terms on which whites and blacks live in many British colonies, particularly the West Indies, as exemplifying a more enlightened spirit than that existing here.

Because of this historical fact the emergence of racial prejudice as an issue in England is of particular in-

rest. L[illegible] is acc[illegible] to receiving with official [illegible] princes and potentates of all descriptions. It is a great cosmopolitan city, yet Charles E. Mitchell the United States minister to Liberia, and his wife, both educated Negroes, found some difficulty, because of their color, in housing themselves suitably in a London hotel recently. Among British military authorities General Pershing found strong disinclination to accept Negro regiments from this country in the war; he spoke with unmistakable firmness concerning Negro citizens in the United States service, making it plain he would sanction no discrimination against them.

The British discussion of a subject of grave concern to the United States will be followed closely in this country. If the problem can be solved in England a way may be pointed toward mitigation of the hardships in the United States, but this possibility should not be greatly emphasized. Great Britain does not have a black belt such as that which distinguishes the South Atlantic and Gulf States of this country.

Rogers Gives France the 'Best Name' on Color Issues

By J. A. ROGERS

PARIS, France, Sept. 25.—Several correspondents have written asking me to deny the statement recently made in the Colored and the white press to the effect that there is a color line in the Paris hotels, and that England is a much better place for the black man. To the best of my knowledge nothing is further from the truth than that statement. Nowhere on the continent of Europe is there a color line, and I am willing to wager that a Negro of decent appearance, however dark in color, may go anywhere and instead of being refused he will receive that fineness of courtesy to which America at its best is yet a stranger.

And this holds true even in Paris where the Americans are most abundant. Personally I have escorted Colored Americans, some of them quite black, to some of the best and most exclusive places and I have yet to encounter other than the most perfectly courteous reception. After more than seven years observation I feel free to say that American color prejudice has made no noticeable headway in Paris.

Visits Fine Places

But yesterday four of us Colored Americans were the guests of an African prince to dinner at a hotel patronized largely by well-to-do Americans. In the afternoon he took us to tea in the finest establishment in the Bois de Boulogne, and his white guests also danced with the Colored on the same floor on which the white Americans were.

The fact is that most white Americans who spend any time on the continent soon become aware of the fact that color prejudice is imbecility, pure and simple, and that those who indudge in it are freaks since no one can help being the color he is. Again their lack of knowledge of the language is against them.

In England they are more at home, and can spread their propaganda. American influence is no doubt largely responsible for the fact that England is the only country in Europe in which color prejudice exists. The more cultivated English classes, however, are among the finest in the world and give, on the whole, spontaneous recognition to cultured Negroes of wealth and those who have something exceptional to offer in the artistic field as say Paul Robeson Lawrence Brown and others.

England Hates Foreigners

Color prejudice in England is far from being the raw, pervasive, Jim Crow article it is in America. The finer the hotel or the restaurant in England the more likely it is to accept Negroes. In America the boot-licking, white-man-fawning Negro is more welcome than the manly, cultured one. In England the former type would be quickly set in his proper place.

For the poor black man England is the hardest country I know of. He will meet prejudice of a kind which is more directly inspired by economic conditions than in America. The English do not like foreigners, regardless of color, and the Negro's foreign color when unrelieved by wealth or genius makes it doubly hard for him. Were there more unemployment in England color prejudice, I am convinced, would be very much less than it is as the white man, in his native land, is not naturally prejudiced against the black.

There have been instances where black people in large numbers have been refused in Paris hotels patronized largely by Americans. Nevertheless, it may be stated, as a rule, that any dark man coming to the continent will find no objectionable reminder of his color from the moment he touches its soil. The same sweeping statement cannot be made with regard to the British Isles.

NEGROES WERE IN EUROPE 25,000 YEARS AGO

Paris Exhibit Shows How All Races of World Are Mixed.

BLACK & YELLOW MADE THE SIAMESE

White, Black, Yellow Made Hawaiian.

Paris Bureau of the AFRO

PARIS—In the presence of M. Paul Doumer, president of France, Pierre Laval, prime minister; Blaise Diagne, cabinet minister; distinguished scientists from the leading countries of the world; native African princes and dignitaries, and other members of the darker races from France's vast colonial empire, and to the music of the French National Guard, the 15th International Congress of Anthropology was opened here.

After the speeches of welcome, there were exhibitions by native African dancers, including those by the Madagascar troupe.

Race Mixing

During the twelve days' session the race question was discussed pro and con. In the second day's session a white speaker from the colonies denounced race-mixing, alleging that the mixed-bloods were less dependable and less energetic than the "pure" white or the "pure black."

This was denied by several speakers, most notably by Prof. H. Bernelot Moens, white, whose studies in race-mixing in Washington, D.C. caused a great sensation and ended in a Congressional inquiry. Prof. Moens declared that the statement of the speaker was directly opposed to modern scientific thought which held to the inherent equality of race.

This point Prof. Moens amplified on the sixth day of the session, when he was the principal speaker.

Inferiority Speaker Runs Out

At the third day's session, Prof. Moens caused considerable laughter when as presiding officer he sent a note to Gregoire Micheli, colored, of Guadeloupe, asking him to take the floor. The day's speaker, Prof. L. Cipriani, who was to sypeak on "The Mental Inferiority of the Negro Race," did not appear, whereupon Prof. Moens asked M. Micheli to address the Congress on "The Mental Inferiority of a Large Portion of the White Race." M. Micheli asked for time to prepare a paper, and will give his address towards the close of the Congress.

Blacks in Europe 25,000 Years Ago

In the Permanent Museum of the Colonies at the Colonial Exhibition there is also an anthropological exhibition, whose special feature is a display of the evolution of the human race, with skulls of the different species of mankind that preceded the present human type, with their instruments of daily use and their art.

The collection commences with the Neanderthal, the first near-human type that is believed to have inhabited Europe. There are also the skulls, bones and implements of the Grimaldi, a Negro race that inhabited Europe about 25,000 years ago.

White, Yellow, Black

Interesting also is the collection of photographs showing the mixing that took place between yellow, black and white on an extensive scale some thousands of years ago in North Africa, Southeastern Europe, India, Ceylon, Southern China, Australia, the South Sea Islands, and all the regions bordering on the Indians.

Siamese

Very clearly marked is the mixture of colored blood and Mongolian in the Indo-Chinese and the Siamese; colored and Caucasian in the inhabitants of Southern India; and colored, Caucasian and Mongolian in the Maori, Tahitans, Hawaiians, and the Hova of Madagascar; Mongolian by the eyes and the thick, straight hair; colored by the thickness of lips, shape of the nose and the length of the limbs and the pigmentation; Caucasian by the general form of the trunk and the contour of the head.

Secretary of State for French Colonies

M. BLAISE DIAGNE

PARIS—With the departure to the Far East of M. Paul Baynaud, Undersecretary of State, M. Blaise Diagne, native Senegalese, is performing the duties of Secretary of State for the Colonies. M. Diagne, naturally, has been one of the leading figures in the affairs of the Colonial Exposition.

Race Problems-1931

Europe

Female

11/7/31

WOMAN NO QUEEN IN EUROPE, SAYS J. A. ROGERS

Afro-American Baltimore

In Far East, Husbands Hide them from the Public.

BLACK THE COLOR IN ABYSSINIA

White Faces Used to Scare Children.

By BERNICE DUTRIEUILLE

PHILADELPHIA. — "America is woman's country," said Mr. J. A. Rogers, AFRO Paris correspondent, at dinner with the interviewer the other evening, in the quiet surroundings of the Citizens' Hotel dining room.

America, explained Mr. Rogers, is the only country in which the woman reigns supreme, and is queen of all she surveys. No country on the face of the earth accords the freedom to its women that America does to hers.

Mr. Rogers said:

"In the far East, say in Egypt, for instance, the woman is ever kept in the rear. I never got so tired of seeing ugly men, as I did in some of these countries.

"You never meet the wives and daughters of men of such countries unless the man has become so fond of you that he cannot help but bring you into his private home and introduce you to his family.

"You can meet the man in his club, at the cafes and such places and enjoy the most informal contacts and conversation with him, but it is very rare that he invites you into his home."

Mr. Rogers speaks with enthusiasm of the loveliness and the exquisite feminine charm of the women of the far east.

"There is only one place that you can meet the women in the eastern countries, and those are professional places where anyone can walk into right off the street

Black is the Color

"If you want to see a black person you should go to Abyssinia. The American here has never really seen a black person. And the skins of these people are rich and beautiful. The black man has a very cool skin. . . ."

Mr. Rogers also speaks of the magnificent garments worn by the people, especially upon such occasions as the royal coronation.

"The African," states Mr. Rogers, "is a master of color. The European does not know anything about color, compared to the African. These people study the outdoor wonders and match and blend the brilliant colors of nature as no European has been able to do. . . ."

Worth Two Men

"And in France," he continued, "a black woman is said to be worth two white men. Yet there is a dearth of men in Europe which makes competition rife among the women.

"The thing that impresses the journalist, student, and lecturer, is that the Frenchman is an individualist, and minds his own business."

The people of Europe, he stated, are the most unconcerned group of and perhaps the least shockable in the world, and are so frank and matter-of-fact about life that it places the relationship of man in his general intercourse on a much higher plane than in the more constrained United States.

No Sex Complex

"In Europe there are four complexes the inhabitant does not have: there is no sex complex, no color complex, no religious complex, and no liquor complex."

He explains that the lack of a religious complex is due to the absence of opportunity to capitalize it.

However, for economic advantages, Mr. Rogers asserts that the Negro is by far better off right here in America.

Primitive

He feels that the chances for a dark civilization supplanting the present white, is good. But he likewise states that at present Abyssinia is still largely primitive. He describes his impression of that country as a man with one foot implanted in the twelfth century, and the other in the twentieth, all the while attempting to drag his foot from ages back to the present. The feudal system is still in existence there. Yet they have recently introduced electric lights and a few of the more modern conveniences.

It would be extremely difficult for a trained colored man of this country to go over there and make himself content to settle down and help the country progress along the lines of more modern civilization.

"Over there," said Mr. Rogers, "there is nothing for a man to do in the evening but go in doors, and after 7:30 in the evening only privileged officers are permitted on the streets. There are no places of amusement.

Ghosts are White

"Over there, too, their ghosts are white, and every white face frightens them. For a white man to put in his appearance, is the signal for every member of a household, animals included, to immediately scurry to cover.

"In Abyssinia living standards are very low. Four men can be found to work a day for as little as thirty cents.

"The West Indian is making a pronounced headway abroad," he acknowledged.

As for the present civilization as we Americans know it, Mr. Rogers avers "white civilization is built on commerce, and now that its commerce has failed it is failing, too.

"The American idea of high powered efficiency is speeding her to her downfall

Rambling Ruminations

By J. A. ROGERS

Premier's Color a Current Topic

Jamaica Gleaner 10-25-31

AMERICAN news reporters are expressing their surprise at the dark skin of Premier Laval. A Paris daily, L'Ami de Peuple, has also said that the Premier's color was a subject of comment among his schoolmates. The physiognomy of the French Prime Minister is certainly not that of a Nordic. In his pictures taken with a group of forty African chiefs who visited the International Colonial Exposition he would hardly ever be taken at a casual glance for a European.

J. A. Rogers.

M. Pierre Laval is a native of Auvergne, Southern France, and is of a type not uncommon in that region. In this part of France, as well as most of Southern Europe, the Negro probably was the basic stock. The researches of Drs. Verneau, Lalanne, Pittard and other scientists have demonstrated that a Negro race, the Grimaldi, probably the first to emerge from the pre-human type, inhabited Southern Europe some twenty or twenty-five thousand years ago. Dr. Verneau has traced the ancestry of the Grimaldi in the physiognomies of present day Southern Europeans. Northern France is Nordic; Southern France is not.

Sir Godfrey Higgins, in his remarkable book which traces the black Virgins and Christs from India by way of Egypt, says that among the Etruscans, ancestors of the early Romans, was a large proportion of Negroes. Later, Rome brought hundreds of thousands of Negroes from Africa as soldiers and slaves, and employed them in her armies as far north as Britain. In time these were absorbed in the population. More, Rome extended her power into Africa and one of her greatest emperors was an African, Septimus Severus. Some of the Graeco-Roman rulers of Egypt were almost "pure" Negro.

In the eighth century A. D. the Moors, a people mixed white and black, crossed into Europe and became a power there, conquering as far as what is now Tarrascon, France. This proportion of black increased when the Almoravides, a people from Senegal, went to the aid of their co-religionists against the Christians in Spain and became the leading power in Europe. Following them came the Almohades, another group of Moors, who rose to even greater heights under their leader, Al Mansour, the Golden.

The next great infusion of Negro strain came with the introduction of Negro slavery in Europe, which lasted for more than 300 years and spread over Spain and Portugal, Southern Italy and Southern France. The son of one of these Negro slaves rose to be Duke of Florence and married the daughter of Charles V, the Napoleon of his day. In short, for more than 20,000 years there has been miscegenation of white and black in Southern Europe and even as far north as Scandinavia, all without any friction whatever.

Today, in Europe, and especially in France, the color of your skin is taken as naturally as Americans accept a difference of color among the other animals. In France a white private soldier accepts without a murmur a command from a superior officer who happens to be black. Blaise Diagne is very far from being a figurehead in the Laval cabinet; indeed he is a power, and is head of the Freemasons in the Chamber of Deputies, who are all white. Were the French Premier a private citizen of the United States, he might have found considerable difficulty not only in travelling in the South, but in getting hotel accommodation in New York; that is, if he spoke only English. Being the native of a land that values a man for his ability, not his epidermis, he comes as an equal to confer with President Hoover.

Laval's dark skin, it is safe to say, has never caused him an unpleasant moment. One of the Forty Immortals of the French Academy is of Negro ancestry and I have heard he is proud of it.

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Color Prejudice Presents Plight

As this writer has already pointed out, it is color prejudice that is responsible to a considerable degree for England's present plight, and the unemployment of hundreds of thousands of cotton goods workers in Lancashire, not to mention other lines of industry. Gandhi, it will be recalled, was called to South Africa in 1893 to plead an important case. When he arrived there he saw how his fellow-Hindus were

treated because of the color of their skin, due to their Negro inheritance (for the base of the population of southern India, according to the most competent authorities, is Negro). Gandhi, who is himself darker in color than a dark American mulatto, was treated as a "nigger." He began to stir up his people on behalf of their oppressed fellow-countrymen in South Africa and other pertions of the British Empire in East Africa.

Amsterdams Nieuws
10-28-31
New York

For twenty years Gandhi struggled—already he had formulated his policy of non-resistance and non-co-operation—until the British abrogated most of the restrictive measures against the Hindus.

In 1914, when the great war came, Gandhi, as so many others, thought that it was really a serious attempt to establish democracy and, it is said, supported England during the war. But the peace of Versailles deceived his hopes; he began his boycottage anew, with the result that England's trade in cotton goods in India fell to less than a third in 1929; and millions of tons of British shipping were lying idle in English ports. England has, in consequence, lost most of her cotton goods trade in other parts of Africa and Asia—all because a few white Anglo-Saxons wanted to hog a whole continent—that of Africa.

The evil has gone too far to be repaired now. Gandhi has announced his intention of demanding full independence for India, and Gandhi is a moderate compared with other Indian leaders. With the loss of India, England will rapidly sink to the place of other former world powers, as Spain and Portugal.

Will the United States, whose color prejudice is an inheritance from England, profit by the lesson? Her danger is, perhaps, equally great. Not only is there a whole continent of mixed-blood peoples to the south of her who are offended by her doctrines of color superiority but, with the rising tide of Communism, there are 12,000,000 of her own citizens that will finally have to be reckoned with, no matter how certain Negro leaders and writers may try to gloss over the situation now. History has shown that peoples will submit only to what they must. But the moment the wall weakens the water shows its will. And no wall is ever permanently secure. The story of the Haitian and the French revolutions could be read with immense profit now.

Race Problem - 1931

Europe

Rambling Ruminations

By J. A. ROGERS

PARIS.

DURING the Colonial Exposition, May to October, no passports will be required of visitors to enter France. All that is necessary will be some card of identity stamped by the French consul, who will do it free of charge. This provision has just been made public by the Minister of the Interior. It is the first time since the war that such a facility has been offered to tourists. The card so stamped will permit the tourist to enter France as many times as he wishes during the five-month period.

J. A. Rogers.

For the convenience of foreign professors and teachers, the dormitories of the government colleges in all the large tourist centers will also be thrown open at a moderate price, while all the matter they wish for study will be placed at their disposal.

It is suggested that colored Americans see to it that some definite manner of representation be given them in the American section of the exposition.

"First of the Blacks—First of the Whites"

The recent death of Lord Stamfordham, private secretary of George V, recalls the defeat and death of the last of the Napoleons by the Zulus in South Africa in the war of 1878-79. The Zulus, under their great leader, Cetewayo, it will be remembered, had wiped out an entire British expedition of several thousands sent against them, killing all save forty-two fugitives.

A few days later a party of Zulus surprised the Prince Napoleon and his small troop of soldiers. A few managed to escape, among them Lord Stamfordham, but the Prince Napoleon, who was dismounted at the time, had difficulty mounting his horse, and was caught by the Zulus. Later his dead body and that of his dog were found, both covered with wounds. The incident caused a great stir in Europe, and the British commanders were blamed. The prince, who was the heir fo Napoleon III, had volunteered, going rather in the nature of an adventure than as a combatant, thus the great shock that was caused by news of his death.

His end in distant Africa was seen by many as a retribution for Napoleon's treacherous treatment of Toussaint L'Ouverture. That retribution, however, seems rather to have overtaken Napoleon himself, for while Toussaint, born in the tropics, was sent in exile to a northern clime, Napoleon, born in the north, was banished to Africa. Thus, the "First of the Blacks" and "The First of the Whites" both met the same miserable end.

Bottom Out of Montmarte's Night Life

The number of colored Americans in this city has decreased considerably. Five years ago they could be numbered by hundreds; today there are perhaps less than forty.

The principal cause is that the bottom has dropped out of the night life of Montmartre, so to speak. Last year at the height of the season three of the oldest and best patronized night clubs closed their doors, with consequent dismissal of their colored musicians. Montmartre as a center of night life today is almost passe. The night crowd is now to be found in Montparnasse, where drinks are to be had for less than one-fifth, and where life is considerably gayer. A few Montmartre cabarets—like that of Bricktop's—continue to thrive, but on the whole the colored performers are barely struggling along and most of them are in debt.

The number of colored students is also small, among them being Clarence Cameron White, who is hard at work on his opera, "Desalines"; Augusta Savage, whose sculptures were accepted for the Autumn Salon last year and who hopes to have two of her pieces accepted for the Spring Salon. the artistic event of the year; Mrs. Roberta Dodds Crawford and Nadine Waters, music students, and William Lawrence, who gave a successful concert last year and is continuing his vocal studies.

In business there are in addition to Bricktop and Frisco Mrs. Hilton, who has an up-to-date lunch room and restaurant in Montparnasse, and W. Morgan, who has two fine restaurants in two of the leading quarters of Paris, and W. Miller, the tailor on Rue Audran.

With the exception of Josephine Baker, whose popularity declined for a time, but who is stronger now than ever, few colored Americans are seen on the stage. Perhaps the reason is that some of the leading music-halls, like the old Moulin Rouge, have been turned into cinemas. On the other hand, motion pictures with Aframerican actors go well. "Hallelujah" met its greatest success here, being played for five consecutive weeks in a leading theatre on the boulevard. Had there been another of its kind, the management would have used it. A few weeks later another Negro film made in Africa was secured.

But while the numbers of colored Americans have fallen off, those of the colored French West Indians and the Africans have increased.

Americans Play Prominent Roles At All-India National Congress

KARACHI, India, March 29.—(AP) Next to Mahatma Gandhi the most conspicuous figures at the sessions of the all-India national congress here are two Americans dressed in Hindu fashion, Carlton Washburn, superintendent of schools at Winetka, Ill., and Boyd W. Tucker, of Mansfield, Ohio, who have joined India's independence movement.

Tucker, who formerly was connected with the Methodist Episcopal missionary organization and now is associated with the school of the Indian poet, Rabindranath Tagore, is Gandhi's personal guest. He lives in a tent adjoining the Mahatma's quarters and participates in all of the nationalist leaders' prayers.

The Ohioan goes barefooted and eats the Hindu ritualistic food. Although as a missionary he gave the British a pledge to observe neutrality and refrain from taking part in politics, he has actively associated himself with the work of the congress. Gandhi frequently consults him and often asks him to correct his English.

Washburn is making a study of educational conditions abroad for the Rosenwald Foundation in Chicago, which is trying to synthesize the educational systems of the world.

Wearing white Hindu loincloths, homespun cotton shawls, white Gandhi caps and sandals, these two Americans are a source of constant curiosity as they appear in the congress among so many brown Hindus and Moslems.

While the Indians consider it a great compliment to their race for the Americans to identify themselves with the independence movement and dress in Hindu fashion, the British authorities regard their conduct with disfavor.

Similar criticism has been directed by the British against Edward Holton James, a radical of Boston, Mass., who gained notoriety at the time of the Sacco-Vanzetti case. Although he retains his Americanism and has not adopted the Hindu dress or manners, he is said by the British to have encouraged the nationalists toward overthrowing the British power. He is said to have pressed Geneva as the venue for the second round table conference and urged appointment of an international commission to investigate alleged necessities on the part of police in dealing with the nationalists.

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William Pickens Gives Credence to Story Told in West Indies.

HIS MA THE QUEEN

Father Cuban Patriot Imprisoned in Spain.

By WILLIAM PICKENS
(A.N.P.)

NEW YORK.—The most recently discarded king of Europe is a Negro—child of a Negro man and a white woman—what they would call in Mississippi something unprintable.

His official father was, of course, the invalid king, husband of his mother. You will notice that this ex-king is called "the last of his line" and the "best of his line." That is rich, because the "line" of which they speak had nothing to do with the production of him, except in a social way.

He has the intelligence, force, character, and health and strength of his remarkable mother and his equally remarkable natural father, and no whit of inheritance from the invalid and diseased king (who was really the "last" of the line spoken of), except the inheritance of the throne and the fortune.

The young king was born after the official father had died, but not so long after but that everything was perfectly legal and allowable.

Real Father Alive

The real Negro father is still alive and is today recognized as one of the greatest men of his island country, although above eighty years of age. If you are traveling in one of the greatest islands of the West Indies, and if you are associated with the society people who are in the "know," you will soon be asked: "Have you met our Grand Old Man, Senor ———, and do you know that he is the father of the King of S———"?

The Cuban Story

Then you will be told the story which is current in all the islands that speak that language; how this old man has always been one of the intellectual leaders of his country; how he led in the press and on the platform while other colored patriots led on the field of battle; how he was finally arrested and carried off to prison in Europe, by the European country which owned his island; how like an un-suppressed and inextinguishable intellectual volcano, he continued to write, even in prison, in defense of the independence movement in his island home; how these writings were smuggled out of prison and published; how the queen, childless wife of an invalid old monarch of a notorious royal line, came to admire these writings, went to prison to visit the prisoner, came then to admire the writer even more than the writings, secured his release from prison and released his fellow-countrymen who had been imprisoned there in the same cause; how this friendship continued, of course, following this release from prison; how the old wreck of a monarch died, and how the brunette child-king was born a few months after.

Dark in Complexion

Perhaps you have noticed how this king is always spoken of as being "dark in complexion," as are, fortunately, many of the people of his country. But his official father was of a lighter-skinned line, not indigenous to that country, and his mother was a northern woman. In his official parentage there is no source for a dark skin. But the people of his country have no color prejudice anyway, and were glad to have a king, which was a fortune beyond their hopes from the old monarch.

Saved the Throne

The birth of this child was a great blessing, a literal god-send to its mother; it saved the throne for her. She was then made regent until the child could become old enough to act for himself, and then she had the honor of being "queen-mother" until she died.

But for this child, her power and most of her honors would have ended with the passing of the old king, whose scheming relatives would have robbed her of all queenly glory and sent her into the discard.

How grateful she must have been for having known this remarkable man, this prisoner whom she had set free! But her connection with this man, on the other hand, undoubtedly delayed the coming of the "republic" for the king born of their natural marriage, by his inherited intellectual force and courage and dare-devilry, won the heart of the nation and delayed revolution.

Does King Know the Story

I wonder if this king has ever heard of this young ex-king, you will see of two brown people, two Negroes, and never even hints of this the story of his own origin. What that he is "colored." And if you look while the son he should now do would be to join at the picture of his real father, scion of a north-European race. But And what difference does it make? his real father in the great Antilles Negro magazine in one of its early the father, both in physical contour and give a beautiful ending to this numbers in 1931, you will see the clear and in moral character. And the Old remarkable romance. But perhaps resemblance of the two, as much Man is still a great force, feared by this king does not even know who he is alike as an old man and a young son the tyrants of plain human himself is. Who has dared to tell relations, like his country. He is in-

Race Problem - 1931

Europe

Rambling Ruminations

By J. A. ROGERS

PARIS.

DURING the Colonial Exposition, May to October, no passports will be required of visitors to enter France. All that is necessary will be some card of identity stamped by the French consul, who will do it free of charge. This provision has just been made public by the Minister of the Interior. It is the first time since the war that such a facility has been offered to tourists. The card so stamped will permit the tourist to enter France as many times as he wishes during the five-month period.

J. A. Rogers.

4-15-31

For the convenience of foreign professors and teachers, the dormitories of the government colleges in all the large tourist centers will also be thrown open at a moderate price, while all the matter they wish for study will be placed at their disposal.

It is suggested that colored Americans see to it that some definite manner of representation be given them in the American section of the exposition.

"First of the Blacks—First of the Whites"

The recent death of Lord Stamfordham, private secretary of George V, recalls the defeat and death of the last of the Napoleons by the Zulus in South Africa in the war of 1878-79. The Zulus, under their great leader, Cetewayo, it will be remembered, had wiped out an entire British expedition of several thousands sent against them, killing all save forty-two fugitives.

A few days later a party of Zulus surprised the Prince Napoleon and his small troop of soldiers. A few managed to escape, among them Lord Stamfordham, but the Prince Napoleon, who was dismounted at the time, had difficulty mounting his horse, and was caught by the Zulus. Later his dead body and that of his dog were found, both covered with wounds. The incident caused a great stir in Europe, and the British commanders were blamed. The prince, who was the heir fo Napoleon III, had volunteered, going rather in the nature of an adventure than as a combatant, thus the great shock that was caused by news of his death.

His end in distant Africa was seen by many as a retribution for Napoleon's treacherous treatment of Toussaint L'Ouverture. That retribution, however, seems rather to have overtaken Napoleon himself, for while Toussaint, born in the tropics, was sent in exile to a northern clime, Napoleon, born in the north, was banished to Africa. Thus, the "First of the Blacks" and "The First of the Whites" both met the same miserable end.

Bottom Out of Montmarte's Night Life

The number of colored Americans in this city has decreased considerably. Five years ago they could be numbered by hundreds; today there are perhaps less than forty.

The principal cause is that the bottom has dropped out of the night life of Montmartre, so to speak. Last year at the height of the season three of the oldest and best patronized night clubs closed their doors, with consequent dismissal of their colored musicians. Montmartre as a center of night life today is almost passe. The night crowd is now to be found in Montparnasse, where drinks are to be had for less than one-fifth, and where life is considerably gayer. A few Montmartre cabarets—like that of Bricktop's—continue to thrive, but on the whole the colored performers are barely struggling along and most of them are in debt.

The number of colored students is also small, among them being Clarence Cameron White, who is hard at work on his opera, "Desalines"; Augusta Savage, whose sculptures were accepted for the Autumn Salon last year and who hopes to have two of her pieces accepted for the Spring Salon. the artistic event of the year; Mrs. Roberta Dodds Crawford and Nadine Waters, music students, and William Lawrence, who gave a successful concert last year and is continuing his vocal studies.

In business there are in addition to Bricktop and Frisco Mrs. Hilton, who has an up-to-date lunch room and restaurant in Montparnasse, and W. Morgan, who has two fine restaurants in two of the leading quarters of Paris, and W. Miller, the tailor on Rue Audran.

With the exception of Josephine Baker, whose popularity declined for a time, but who is stronger now than ever, few colored Americans are seen on the stage. Perhaps the reason is that some of the leading music-halls, like the old Moulin Rouge, have been turned into cinemas. On the other hand, motion pictures with Aframerican actors go well. "Hallelujah" met its greatest success here, being played for five consecutive weeks in a leading theatre on the boulevard. Had there been another of its kind, the management would have used it. A few weeks later another Negro film made in Africa was secured.

But while the numbers of colored Americans have fallen off, those of the colored French West Indians and the Africans have increased.

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Afro-American

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5-2-31

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Simple Story

Of course, the old man is the son of two brown people, two Negroes, and never even hints of this to while the son is a "cross" with the ance of his younger days. scion of a north-European race. But And what difference does it make? ing the dominant influence on the son is Nature is no respecter of persons or rly the father, both in physical contour positions. It is just a plain human ar and in moral character. And the Old story of plain human relations, like Man is still a great force, feared by many another. on the tyrants of his country. He is in-

But thousands, perhaps mil-can look. lions, of others, know it. When you look again at the picture of this young ex-king, you will see of others, you look at his real father, sci- the picture appeared in a leading the early its clear and much Ma- and a young son the two, as resemblance of the old man and a young son who has dared to tell alike as an old man and a young son

Americans Play Prominent Roles At All-India National Congress

Constitution

KARACHI, India, March 29.—(AP) Next to Mahatma Gandhi the most conspicuous figures at the sessions of the all-India national congress here are two Americans dressed in Hindu fashion, Carlton Washburn, superintendent of schools at Winetka, Ill., and Boyd W. Tucker, of Mansfield, Ohio, who have joined India's independence movement.

3-30-31

Tucker, who formerly was connected with the Methodist Episcopal missionary organization and now is associated with the school of the Indian poet, Rabindranath Tagore, is Gandhi's personal guest. He lives in a tent adjoining the Mahatma's quarters and participates in all of the nationalist leaders' prayers.

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Rambling Ruminations

Amsterdam News
5-20-31

By J. A. ROGERS

PARIS.

THE city of Lyons, France, is now in the throes of a spiritualist agitation. The story, as told, proves that ignorance and credulity are just as likely to show themselves among peoples who had centuries of scientific education as among the most primitive peoples. Isolated duplicates of the incident are, moreover, taking place now in America.

J. A. Rogers.

The story is briefly this: During the war a rich merchant, named Bouchard, belonging to an old and honorable family, lost his only son. Friends of his who had also lost sons or husbands in the war gathered around him in the evenings in a dark room; they would "call up" the spirits of their loved ones and "talk" with them.

Enters now into the picture the new chauffeur of the merchant, whose name is Caraes. This chauffeur, joining the spiritualist group, soon became the dominating figure in it, and in time introduced a friend of his named Veyres, whom he said possessed extraordinary powers as a medium writer.

Under the direction of the two the ghostly broadcasting now took a new turn. The spirit of Bouchard's son was gradually substituted by those of three noted figures in the history of France, D'Artagnan, hero of Alexander Dumas' "Three Musketeers," and Manudrin and Surcouf, noted pirates, all of whom were supposed to have hidden away great treasures.

Correspondence went on between Veyres, the medium writer, and D'Artagnan, Surcouf and Mandrin, all of which the group of spiritualists drank in greedily. At last Mandrin, as captain-general of the smugglers, demanded that as proof of the sincerity of the audience $2,000 be deposited at a certain spot in the ruins of an old chateau. This sum was collected, placed in an envelope, and deposited at the place indicated. In time this sum was dematerialized, that is, taken by the spirits. Some of the faithful gave checks, but the ghosts also managed to cash them, too.

Satisfied with the prompt acquiescence of their friends, Mandrin, Surcouf and D'Artagnan now promised to reward them by revealing the spots where they themselves had hidden treasures. But because of certain difficulties of communication in the spirit world it would be necessary to establish a laboratory. At this Bouchard and Roche, another rich man, gave the sum of $8,000 to found "The Laboratory of Archaeological and Subterranean Research."

The hunt for the treasures now began in the ruins of the old castles and manors around Lyons. Among other things that the spirit of Mandrin promised was the revelation of a huge jar filled with gold and precious ornaments that had been hidden by King Charles the Bold in the ruins of an old castle in the Alps.

But after six months of diligent search nothing was found. At last Bouchard, the rich merchant, who had also been paying the hotel bills of the searchers and the laborers, was disillusioned and had Caraes, the chauffeur, arrested.

The arrest caused a sensation in spiritualist circles in Lyons with its twenty-five different spiritualist sects, which are a mixing of the odds and the ends of many bizarre religions. The leaders of these spiritualist circles unanimously opposed Bouchard, declaring that it was not Caraes, the medium, who was to blame, but the spirit of Mandrin, which had given false directions.

Other mediums now declared that they had received messages from Mandrin telling where "the treasures" were hidden. Once more Bouchard and his friends resumed the search, wandering around at nights with electric lamps in their pockets, and going even so far as to break the locks on the subterranean vaults of St. Jean. Still nothing was found.

Convinced now that it was not his chauffeur but Mandrin's ghost which was the liar, Bouchard, filled with remorse, went to M. Rauge, the prosecuting attorney, and to the latter's stupefaction, demanded a withdrawal of the charge.

"I am mistaken," he said, "it is not Don Jose (Careas) who is guilty. I withdraw the complaint I have made against him and place it against Mandrin. Please set Don Jose free."

When the prosecuting attorney said that it could not be done, Bouchard replied: "In that case I will hire a lawyer myself to defend him."

In the meantime Caraes is also held on the suspicion of having murdered another noted spiritualist, Mme. Holoyer.

Rambling Ruminations

By J. A. ROGERS

PARIS.

SEVERAL hundred Negroes from all parts of Africa who are to form the Negro village at the Exposition have arrived here and marched along the boulevards to the park at Vincennes. They created a sensation with their long, flowing white robes, blue and scarlet tunics, spears, shields, together with the animals they brought with them: elephants, camels, monkeys, leopards, and strange birds.

J. A. Rogers.

Accompanying them were the sorcerers and medicine men, with their wives and children. It remains cold, but these natives of the sun accept the weather philosophically. When asked if they are cold, they reply, politely: "Not any more than you." When you retort that you are cold they reply: "It is because you don't wear a gri-gri (charm)."

Among other musical instruments, they have brought with them what are believed to be the first pianos ever invented—the type from which the modern piano evolved.

This primitive piano is used today, and had been used centuries before the modern piano was built, by the natives of French Equatorial Africa. It is played chiefly on ceremonial occasions for the symbolic dances which accompany circumcision, initiation, betrothal, marriage, war, rejoicing and death.

These primitive pianos are portable. A hollowed plank is used for a sounding board, while laminated plates of iron serve as springs. But the piano principle is there, despite these superficial differences. It has a variety of names—m'bichi, marimba, ibeka, lusikis, sanza and ckende.

At the Exposition a great collection of primitive musical instruments is being assembled. From Equatorial Africa alone are tom-toms, gongs, ceremonial ivory whistles, zithers, xylophones, drums, mandolins, harps, trumpets and flutes. Several concerts will be given by native musicians on these purely native instruments.

* * *

AMERICAN tourists will not benefit after all by the abolition of passport and visa during the Exposition. On inquiry by The Chicago Tribune of this city it has developed that, since Americans do not carry identity cards, as do Europeans, and that, since America is not one of the thirty-odd nations that has abolished the passport nuisance, that Americans coming to France will require a visa that costs $2.

However, the transit visa for Americans has been extended to a month, instead of fifteen days, as before, and costs only five francs, or 20 cents. That is to say, should the tourist intend to remain in France only a month, it will cost him 20 cents. Hotel taxes have also been suppressed.

* * *

NEWSPAPERS of this city carry the picture of a rich Chinese merchant of Shanghai, who, discontented with his slit eyes, has had them enlarged by an American surgeon.

Henceforward this happy Celestial will be able to open on this vast world an eye built on the European plan. But with this alteration he had better be wise and remain in China, at least not come to America, for with his flat nose, full lips and new eyes he looks like a Negro. It is impossible to tell him from a mulatto, in the picture at least.

* * *

FOUJITA, noted Japanese artist and one of the best-known figures in this city, has returned and is full of praise for the artistic talent he found among Negro students and children in New York.

"The work of these young students," he said, "struck me by their exhibition of talent and their originality, certain of which recalled some of our great modern painters as Derain, Marquet, Raoul, Dufy and others—all of whom are painters unknown to these young Negroes."

He has brought back with him specimens of this art, which he is exhibiting in his studio on the Rue Campagne-Premiere. The Paris-Midi published a picture of him surrounded by his Negro students in America. Of all the places he saw in New York, he said, he was most impressed by Harlem.

J. A. Rogers Back From Trip Abroad

Foreign News Man Plans Lecture to Tell of Negro's History

Amsterdam News

J. A. Rogers, research student of history and biography, author of "From Superman to Man" and foreign correspondent of The Amsterdam News, returned to the city Saturday aboard the Ss. Albert Bellin laden with notes, charts, illustrations and other valuable finds—products of years of research—which he intends to incorporate in a two-volume work containing biographies of 100 outstanding men of African descent in Africa, in Asia, in Europe and in the Americas.

10-28-31

Maintaining headquarters in Paris, Rogers has spent the past twenty-two months studying in the libraries and museums of the capitals of Europe uncovering long forgotten records of the achievements of black men in former ages. He extended his tour to Abyssinia, Egypt, and penetrated the Sudan digging into archives wherein is written the history of the African people.

New York, N.Y.

Among Americans whom Rogers plans to include in his work are Ira Aldridge, actor; Frederick Douglass, abolition leader and orator; Matt Henson and Estevanico, explorers; Booker T. Washington, Marcus Garvey and others. Latin Americans, Henry Diaz, Brazilian military leader; Vicente Guerrero, second president of Mexico; Dessalines, L'Ouverture and Petion, founders of free Haiti; Antonio Maceo, Cuban leader. Europeans, the Dumases, Pushkin, Major General Egyptieos? Afrcans, Muley Ismael, Sultan of Morocco; Prince Thami Glaoui, Morocco; King Yusuf I. Asiastics, Clitus, cavalry commander of Alexander the Great, several of the leading caliphs of the Mohammedan world.

Mr. Rogers stated that he is glad to be back despite racial discrimination here and the cordial treatment received in Europe. He plans a country-wide lecture tour to tell of the part played by the Negro in shaping the destiny of the world.

The Colonial Exposition now being held in Paris, he said, is the greatest advertisement for the darker races ever held. The Negro plays a dominant role in the exposition. Vast throngs of visitors are daily in attendance. Mr. Rogers visited the exposition thirty times. "And even then I did not see all there was to be seen," he asserts.

Race Problem-1931

Europe

Father of Ex-King of Spain Black Cuban; Now 80 Yrs. Old

Afro-American 5-2-31 Baltimore, Md.

ALPHONSO XIII, King of Spain, forced into exile last week

Rambling Ruminations

Amsterdam News 6-10-31

By J. A. ROGERS

PARIS.

Destruction of Catholic Institutions

THE world moves and our loves and hates move with it. Sometimes they reverse themselves and we bitterly attack those ideals for which a few years before we would have been willing to give our lives if necessary.

J. A. Rogers.

There is no more striking instance of this truth than the burning of churches and convents throughout Spain. According to a report just issued by the Vatican, nearly 200 of them have been destroyed or partially wrecked. In Madrid alone fourteen convents were burned. There were also three Catholic colleges at Malaga, Valentia, and Chamartin, and a great technical college at Madrid.

This, be it noted, is the same Spain which saw the horrors of the Inquisition; see, for instance, Lea's "History of the Spanish Inquisition." In those days to say anything against the church meant death. The Spaniards, once as much a religious fanatic as a white Bourbon or a lyncher is a racial fanatic, have swung to the other end of the pendulum. Nothing is enduring save change.

Once let the light penetrate the mind of the poor Southern white; once let him realize that it is not the Negro that is his enemy, but the one who is oppressing both poor white and Negro, and there is going to be the devil to pay.

And that awakening will come some day. It is impossible to keep back the truth, as impossible as preventing the march of time. Will the over-lords heed the writing on the wall. There is not the slightest possible chance of their doing so. The super-profits they make from the exploitation of 12,000,000 souls make them wilfully blind, deaf and dumb.

Color Conditions In South Africa

IN THE United States it was the English and the Dutch principally who brought the Africans to live among them; in South Africa the Dutch and the English went to live among the Africans. In both instances these whites have run true to form.

Max Massot, one of the editors of Le Journal of this city, has been writing of color conditions in South Africa and, with the exception of the local color, he could well be speaking of America. Nevertheless, in the case of the mulattoes one finds a unique condition. He says:

"Among the disdainful whites, gentlemen dressed all alike in British style, noble ladies with eyebrows trimmed to a narrow line, and who would be nearly Parisian were it not for their large hats, circulate a crowd of colored people called the Cape colored, quite distinct from the black natives and the Europeans."

He adds: "The 115,000 mulattoes furnish for the 130,000 Europeans the servants and the low, unskilled labor. They live to the right and to the left of the city, in little cubical, one-story houses, resembling dominoes carefully arranged by a child.

"The mulatto women are gay, laughing, and know how to attract attention without pretense, except when they wear the detestable large Gainsborough hat of their white mistresses, in which case they appear comic."

When, however, it is a question of being served, then the conditions are American. "I enter a bar," he says; "a mulatto is drinking there. The boss, on seeing me, gives a start. Without a word he shows me to the left the bar of the whites between double swinging doors. I enter through politeness and pay 18 cents for a beer that I would have had in Paris for 3 cents. I have just committed a grave breach of etiquette in entering the part of the saloon reserved for the blacks, but I am happy to think that, if I were black and had entered the part reserved for 'Europeans Only,' I would not have escaped so easily.

"A Hindu Brahman, were he even a member of the King's Cabinet, is 'colored' in South Africa. He could not travel first class in that land nor drink a bock beside a white foreman." (Gandhi, it will be recalled, was loyal to Britain until he had a taste of color prejudice in South Africa.)

On the street is a smart-looking colored policeman, with waxed mustache, in blue uniform, a Boer hat, balancing with cadence a white stick. M. Massot asks a white bar acquaintance about the policeman and learns that he occupies himself solely with the colored people.

"But suppose a white man breaks a window and steals the watches, what would the colored policeman do?"

"He would try to find a white policeman."

"But suppose there was none. Would he let the thief escape with the watches?"

"Well, what do you expect? That a Negro should put his hand on a white man?"

To enter South Africa, says the writer, there is also an inquisition as to color. For instance, one is asked, among other questions: "Are you colored, Jewish, or Asiatic?" If one answers in the negative and the truth is discovered, as, say, "in the case of a colored American, whose skin has been fraudulently bleached, or a European Jew who has become a Russian orthodox to escape the quota, it is very simple. He will be shipped back on the first boat (third-class compulsory in the case of Negroes). There are some notions which remain engraved in the brain of the white South African as they are engraved on stone.

Jews are treated not much better and are barred entirely from entering now.

Lynchburg, Va. News
Saturday, June 6, 1931

English Negroes May Form Colored League

London, June 5 (AP)—Formation of a "league of colored people" was agreed upon tonight at a meeting of Negro men and women.

Dr. Harold A. Moody, who was elected president, said the organization was formed because of difficulties which recently have been experienced by certain of their people in Great Britain.

Paul Robeson, American Negro actor, referred to "two or three little annoyances in London," but added that the incidents have occurred in places frequented mostly by Americans.

ENGLISH PREJUDICE

—o—

England is fast modernizing itself on the race question. This became known recently with the announcement that The Spector, a leading paper of the nation, is starting a series of articles on the much discussed problem. It is expected that each article, no matter what point of view it represents will be violently attacked and defended.

World thinkers agree that the race question is not a subject that any people can discuss with tranquility. Wholly unacquainted as they are with the troublesome problem Englishmen are going to find themselves confronted with many insurmountable difficulties when the controversy really opens. It is interesting to note that already it has become a source of discord among the English. Indianapolis Recorder

The traditional English attitude has been that they knew no color problem and that there was no such thing as color bar in England. The world knows, or should know that this has never been true. The misleading statement was nevertheless easy to substantiate merely because until very recently almost the only colored people to whom the English had to accustom themselves were Indiana students of the so-called upper class. Indianapolis, Ind.

Added to these were occassional visits of Kings and Princes from Africa who would put up with their entourages at the fashionable hotels. That's as far as the English ever got in the matter of acquainting themselves with their upwards of 400,000,000 colored fellow British subjects.

Rambling Ruminations

By J. A. ROGERS

Former Texan Sued for Insult

Amsterdam News 7-15-31

HARRY BLUNTER of San Francisco has brought suit against a white American, named Felton—what the French dailies are calling a "curieux proces."

A few days ago Blunter was on the de luxe train, the Golden Arrow, which runs between Paris and Calais, on the way from London. With Blunter was a white or near-white woman, according to reports.

J. A. Rogers.

In the dining car, called here wagon restaurant, Blunter and his white wife were seated opposite Felton, a native of Texas, who now lives in the south of France, and is a naturalized Englishman. Felton's wife is French and by a strange irony is named Louise Lenior (Louise, the Black).

At the sight of Blunter Felton promptly rose from the table, muttering at the same time a well-known epithet. In an instant Blunter was on his feet and in a calm voice demanded politely:

"What do you mean?"

Felton, whose long residence in Europe has given him a certain veneer, excused himself before Blunter's white partner, but expressed himself in no uncertain language that he had no intention of sitting in front of a Negro, much less helping himself from the same dish as is the custom on European dining cars. Felton's French wife also expressed the same opinion

With frigid politeness Blunter demanded: "May I know to whom I have the regret to be speaking as I intend bringing suit against you for violating the laws of the country through which you are passing. Felton tendered his card and walked off. All had passed quietly.

Blunter, through his attorney, Maitre Boussageon, has brought suit against Felton for calling him names. And there is a strong likelihood that he will win, The French law, Article 33 of July 29, 1881, is precise on the point. Don't call people names in France.

Another Colored American resident here, Mrs. Lillian Hilton of Philadelphia, is also suing a white Southerner for calling her well-known downhome monickers.

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Student Denounces Gold Star Segregation

Robert L. Ephraim, student of political science at the University of Chicago, was recently invited down to the pilgrimage section of War Department for a discussion on the matter of the segregation of the Gold Star Mothers and, in a stirring speech, denounced the American policy of segregation before the assembled American and French notabilities.

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Africa to Govern Self in 100 Years

Complete self-government will be attained by the black people of Africa within the next hundred years, according to the Rev. A. G. Fraser, principal of the famous Achimota College on the Gold Coast, West Africa, who is in Geneva.

The Negro has fully as much ability as the white man, he says, and given the advantages of a general educational background will rapidly prove himself capable of administering his own continent as he had done thousands of years before the coming of the white man. Dr. Fraser, who is white, said that was his firm conclusion after five years of intensive experimental work in African education.

"In the next twenty years," he predicted, "there will be a tendency in Africa to ape European civilization, but later the pendulum will swing back to an emphasis on and a development of native African culture."

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Dr. Fraser is the delegate from the Gold Coast to the International Conference for African Children called by Lord Noel Buxton, descendant of the famous anti-slavery agitator of that name.

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Mrs. Davis in Paris

Among the recent arrivals in Paris are Mrs. Sadie Warren-Davis of The Amsterdam News, who is accompanied by Miss Cornelia Dickerson of the circulation department. Mrs. Davis and Miss Dickerson are doing extensive sightseeing in Paris, and will later visit Switzerland, Austria, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Holland, Belgium and England, returning to Paris.

Arriving on the Ile de France also were Henry L. Dazey of the Union League Club of New York, accompanied by Mrs. Dazey.

Miss Grace Walker of Gloster, Va., and of Boston, who has been studying at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art in London is spending a fortnight in Paris. She is en route to Switzerland, where she is to give an address before the School of International Relations at Geneva.

Miss Marian Anderson is also spending a few days in Paris before returning to Berlin to continue her studies.

Other visitors are Miss Merze Tate of Detroit, Mich., teacher in the Crispus Attucks High School; Miss Carrie Booker Person of Little Rock, Ark., teacher at Tulsa, Okla.; Miss Carrie B. Long of Kansas City, Mo., and Miss Nan Day teacher of Tulsa, Okla. All four have enrolled for a course of studies at the Sorbonne and Alliance Francaise.

Negroes Found In Abchasia in Russia

10-10-31

New York

Leningrad, Russia. — Negroes brought as captives and sold as slaves into a region that once supplied the fairest white captives for the harems of Oriental potentates are the singular discovery that has been made by a European anthropologist, Professor B. Adler, now working in the U. S. S. R.

Recently he visited the Caucasian district of Abchasia and found there small colonies of Negroes, living quietly by themselves and keeping their blood relatively unmixed in spite of encouragement recently received from Soviet officials to intermarry with the surrounding white population.

By following all local sources of information Professor Adler obtained something of their history. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Mingrelian, Circassian and Abchasians chieftains used to raid Abchasia and sell their captives as slaves in Turkey, Egypt, Algiers and elsewhere in the East; frequently they exchanged them for Negro slaves. In this manner at various times several hundred Negroes came to Abchasia and their descendants are living there today in various villages in each of which some Negro families are to be found.

The oldest Negro in Abchasia, one of the name of Seid, said that he had been brought there from Africa as a 4-year-old boy with two or three hundred others.

Race Problem - 1931

Moving Pictures Relating to

PROTESTS OF LEADING CITIZENS ARE HEEDED

DETROIT, Mich., Feb. 19—(By ANP)—"The Birth of a Nation," which was billed for a run at the State theater here, is now under ban by order of the mayor of this city.

The action of Mayor Murphy was due to the hundreds of letters from individuals and the pressure brought to bear through the influence of the N. A. A. C. P. and the Michigan Civil Rights League, members of which called upon the mayor and demanded that the film be restrained.

The theater owners, however, have intimated that they will defy the mayor's order and go on with the show. They gave as their reasons: The protest came too late and that they had already contracted for the film and had not sufficient time to secure another attraction. It remains to be seen just what the results will be if the mayor's order to stop the show is disregarded.

STIRRED OVER SHOWING OF "BIRTH OF A NATION"

SALISBURY, N. C.—Local citizens are alarmed over the scheduled showing of the movie, "Birth of a Nation," here at the Victory theater (white). While there is no colored theater operated here in Salisbury, local Negroes have attended the shows at the white theaters, and although there is no organized movement on foot to protest against the showing of the pitcure, many of the leading Negro citizens of the city are urging that Negroes "blacklist" this theater.

"The Birth of a Nation" was shown here several years ago, and its showing was accompanied by threats of a racial outbreak when members of the two races took exception to the applause given at certain occurrences which particularly pleased them. Whites from the ground floor of the theater threatened to "come up there and get you," when Negroes in the balcony vociferously applauded a part which pleased them. "Come on up," was the reply, and a near-riot was precipitated. The matter was quieted down, however, without damage.

The present showing of the picture was not advertised by the theater company until the last minute, thus not giving the colored citizens time to form an organization or opposition.

PREVENT "BIRTH OF NATION" FILM FROM SHOWING

Portland, Oregon.—The Portland branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has succeeded in preventing the showing in this city of the anti-Negro "Birth of a Nation" film which represents the post-Civil War Negro as a degraded brute.

Mrs. Carrie L. Ingersoll, branch secretary, reports that when a local film company official applied to the city council for permission to show the film, rescinding the prohibition against it several years ago, the branch immediately became active.

Clarence E. Ivey, branch president, took his committee before the city council and Rev. J. L. Caston of the local N. A. A. C. P. executive committee set forth the reasons why the N. A. A. C. P. was opposing the film's being shown. The city council thereupon voted unanimously to prohibit the showing in Portland.

Rogers Tells of "When Africa Speaks," the New Motion Picture

By J. A. ROGERS

PARIS.—Surpassing in novelty and excitement by far any thing that has ever come out of Hollywood is a sound film of Africa now being shown in this city at the Cinema des Miracles, entitled "L'Afrique Vous Parle."

This picture simply lifts one out of one's seat with its wild and primitive vigor, and fills one with admiration for the human beings who have been able to survive in this environment for thousands of years, for Africa is simply shot through with danger, and here we are speaking only for the natural perils, not of others such as slave-raiders.

Great herds of elephants; bands of highly-irritable rhinoceri who charge down at the slightest noise; troops of lions, bringing down and rending their prey; fierce gnus that attack lions in herds; leopards that creep on one unawares; flies, whose bite sends one into a sleep from which one never awakes; antelopes that leap high in the air, like enormous fleas; giraffes whose heads reach the tops of the trees; millions of grasshoppers, that descend with the noise of a hurricane, eclipsing the sunlight, turning noonday into midnight, causing all wild animals and human beings to flee as from a forest fire, and in half an hour destroy every single bit of vegetation, even the bark of the trees, turning as if by magic a paradise into a desert. Then there is the scorching heat, which affects even the beats—one can hear the lions panting like huge dogs. Over all this scene of primitive grandeur, horror and beauty are the human heroes.

Pigmies, weighing only seventy pounds, with primitive bows and arrows bringing down elephants, Somalis and others, surrounding troops of lions and facing them undauntedly with their spears; bearers, carrying day after day, in the fierce heat, great loads on their heads. How many self-styled superior folks living in our large civilization and who look down with contempt on the African would survive for a month if suddenly placed in this environment?

Some of the other features of this thrilling film are: a lion pouncing on a huge wild boar and carrying him off as a cat would a mouse; later one can hear the cracking of the animal's bone as he is devoured; natives being mauled by lions; one of them was actually killed and eaten, it being charged that the act was deliberately done to provide a thrill—there was such a protest against this part of the film in Germany that it has been cut to a minimum—a terrific battle between the photographers and the lions; thousands of beautiful flamingoes living around a lake that was once the crater of a volcano; the dance of the pigmies and an exhibition of their skill with the bow and arrow; hundreds of saucer-lipped women, or Hubangui, dancing and smoking their pipes. It is said that these women, who in their infancy are beautiful, were the especial prey of the slave-traders for this reason, and this method was adopted to discourage the venders of human beings; later it became the style and the woman who could put the largest saucer in her lip was considered the most beautiful.

There is also the dance of the warriors, and a ceremony of praise for the one who has shown himself the bravest in the attack on the lions; the cries of mourning and the songs of joy; the noble sentiment of the hunters towards the slain lion in not letting it lie where it had fallen, all was said uniting to stir a feeling of deep admiration for the manliness of the African Negro.

And now came the climax of the whole show, at least for those who entered in the middle of the performance. It was furnished by a Hollywood picture and showed four Negroes, just as black as the Africans and with features like them, dressed as Pullman porters. They were shining shoes in the smoking room of a sleeper while they bawled spirituals, and generally made clowns of themselves, and utterly meaningless clowns at that, while the white folks in pajamas in the body of the car moved as stupidly around in a sort of dance.

The effect was precisely as if one had been a spectator at some marvellous scene at the opera, then be suddenly lifted up and dropped in a menagerie full of screeching apes.

This, permit us to say, is the most effective sort of propaganda that can be made against the American Negro abroad, for Europeans know very, very little else about the Aframerican.

There is a stereotype of the Aframerican arising out of slavery days—that stereotype pleases the majority of white Americans because it recalls the days when they had complete power over Negroes—how many sigh for the days of the "good old darkeys" when Negroes knew how to take off their hats to white folks. Since that stereotype pleases the public, the producers find it very profitable to reproduce it, and it will never die until it becomes unprofitable.

But that stereotype is a powerful factor in keeping the Negro in his supposed place, hence it follows that no matter what other argument may be advanced to the contrary, plays like "Green Pastures," "Hallelujah," "Lulu Belle," "Porgy" and a host of others as well as books of that type are, in the final analysis, the most effective propaganda that could be used in keeping the Aframerican at a stage where his labor can be had as near to slave conditions as possible, for this is what it amounts to finally.

It is true that such plays as "Green Pastures" stir up a great deal of sympathy and loving kindness toward Negroes, but they perpetuate the stereotype, so that in time even the Negro's best white friends get to expecting only certain things from him. The most difficult thing in the world is to escape a stereotype, even as regards one's most intimate friends. Once a clown, always a clown. Victor Hugo taught that in "The Laughing Man." What the Aframerican needs most is not sympathy, but opportunity, and the two quite often do not go together.

The perpetuation of this stereotype helps a few Negroes, and enriches still more white people. We do not blame either, as in their place we might have done the same, nevertheless we are convinced that in keeping alive the old ante-bellum ideas, such plays do much to nullify the fight of the young colored generation for a place in the sun. As long as this sort of thing keeps up the Aframerican will not be regarded with the same dignity as, say, the Martinique Negro is in France, nor will he ever arise to his status. The Aframerican is doomed to an inferior place as long as the slave stereotype remains.

LONG ISLAND MAYOR STOPS FILM SHOWING OF 'BIRTH OF NATION'

Courier 10-24-31

Pittsburgh Pa.

NEW YORK, Oct. 22—The Mayor of Glen Cove, Long Island, has stopped the proposed showing in a local film theater of "The Birth of a Nation" film, after protest against it had been made through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

When the N. A. A. C. P. National Office was informed that the showing had been announced, William T. Andrews, special legal assistant, wrote to Mayor James Burns, telling him of the race hatred and prejudice which the film aroused and of its having been banned in many states and cities throughout the country.

Mrs. Daisy N. Reed, of Glen Cove also interviewed the Mayor and as a result of the representations made by Mrs. Reed and the N. A. A. C. P. the Mayor induced the manager of the movie theater to withdraw the film. The Mayor informed Mrs. Reed that had the manager not withdrawn the film voluntarily, he, the Mayor, in consultation with the city solicitor had decided to compel its withdrawal.

Mr. Andrews had made arrangements to appear before the city council at last night's meeting but this was made unnecessary by the withdrawal of the film

Race Problem - 1931

United States.

Disapprove Showing of 'Birth of Nation'

MEMPHIS, March 18.—"The Birth of a Nation" picture, which played to a full orchestra and a lean "Jim Crow" balcony at a local theater, excited a lot of talk. The "riot," which was to "make" the picture in town, got off on the wrong foot, and the best it could do was to close the balcony and bring in two cops, who reported that if a "riot" was anywhere around it was certainly hiding in the box office.

The picture, which was praised by the local censor board as being without violent influence, was opposed by leading white women of the city, particularly those interested in religious matters. The women, all of the highest social standing in the South, felt that "The Birth of a Nation" is much more a story of hate and lawlessness and prejudice than of the natal day of the new nation.

Lloyd T. Binford, local censor dictator, rushed to the defense of the picture after a few members of the Race who thought themselves secure from the wrath of the local gentry as they sat in the Jim Crow balcony applauded the scene where the white Sou'' wasn't doing any too well.

"It seems to me," said Binford, "to be an accurate portrayal of the times and not in the least objectionable. It is not nearly so productive of criticism as such unreal pictures as 'Hallelujah.'" Mr. Binford seems to be right as far as Memphis is concerned.

Responding to a "riot" call turned in by nobody knows whom, Patrolmen Watterson and McGuin not only found no trouble but could not find where any had been heard of. Watterson said: "It seems that the Negroes had been cheering every time a Negro killed a white man in the picture and then when the picture started killing Negroes the whites down below got up an applause of their own. Ill feeling was aroused. We went into the balcony and everything became quiet."

Members of the Race in the balcony knew the difference between a picture gun and a Memphis cop's loud speaker.

Mrs. Newell Protests

One of the strongest statements ever made for justice by a southern white woman was issued against "The Birth of a Nation" by Mrs. W. A. Newell of Greensboro, N. C., who came to a Memphis meeting of the woman's missionary council of the southern white Methodist church, of which she is an important official.

Mrs. Newell said:

"I feel that I should protest in the name of justice and of Christian attitudes against a showing of this film in Memphis.

"The women of the women's missionary council from the beginning have been interested in welfare work for the Negro and for the past 10 years have worked especially for the creation of kindness and justice to the Negro.

"We especially are engaged in a stronger effort than ever before against mob action and mob murder. We are preaching and teaching maintenance of law through proper trial and punishment under the law. We feel that particular scenes which show the mobs, reproducing the crisis and all such gruesome effects, is a dangerous and demoralizing influence, stirring up the passions, rousing the spirit of defiance of law and unreasonable hatred.

"It is a terrible thing to subject white children to the influence of pictures that arouse such racial prejudices and hatreds."

The feeling is general that if southern white women who are influential in the southern area put their feet down on "The Birth of a Nation" its death will be remembered longer than its birth.

By Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

(Released by Eastern Features Syndicate, N. Y.)

Tariffs and the Negro

THE DAILY PAPERS are talking a great deal about taxes. Modern countries, almost without exception, tax goods which are imported from foreign lands. They may do this for two reasons: first, to raise revenue; second, to keep foreign goods out. As a means of raising revenue, tariff taxation is likely to be unfair, since it is paid not in accordance with ability, but in accordance with needs. It is only fair when it is a tax laid on luxuries.

The question is entirely different when it comes to a matter of keeping out foreign goods. With great effort we have built up in the world an international exchange of goods. This can only be carried on when goods which are imported are paid for by goods which are exported. There is no other method of payment, for there is no international money. If, therefore, a country absolutely prohibited the importation of foreign goods, it would stop all sale of its own goods to foreigners. If it partially prohibited importation of foreign goods, it cuts down proportionately the foreign goods imported.

The question comes, then, simply to this: Do we need foreign goods? Or, in other words, do we need coffee, tea, sugar, cocoa, silk, and hundreds of other things which we cannot raise in the United States at all, or cannot make as well or as cheaply as they are made elsewhere.

Manifestly we do need these things, and the simple problem with us is: Shall we try to make these things ourselves at greater cost than we can buy them, or shall we buy them with goods which we can raise or make cheaply and well? Instead of trying to answer a question like this thoughtfully, we make every American citizen pay hundreds of dollars a year in higher prices for goods which we cannot make in the United States as cheaply as we can import, and often cannot make or raise at all. The result is that our export trade is cut down, our manufacturing establishments turn off help, and we increase the depression throughout the world.

What is true in the United States is true to a considerable degree in every European country. It is for this reason that a statesman like Briand of France is advocating a union of European countries for the abolition of tariff taxes, and in addition to this Germany and Austria have already made a treaty to abolish taxes on goods entering each other's countries.

The phenomenal industrial success of the United States is due in no little degree to one fact more than any others, and that is under the Constitution there can be no stopping of goods passing from state to state. By making, then, the United States a great free trade area, we established a home market of astonishing size and variety. Imagine New York trying to be prosperous by excluding goods made or grown in California!

Colored voters of the United States, therefore, study this matter of tariffs and remember that under a low tariff goods made by their colored brothers throughout the world can get a chance to enter here; can be sold to Americans and give larger returns to Negro workers elsewhere than is possible under a high tariff system.

Jacksonville, Fla. Times-Union
Thursday, [illegible]

NEGRO HAPPIEST IN THE SOUTH

Drawn from the South by promises and ambitions that have seldom materialized, negroes of the United States in considerable numbers now live in the Eastern and Western States, and have come to the point in such places as New York and Chicago as to be counted seriously by the politicians when election days approach. But it does not appear that they are improved by the indicated privileges that are given them; in fact they are "used" very greatly by the politicians, yet are not accorded much favor or given anything like a fair share of the offices when there is distribution and patronage. The Orlando Reporter-Star the other day, considering recent events in the great Western metropolis, said:

From investigations now going on in Chicago it is quite apparent that black diamonds are not a success in politics. The negro vote is too often used as a pawn by ward politicians.

Politics is not the mission of the negro; he doesn't shine much there. Mixing in politics has caused the colored race more grief and disappointment than it has brought satisfaction. Those who use them in politics are quickest to desert them when trouble arises. This has frequently happened in Northern cities where there is a large negro vote.

In the South the negro more nearly lives his natural life. Here he pursues the even tenor of his way undisturbed by political ambitions. In civic matters in particular, the Florida negroes are manifesting a commendable pride and are accomplishing much for themselves entirely separate and apart from politics. Indeed the negroes here are not much concerned with politics. Economically and educationally the colored race is making progress in Florida. In productive lines they are making good. In the trades and crafts they have a large place. Best of all, they are developing their natural talent for music in a manner that gives them a large place in the entertainment features of Florida.

Florida understands the negro, and the negro understands the situation here and is doing an excellent part in advancing the State towards prosperity. The negroes of Florida are to a very great extent industrious, law-abiding, willing to learn, anxious to be known as good citizens. They know that by thrift and faithful endeavor they can have comfortable homes, educate their children, take an interest in whatever is going on of a public nature, and enjoy life as others do, although not expected to participate greatly in political affairs. This latter reservation does not seriously affect the majority of the colored people of the State; they certainly do not suffer any discrimination on account of this.

Originally of a warm climate, the negro is naturally better suited to life in the South than other sections of the country. Here he has opportunity for developing his talents and ability as far as inclined. To an extent the negro is encouraged to go forward wherever seeking knowledge, and in industry and the trades he has no handicap in the South. Evidencing great possibilities in agriculture, the negro is very greatly found on the farms and plantations, and even appears to a considerable degree as the small farmer. The negro is undoubtedly happier in the South than elsewhere, and regardless of careless talk by those who are prejudiced against the South, they are better treated here than in other sections.

When it comes to politics, the records show that the negro is used as a good thing by politicians in the East and West, but seldom given any reward for their services to the Republican party, which makes the play for their patronage. Of eight Eastern and Western States, having a total negro population of somewhat more than 800,000—out of the ten and a half millions in the country—only one has sent a colored man to Congress (Illinois), which has more than 180,000 negroes. Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Massachusetts, Indiana, Michigan and New Jersey "see to it" that the negroes vote—for white men. In the South they take but little interest in elections, and are encouraged to vote chiefly by Republican politicians interested in the candidacy of Eastern and Western politicians.

WHAT THE PEOPLE SAY

[The Chicago Defender does not vouch for the authenticity or truthfulness of letters printed in this column nor do letters contained herein express opinions or views of the Defender. All letters must be signed with name and address of writer. They must be confined to 250 words.]

IN THE MEDICAL WORLD

Editor The Chicago Defender: Attention has been called by Dr. Carl G. Roberts of Chicago to the use of the word "Colored" following the names of Negro physicians in the directory of the American Medical association. Dr. Roberts has written to the secretary of the American Medical association asking for an explanation.

Defender 5-23-31

For some years it has been customary to put the designation "colored" after the names of Race physicians who are registered in the South; but in the present directory practically all Colored physicians, no matter where they are located, have this word following their names.

Chicago, Ill.

The National Medical association is taking up the matter officially with the authorities of the American Medical association. In addition to this hundreds of letters from individual physicians are being sent to the officers of the A. M. A. protesting against any such specific designation of color. Several of those who have written have indicated that unless the practice is discontinued they will refuse to subscribe to the Journal of the American Medical Association.

W. G. ALEXANDER, M. D.
General secretary, National Medical Association.

* * *

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESS

Editor The Chicago Defender: Here is a letter I addressed to the members of the Associated Press when they met here recently:

"To the members of the Associated Press, in convention, New York city.:

"Gentlemen: I am writing to ask you in the name of the millions of Colored citizens of the United States, whose patriotism, loyalty, growing ecenomic independence, educational advancement and moral stability have served to make them sensitive to public opinion in respect to its reaction to their existence in the United States, to resolve before your convention closes, to request that your member papers accept the proposition that it be their future policy to desist in the future from magnifying through the use of large headlines degrading epithets—such as employment of the phrase 'big burly Negro' in reporting acts of a criminal nature when committed by citizens who are of the Colored race.

"Recently a similar request was made by representatives of the citizens of Italian origin. Their request met with prompt and respectful response from member papers of the Associated Press.

The Colored race feels that its record in the United States, coupled with an enlightened self-interest of both the white and Colored races warrant that the practice complained of be done away with. Very sincerely,

"J. E. STEPHENS.

"Member of the New York legislature, Albany."

* * *

FOR CARLSTROM

Editor The Chicago Defender: I read with keen interest your remarkable editorial entitled, "Illinois and the Republican Party."

It is my candid opinion Oscar E. Carlstrom is the man who is a strong healing force in the Republican party, that party of glorious traditions, but harassed by deteriorating powers. Young men, regardless of race, see in him a forceful, wide-awake and broad shouldered personality that, given the proper responsibility, would carry the interests of the masses to a successful conclusion.

I trust, therefore, that the public will stand behind the brilliant advice in your editorial and in the next Illinois gubernatorial primary urge Mr. Carlstrom to carry the party's standard to overwhelming success.

DR. A. C. JOHNSON, D. D. S.
365 E. 51st St., Chicago.

* * *

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

Editor The Chicago Defender: A few days ago, while talking to some friends of mine, I was surprised of what they said about the whites, of whom they called "Peckers."

One of them said: "If I thought I could get away from such a thing as a 'Pecker' I would go to Hell's Island."

Another of them said: "It would be a good thing if the government would give Cuba to our people, send us down there and give us a start."

Well, what do you think?

Is it right to think that since the Gentiles say that the Negro will never have anything to do with their government that they are growing too fast and something must be done, we are better off in a land of our own?

If we would try to make such things come true there would be, for the first time, over 50,000,000 whites that would help us. I would like for many people to write and tell me what they think.

THEORIA TURNER.
319 W. Anna St., Jacksonville, Ill.

Pratville, Ala., Progress
Thursday, April 2, 1931

Negro Race 100 Per Cent Loyal

S. L. BATES,
Autaugaville, Ala.

Editor Progress:

I saw in your editorials of the 19th inst. where you fear danger, Communism and uprising through negro societies in this county. I want to say as a minister of my race and as a member of these societies that you need not be alarmed or give yourselves any uneasiness about these societies taking to the advice of foreign folk. The negro has been tried and found true to the white man and to this government.

When German propaganda was being scattered throughout this country in camps and on the battlefields of Europe, and when President Wilson's life was being threatened at the White House by enemies of this country, the choice of men who could be trusted to protect the life of that great chieftain fell on black men. And I have yet to hear of one time he betrayed his trust. These societies in the main need to be commended and encouraged and not censured and discouraged for they are helping the unfortunate through sickness and death. What would have been the fate of the colored man during the depression when the land lords and merchants were paralyzed to a great extent, our people thrown out of employment, and some of them with nothing to eat—if these societies had not provided for their doctors' bills, groceries and burial?

The negro has proved his loyalty to this government and to the white man in war times, then why distrust him in times of peace? We are American citizens by blood and toil. We have helped to make this country what it is and have dared any foreign foe to tear it down. No pages of history record its detriment because the negro has wrought into the Roman empire and virtues sickened and died, and a Benedict Arnold or Guiteau Rome was puffed up and forgot and weakness and became the among my race and thank God God and had not love, but depend- prey of invading Goths. So also for it. Love will hold us togeth- ed on her legions and sword will be er, force cannot do it. The many spears and chariots and battle ax- the cornerstone of our govern- strikes and general unrest and es which gave them conquest, but ment resting upon the everlasting lawlessness warn us of our coming and excesses. Then ideals and Rock of Ages—Jesus Christ—the danger. for as the Goths were arms of love. purity faded from view and stur-

Jacksonville, Fla. Times-Union
Thursday, April 30, 1931

NEGRO HAPPIEST IN THE SOUTH

Drawn from the South by promises and ambitions that have seldom materialized, negroes of the United States in considerable numbers now live in the Eastern and Western States, and have come to the point in such places as New York and Chicago as to be counted seriously by the politicians when election days approach. But it does not appear that they are improved by the indicated privileges that are given them; in fact they are "used" very greatly by the politicians, yet are not accorded much favor or given anything like a fair share of the offices when there is distribution and patronage. The Orlando Reporter-Star the other day, considering recent events in the great Western metropolis, said:

From investigations now going on in Chicago it is quite apparent that black diamonds are not a success in politics. The negro vote is too often used as a pawn by ward politicians.

Politics is not the mission of the negro; he doesn't shine much there. Mixing in politics has caused the colored race more grief and disappointment than it has brought satisfaction. Those who use them in politics are quickest to desert them when trouble arises. This has frequently happened in Northern cities where there is a large negro vote.

In the South the negro more nearly lives his natural life. Here he pursues the even tenor of his way undisturbed by political ambitions. In civic matters in particular, the Florida negroes are manifesting a commendable pride and are accomplishing much for themselves entirely separate and apart from politics. Indeed the negroes here are not much concerned with politics. Economically and educationally the colored race is making progress in Florida. In productive lines they are making good. In the trades and crafts they have a large place. Best of all, they are developing their natural talent for music in a manner that gives them a large place in the entertainment features of Florida.

Florida understands the negro, and the negro understands the situation here and is doing an excellent part in advancing the State towards prosperity. The negroes of Florida are to a very great extent industrious, law-abiding, willing to learn, anxious to be known as good citizens. They know that by thrift and faithful endeavor they can have comfortable homes, educate their children, take an interest in whatever is going on of a public nature, and enjoy life as others do, although not expected to participate greatly in political affairs. This latter reservation does not seriously affect the majority of the colored people of the State; they certainly do not suffer any discrimination on account of this.

Originally of a warm climate, the negro is naturally better suited to life in the South than other sections of the country. Here he has opportunity for developing his talents and ability as far as inclined. To an extent the negro is encouraged to go forward wherever seeking knowledge, and in industry and the trades he has no handicap in the South. Evidencing great possibilities in agriculture, the negro is very greatly found on the farms and plantations, and even appears to a considerable degree as the small farmer. The negro is undoubtedly happier in the South than elsewhere, and regardless of careless talk by those who are prejudiced against the South, they are better treated here than in other sections.

When it comes to politics, the records show that the negro is used as a good thing by politicians in the East and West, but seldom given any reward for their services to the Republican party, which makes the play for their patronage. Of eight Eastern and Western States, having a total negro population of somewhat more than 800,000—out of the ten and a half millions in the country—only one has sent a colored man to Congress (Illinois), which has more than 180,000 negroes. Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Massachusetts, Indiana, Michigan and New Jersey "see to it" that the negroes vote—for white men. In the South they take but little interest in elections, and are encouraged to vote chiefly by Republican politicians interested in the candidacy of Eastern and Western politicians.

WHAT THE PEOPLE SAY

[The Chicago Defender does not vouch for the authenticity or truthfulness of letters printed in this column nor do letters contained herein express opinions or views of the Defender. All letters must be signed with name and address of writer. They must be confined to 250 words.]

IN THE MEDICAL WORLD

Editor The Chicago Defender: Attention has been called by Dr. Carl G. Roberts of Chicago to the use of the word "Colored" following the names of Negro physicians in the directory of the American Medical association. Dr. Roberts has written to the secretary of the American Medical association asking for an explanation.

For some years it has been customary to put the designation "colored" after the names of Race physicians who are registered in the South; but in the present directory practically all Colored physicians, no matter where they are located, have this word following their names.

The National Medical association is taking up the matter officially with the authorities of the American Medical association, and in addition to this hundreds of letters from individual physicians are being sent to the officers of the A. M. A. protesting against any such specific designation of color. Several of those who have written have indicated that unless the practice is discontinued they will refuse to subscribe to the Journal of the American Medical Association.

W. G. ALEXANDER, M. D.
General secretary, National Medical Association.

* * *

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESS

Editor The Chicago Defender: Here is a letter I addressed to the members of the Associated Press when they met here recently:

"To the members of the Associated Press, in convention, New York city.:

"Gentlemen: I am writing to ask you in the name of the millions of Colored citizens of the United States, whose patriotism, loyalty, growing ecenomic independence, educational advancement and moral stability have served to make them sensitive to public opinion in respect to its reaction to their existence in the United States, to resolve before your convention closes, to request that your member papers accept the proposition that it be their future policy to desist in the future from magnifying through the use of large headlines degrading epithets—such as employment of the phrase 'big burly Negro' in reporting acts of a criminal nature when committed by citizens who are of the Colored race.

"Recently a similar request was made by representatives of the citizens of Italian origin. Their request met with prompt and respectful response from member papers of the Associated Press.

The Colored race feels that its record in the United States, coupled with an enlightened self-interest of both the white and Colored races warrant that the practice complained of be done away with. Very sincerely,

"J. E. STEPHENS.

"Member of the New York legislature, Albany."

* * *

FOR CARLSTROM

Editor The Chicago Defender: I read with keen interest your remarkable editorial entitled, "Illinois and the Republican Party."

It is my candid opinion Oscar E. Carlstrom is the man who is a strong healing force in the Republican party, that party of glorious traditions, but harassed by deteriorating powers. Young men, regardless of race, see in him a forceful, wide-awake and broad shouldered personality that, given the proper responsibility, would carry the interests of the masses to a successful conclusion.

I trust, therefore, that the public will stand behind the brilliant advice in your editorial and in the next Illinois gubernatorial primary urge Mr. Carlstrom to carry the party's standard to overwhelming success.

DR. A. C. JOHNSON, D. D. S.
365 E. 51st St., Chicago.

* * *

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

Editor The Chicago Defender: A few days ago, while talking to some friends of mine, I was surprised of what they said about the whites, of whom they called "Peckers."

One of them said: "If I thought I could get away from such a thing as a 'Pecker' I would go to Hell's Island."

Another of them said: "It would be a good thing if the government would give Cuba to our people, send us down there and give us a start."

Well, what do you think?

Is it right to think that since the Gentiles say that the Negro will never have anything to do with their government that they are growing too fast and something must be done, we are better off in a land of our own?

If we would try to make such things come true there would be, for the first time, over 50,000,000 whites that would help us. I would like for many people to write and tell me what they think.

THEORIA TURNER.
319 W. Anna St., Jacksonville, Ill.

Pratville, Ala. Progress
Thursday, April 2, 1931

Negro Race 100 Per Cent Loyal

Editor Progress:

I saw in your editorials of the 19th inst. where you fear danger, Communism and uprising through negro societies in this county. I want to say as a minister of my race and as a member of these societies that you need not be alarmed or give yourselves any uneasiness about these societies taking to the advice of foreign folk. The negro has been tried and found true to the white man and to this government.

When German propaganda was being scattered throughout this country in camps and on the battlefields of Europe, and when President Wilson's life was being threatened at the White House by enemies of this country, the choice of men who could be trusted to protect the life of that great chieftain fell on black men. And I have yet to hear of one time he betrayed his trust. These societies in the main need to be commended and encouraged and not censured and discouraged for they are helping the unfortunate through sickness and death. What would have been the fate of the colored man during the depression when the land lords and merchants were paralyzed to a great extent, our people thrown out of employment, and some of them with nothing to eat—if these societies had not provided for their doctors' bills, groceries and burial?

The negro has proved his loyalty to this government and to the white man in war times, then why distrust him in times of peace? We are American citizens by blood and toil. We have helped to make this country what it is and have

S. L. BATES,
Autaugaville, Ala.

dared any foreign foe to tear it down. No pages of history record a Benedict Arnold or Guiteau among my race and thank God for it. Love will hold us together, force cannot do it. The many strikes and general unrest and lawlessness warn us of our coming danger, for as the Goths were taken into the Roman empire and wrought its detriment because the nation sank into corruption and weakness and became the prey of invading Goths. So also will be our fate if we fail to keep pure-the cornerstone of our government resting upon the everlasting Rock of Ages—Jesus Christ—the arms of love.

Race Problem – 1931

United States.

N. Y. EVENING POST

FEB 13 1931

HOOVER SEES TEST FOR LINCOLN IDEALS

Present Crisis Puts Self-Reliance Issue to Fore, He Tells Radio Audience

MUST FIGHT OWN BATTLES

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 13 (AP).—Through a microphone placed upon the table at which Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, President Hoover told the American people last night that the present furnishes a critical test for the principles and ideals of his great predecessor.

Today as in Lincoln's day, he told his radio audience, States' rights, the relationship of Federal, State and local government responsibilities form the dominant problem.

"Victory over this depression and over our other difficulties," he said, "will be won by the resolution of our people to fight their own battles in their own communities, by stimulating their ingenuity to solve their own problems, by taking new courage to be masters of their own destiny in the struggle of life. This is not the easy way, but it is the American way. And it was Lincoln's way."

Gives Picture of Scene

For his far-scattered listeners the President in terse words pictured the scene in the Lincoln study from which he delivered the anniversary address.

The view from the windows looking toward the Washington monument, which was building in Lincoln's day, the chairs in which the Cabinet debated the grave problems of the Civil War, the tablet over the mantelpiece, bearing an inscription recalling the deliverance from slavery of 4,000,000 Negroes, were described simply. The President's voice expressed his deep feeling. He recalled, too, that working here, by day and by night, Lincoln could hear the cannon that echoed in the deep struggle between the States. He told of Lincoln's principles of government.

"You will find Lincoln addressing the country in strong and urgent support of the protective tariff. . . . You will find him advocating Federal aid in internal development of waterways, rivers and harbors and transportation. You will find him pounding at the public mind against nullification and for adherence to constitutional processes of government."

Sees Superstate

But it was to centralization of government that Mr. Hoover devoted his principal attention. If the Federal Government continued to take over new responsibilities, he warned, it could lead "but to the superstate where every man becomes the servant of the state and real liberty is lost."

"Such was not the Government that Lincoln sought to build," he added.

Mr. Hoover told his audience that Lincoln was a good party man.

"He realized, as we also must realize, that fundamentally our whole self-government is conceived and born of majority rule, and to enable the majority to express itself we must have party organization. Lincoln led in founding the Republican Party and he gloried in his party. His tradition has dominated it to this day. It was and is a party or responsibility; it was and is a party of the Constitution.

Lincoln a Builder

He characterized Lincoln as a "builder in an epic of destruction."

The President told how Lincoln, if he could return today, would find the South recovered, inspired by a brilliant renaissance of industry and culture, and the Negro race he liberated progressed by its own endeavors to "an amazingly high level of self-reliance and well-being."

upon was white supremacy. "No amalgamation of the white and Negro races, no marriage between white and Negro," said the Southerner. Pointing to his desertion of "Al" Smith and his support of Herbert Hoover in the last election, he said

"Down in Elizabeth, Tenn., Hoover said in a speech, 'If I am elected President I will not appoint a Negro in a community where the community is opposed to Negroes.' That is all we wanted him to say. He has not appointed a Negro in the South"

"Is not our party a nice-looking object with Al Smith, with a bunch of his 'niggers', leading down the line, with his 'white supremacy' Democrats coming along cheering and hurrahing for Alfred with his 'nigger' brigade?"

"Heflin Niggers"

"My father owned more slaves than did any man in my section of the state," he said. "Those old 'Heflin niggers' think more of us than anybody else, but our way of handling that question is best.

"It is necessary to segregate the Negroes from the whites; there has to be a chasm between the Negroes and the whites on the marriage qusetion, but here we were in 1928 with a candidate for the presidency who stood for social equality between 'niggers' and whites; 'nigger' children and white children in school together; 'niggers' and whites in church worshipping together; 'niggers' and whites marrying."

N. Y. EVE. WORLD

FEB 13 1931

HOOVER URGES SELF-HELP UPON STATES IN RELIEF

President Deplores Rush for U. S. Aid as Un-American

Makes Radio Talk to Nation in Extolling Lincoln

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For his far-scattered listeners, the President in terse words pictured the scene in the Lincoln study from which he delivered the anniversary address.

The view from the windows looking toward the Washington Monument, which was building in Lincoln's day; the chairs in which the cabinet debated the grave problems of the Civil War; the tablet over the mantlepiece, bearing an inscription recalling the deliverance from slavery of 4,000,000 Negroes, were described simply. The President's voice expressed his deep feeling. He recalled, too, that working here, by day and by night, Lincoln could hear the cannon that echoed in the deep struggle between the states.

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UPHOLDS PARTY SYSTEM

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"He realized, as we also must realize, that fundamentally our whole self-government is conceived and born of majority rule, and to enable the majority to express itself we must have party organization. Lincoln led in founding the Republican Party and he gloried in his party. His tradition has dominated it to this day. It was and is a party of responsibility; it was and is a party of the Constitution."

He characterized Lincoln as a "builder in an epic of destruction."

"His undying idealism and inflexible resolve building a new temple of the national soul in which our succeeding generations have since dwelt secure and free."

The President told how Lincoln, if he could return today, would find the South recovered, inspired by a brilliant renaissance of industry and culture, and the Negro race he liberated progressed by its own endeavors to "an amazingly high level of self-reliance and well-being."

RALEIGH, N. C.

NEWS OBSERVER

FEB 16 1931

HOOVER PLEDGED Pro-American DIXIE TO NAME NO COLORED FOLK Baltimore, Md

WASHINGTON.—Using the chant "nigger, nigger, nigger" as the theme strain, lame duck Senator Thomas J. Heflin, (Dem., Ala.), sang his swan song of race hatred in the United States Senate Monday.

Taking the floor to "set his colleagues right" on the recent Alabama election, in which he was voted out of his seat by 50,000 Southern Democrats, the Senator set forth eight "principles" upon which he acted and which he says brought about his downfall.

White Supremacy

The chief and main point dwelt

DOES HE LOOK LIKE LINCOLN?

Not long ago this paper printed a picture showing youths looking at themselves in a mirror and seeing the face of Shakespeare and Washington, and of homely young women looking in the mirror and imagining they resembled the most beautiful women the world has known. Public men fall into a like self-deception. They fool themselves by imagining that the policies they pursue are in line with those of Jefferson, Washington or Wilson. The Washington *News* sees the latest example of this in the speech made by President Hoover on Lincoln's Birth day. It is as follows:

Listening to the President's radio address we gathered that Lincoln was an early edition of Hoover. We learned that there was a close similarity between Hoover policies and what the policies of Lincoln would be were he living today.

Lincoln would be pleased with the status of the Negro today, we were told. We had supposed that Lincoln would be grieved by the nullification of the Negro's political, legal and economic rights.

Lincoln was a great party man, we were told. We had supposed that his indifference to party regularity drove him to form a new party. As to the Republican party, we were rather surprised to hear Hoover say that Lincoln's "tradition has dominated it to this day." It had never occurred to us to link the name of the Liberator to the methods of Hoover's party managers, Huston and Lucas.

"You will find," said Hoover, "Lincoln addressing the country in strong and urgent support of the protective tariff." We are still trying to figure out any connection between Lincoln's desire to protect the infant industries of 1860 and Hoover's recent tariff subsidies to the giant no-longer-infant industries which dominate the nation.

To the 7,000,000 unemployed and equal number of part-time employed, Hoover gave the solace that his government has "avoided the opiates of government charity and the stifling of our national spirit of mutual self-help." He added that this was "Lincoln's way."

We had supposed that Lincoln's way would be to feed the hungry.

But after all, what we think, or what Hoover thinks Lincoln might have done in 1931 is a rather futile guessing game best left to Republican politicians accustomed to using a great name for their own purposes.

Kind Words

Amsterdam News
2-25-31 New York, N.Y.

PRESIDENT HOOVER, in his address on Lincoln's birthday, had some very kind words to say about the Negro's progress. "If Lincoln were living," said the President, "he would find that this race of liberated slaves, starting a new life without a shred but the clothes in which they stood, without education, without organization, has today by its own endeavors progressed to an amazingly high level of self-reliance and well-being. To Lincoln it would have been incredible that within a lifetime the millions of children of these slaves would be graduated from the public schools and colleges; that the race would have builded itself homes and accumulated itself a wealth of lands and savings; that it should have carried on with success every calling and profession in our country."

TRUE ENOUGH. The race would progress still faster, would do still more to justify the Emancipation Proclamation, if it were given more reason to feel that in its struggle against injustice it has the active as well as the verbal support of the President. It would mean a great deal to the Negro if the President would insist upon obedience of the supreme law of the land, without subterfuge or evasion; if he would make a determined move, successful or not, to put an end to lynching; if he would root out racial discrimination in the government departments; if he would discountenance the attempt to thrust the Negro out of the Republican party in the South. For President Hoover's kind words the Negro is grateful; he will be more grateful for the blessing of deeds.

NEWS
DENVER, COLO.

FEB 14 1931

Hoover's Lincoln

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Oklahoma City, Okla.
NEWS

FEB 13 1931

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HEFLIN, 'NEGRO HATER,' IS URGED TO START PAPER

Courier
2-12-31

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 12.—(ANP)—According to reports being circulated here Senator Tom Heflin, who was defeated in Alabama for re-election at the November primaries, is considering establishing and editing a newspaper.

The defeated senator confirmed the reports that he had been urged by his friends to establish a newspaper and stated the purpose of the paper would be "to reach the people with my views on clean elections." No doubt the senator will use the vehicle to set forth his anti-Catholic propaganda and his customary tirade against the Negro who is the chief sufferer in elections in Alabama.

SAYS NEGRO IS AS MUCH SOUTHERNER AS WHITES

Courier
6-31-31

Pittsburgh
Pa.

NASHVILLE, Tenn., May 28—(By ANP)—In the South, the white man is the Southerner, the Negro—well, a Negro, writes Horace Mann Bond, instructor in sociology at Fisk University, in an article, "A Negro Looks at His South," which appears in the June issue of Harpers magazine. In this article, Mr. Bond protests against this classification and presents for the first time for serious consideration a figure long obscured by the professional southerner—"the southerner who is also a Negro." He writes:

"There are probably eight or nine million Negroes who are Southerners —using the phrase in the most catholic manner — people whose forbears were born in the South, whose lives have been lived there, and whose hope of future security and happiness is intimately bound up with the fortunes of the section. These people are Southerners, and I am a Southerner. Customs, politics, society, all of the deeper and more extensive ramifications of culture bear the imprint of those of us, who being Southerners, are also Negroes."

Race Problem - 1931

United States.

SPEAKER AGAIN CLAIMS 'SOUTHERN WHITE MAN IS BEST FRIEND OF NEGRO'

NEW YORK, Dec. 31—(ANP)—Challenged by William Pickens, field secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, relative to his statement made at the dedication of the five thousandth Rosenwald school, that the "southern white man is the Negro's best friend," Edwin R. Embree, president of the Rosenwald fund, has replied to exceptions raised by Mr. Pickens in the following letter of recent date:

Courier

"Dear Mr. Pickens: Thank you for sending to me your comments on my statement at the dedication of the five thousandth Rosenwald school. It is courteous and sporting to send a copy of one's criticism directly to the one criticized. It is also fair. I wonder why this handsome custom is not more widely followed.

1-3-31

"I wonder what large group in America you would describe as being the best friends of the Negro? I agree with you that the southern white man has not yet realized to anything like the extent he should, the interdependence of the two races and the necessity therefore for further opportunities for all racial groups. My belief is that the best 'friend' is not he who is most sentimentally affectionate, but he who faces the facts (often as a matter of necessity rather than good will) and thus realizes what is needful.

"Facing what is necessary and desirable for improving the condition of the Negro is, I believe, more prevalent in the South than in the North. It is true that northerners, especially a generation or two ago, expressed their good will more freely in words. I believe at the present time southerners are expressing this on the whole more substantially than people in the North, especially in the voting of tax funds and in the making of personal contributions to Negro schools, colleges and health agencies. I agree that these expressions are not yet adequate, but they are increasing. I think it is as fair as it is desirable to recognize and encourage this attitude on the part of the South to support with increasing sums opportunities for Negro advancement.

"Very truly yours,
"EDWIN R. EMBREE."

Mr. Pickens, however, is scarcely yet satisfied and still believes that the South is still far behind in its "quota" of friendship for the Negro, as his reply to Mr. Embree, reproduced below, indicates:

"Dear Mr. Embree: I appreciate the spirit of your letter of Dec. 15. You ask: What large group in America I would describe as being the best friends of the Negro?

"None. No large group. Unfortunately, best friends, or just real friends, do not come in large groups —especially not for the American Negro.

"His best friends among white people are still individuals, too few in the South and not nearly numerous enough north, east or west. As a group, the Negro must be his own best friend and rely upon himself. There always have been individual whites who were real understanding friends of the handicapped Negro in this country. I expect there always will be. I know that their number is increasing, and I even believe that their proportion in the whole group is on the increase. All opportunities considered, the South is far behind in its 'quota.'

"Very truly yours,
"WILLIAM PICKENS."

GEORGIA BARBAROUS AND BACKWARD

Thirty years ago when the late Governor Brackett characterized Georgia as the "barbarous state" in referring to the lynching and burning of Sam Hose on Sunday, it was considered as strong language. Julian Harris editorial correspondent of the Times chronicles utterances of a Georgian which are not only a severe arraignment of the state but make Governor Brackett's utterances mild indeed compared with them. At the risk of tiring our readers we will quote what this individual says of his own state. Judge Orville A. Park of Macon who is a distinguished member of the State Bar Association and a legislator elect in addressing the Atlanta Kiwanis Club took as his subject "The condition of Georgia." Judge Park said in part: "Georgia, once the Empire State of the South and recognized as such by the entire nation, now has dropped to the bottom with her sister states going steadily ahead and we remain in complete lethargy except to continue the now empty shout that it's great to be a Georgian. The last census showed the state to have gained less in population during the last ten years than any other state in the union save the Rocky Mountain state of Montana. While the per capita wealth of the nation is $3000 in Georgia it is $1380. In bank savings and industrial gains we are at the bottom. Educationally, Georgia is the forty-eighth state in the Union, paying for maintenance of educational institutions less per capita of population and per student than any other state, and with its school equipment the poorest except for Tennessee which however will soon surpass Georgia. In state expenditures for public health and care of dependents we are at the bottom. We do lead in some things. We hold the world's lynching record, we are the home of the Klan, the Supreme Kingdom and the Black Shirt movement and the state is divided into more counties than any other state in the country except Texas, which is several times larger than this state."

"Primarily," Judge Park concluded, "it is imperative that Georgia citizens awake from their lethargy and face the facts."

What a humiliating and bewiledering array of irrefutable facts they must face. No one in the North we venture to assert would have dared to draw such a strong and severe indictment against the state, as this eminent jurist and author of legal works has done against his own state. What England's political giant, Edmund Burke confessed himself unable to do "to draw an indictment against a whole people" this Southern jurist has done with apparent success. We have no desire, certainly no intention, of offering any objections to the indictment drawn by this Georgia jurist. For years we have thought that there is no crime in the catalogue of crimes to which the state of Georgia is not heir. Before us, as we write, sent us with his compliments, is the opinion of another righteous judge of Georgia Judge Emory Speer, delivered June 28, 1904, wherein he declared "Under the American system, Chain Gang has no place in the jurisdiction and procedure of police courts where trial by jury is not a right of the accused." This opinion created at the time as much consternation as Judge Park's utterance will do today. If men of this calibre would a litle oftener castigate their lethargic, illiterate and indifferent fellow citizens, they might succeed in making their state worthy of the song "Good Old Georgia."

The Negro and Supreme Court

Walter White, Writing in Harper's Advises to Watch It

The United States Supreme Court offers the surest means of obtaining justice for the Negro in this country, according to Walter White, acting secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who writes in January Harper's Magazine on "The Negro and the Supreme Court."

Negro world

In his article Mr. White tells at length of the successful fight to prevent the confirmation to that Court of Judge John J. Parker of North Carolina, who as a "lily white" Republican had publicly expressed opposition to the Negro's participation in politics.

1-10-31

The struggle, which resulted in a Senate vote of 41 to 39 against the Parker nomination, stirred Negro political consciousness and solidarity, says Mr. White in the article. More than that, he continues, it "marked in startling fashion not only resentment by eleven million Negroes against a rapidly growing disregard of their political rights but signalized as well that the Negro no longer intends supinely to permit the whittling down, little by little, of the constitutional rights which, theoretically, belong to him as an American citizen."

New York Times

On no issue have Negroes worked so unitedly since the Civil War, says Mr. White of the Parker fight, citing the united front presented by colored editors, by the N.A.A.C.P., by the National Association of Colored Women, by church groups, fraternal orders and hosts of individuals. And the victory, it is universally conceded, was won by the Negro.

The importance of keeping off the Supreme Court such men as Judge Parker, is emphasized by Mr. White who lists the important cases affecting the Negro's civil status which the Supreme Court has had on and which the Supreme Court will have to continue hearing. These cases include the celebrated Grandfather Clause case, in which the late president of the N.A.A.C.P., Mr. Moorfield Storey, presented a brief and cases on residential segregation, "white primary" and other essential cases. Says Mr White:

"Negroes and their friends know that within the next few years cases testing other forms of disfranchisement, cases challenging unequal apportionment as to race, public funds, state and federal, for education, issues of Jim Crow car system and of segregation by meanns of private property holder's covenants will be carried for decision to the Supreme Court. Negroes have noted the considerable number of five to four decisions within recent years by that Court. And they know that one vote by a justice holding Parker's anti-Negro views might easily mean an appreciable increment to their already heavy load.

"Immediately, Parker's rejection means a number of things. It has given hope to Negro voters in demonstrating that intelligent, sustained struggle for a principle can be successful. It has created a new and wholesome respect for the Negro among informed, fairminded whites. It has forcibly reminded Americans that the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Federal Constitution are not yet wholly dead. And it has served notice convincingly upon politicians that it is no longer wise to attempt to climb to high office on the backs of helpless blacks through violent Negrophobic atta ks."

The Most Courageous Woman In The United States

By LEILA AVERY ROTHENBURGER
In the Christian Century

When Dr. Edward A. Steiner toured Europe to find the man lowest down, he found the greatest burden bearer to be the Slavic woman. Recently a group of thirty-four people, nineteen white and fourteen black, toured our Southern States in the first interracial seminar on wheels. Going as a fact-finding group they, too, found a woman—the most courageous one in the United States. She is the Negro wife and mother.

In a double sense, the Negro woman is the bearer of her race. Besides bearing children, she is forced, by the economic conditions under which her people live, to join her husband as wage earner. If her husband is in the lineup waiting for a "white collar job," there are forty-five white men who take precedence over him; if he is in the unskilled labor group, he must compete against fourteen. The high turnover jobs at hig and even here, as well as in the traditional trades of his people, such as barbering, serving as waiter, etc., there is a definite trend to replace him by white labor. No matter what his work his wage is lower than that of the white man in a like position. So the Negro woman turns earner. Washington offers to the Negro more opportunity than most other cities, yet here one-half of them are in domestic service and of this half 44 per cent are women.

A long day in domestic service, working in a laundry or dry cleaning establishment brings the Negro woman one dollar. In a job factory she earns four dollars a week. If she is qualified to teach, meeting the same requirements as a white instructor, she receives a salary one-third to one-half that of her white sister.

Suppressed Prejudice

The Negro mother rears her family under the handicap of history. Slavery destroyed the Negro family. Economic pressure in the present generation has brought a transition to urban life with again a weakening of the social structure. She sees the ability of her children suppressed by poverty and prejudice, the hangovers of a slave holding society. In a typical rural section of the South, composed of 1100 families 56 per cent of the 747 families studied have a gross money income that falls under $1000, half of which must go to the landlord.

To a Negro woman even her womanhood is a handicap, for she is still the prey of man. That she still feels it necessary to warn her daughters against the white man is one of the ugly facts that came before the seminar. Again the Negro mother rears her family under the handicap of a poor location with its attendant evils. Real estate dealers exploit her in asking exorbitant prices for cheaply constructed places of abode. The policy of segregation is ever a wall against her. Even the Commonwealth of which she tries to be a good citizen sets the example in enforcing this policy both as to places of eating and working in all Government buildings. Everywhere the Negro is crowded into back streets and alleys. Again the nation's capital sets the pace. By a law of 1914 the alleys of Washington were to have been eliminated by 1918. It is now 1930 and the alleys still exist. Garbage is collected half as often as for whites; lack of light and air bringing disease; the percentage of infant mortality is alarmingly high. We register keen interest when told of the dearth of doctors in Africa, but "No Negro doctor from Tuskegee to Mobile" lacks the romance that clings to far exotic places.

Cultural and Political Burdens

The Negro mother lacks the assistance that the white mother finds in community agencies. Because of overcrowded schools, calling for double and often triple sessions, her child frequently has shortened hours of instruction. Libraries, except the meager ones in Negro schools, are generally closed to him. He may be a Boy Scout in name, but he is denied the privilege of wearing the uniform of the organization. Avenues of cultural advance such as theatres, concerts, museums, etc., are closed to him. Recreational facilities are almost wholly lacking. Negro streets are treeless, devoid of all beauty, yet if the child should venture into a public park (other than the few undesirable ones allotted to him) the police would keep him moving.

The Negro mother is handicapped politically. It is hard to teach her child to have respect for Government when she is refused the right that is hers by Amendment Sixteen of its Constitution. When a college trained woman has to fight four days for the right of registration and achieves it only after she has been interceded for by white friends, after she has proved that she is a property owner and has shown her tax receipt, it is little short of a marvel that she is able to teach her son to salute the American flag. "With liberty and justice for all" must be a big mouthful under such circumstances.

The Problem of the Church

The Negro mother is handicapped religiously. The church that should be her greatest aid suffers sadly for want of leadership. In two typical cities visited it was learned that 41 per cent of the Negro ministers in one had had no formal training; in the second center only four out of forty had had any training beyond that of the high school. Nor is there evidence that white Protestantism senses its opportunity. Either it has failed to teach, or its members are refusing to recognize, the fundamental values of humanity and personality that Jesus stressed. The Negro mother is finding her brood growing up either discouraged or embittered against organized religion. The child she sends to college comes home knowing that his church has not been able to hold the Negro intellectual. Of the white preacher he asks, "Who are you to preach religion to me when I may not sit in your church?"

Enduring and Forgiving

In spite of these and other handicaps, the Negro mother has the power to endure and to forgive. By the alchemy of love and patience she is turning hate into friendships, prejudice into pride. What she is accomplishing was summed up by Mrs. Kemper Harreld of Atlanta, who told the seminar that Negro womanhood is bending its energy to developa generation that will be self-respecting without being self-assertive, fear but not foolhardy, able to be gracious without taking advantage in their lations with the friendly ones of c races. She is teaching world fel ship with little chance of making a demonstration of it in daily life. She is battling in her soul the problem as to whether she shall keep the conventions imposed by a society that scorns her or work out standards of her own.

This is the burden the Negro mother is carrying. And she is keeping sweet under it. Who can doubt that out of her travail this courageous woman will bring some contribution that will bless her native land?

In the student dining hall at Hampton Institute is a beautiful stained-glass window which portrays the full-length

ALL IS QUIET ON 'THE NEGRO FRONT'

1-30-31 Washington

NEW YORK—(CNS)—The New York Times in an editorial under the title "The Negro Front" says:

On the same day with news of the burning of a Negro in Missouri comes the report from the Julius Rosenwald Fund that, in the spirit of the war bulletins which reported satisfactory progress on the western front when individual soldiers were shuddering under fire in damp, infested trenches, "All is quiet on the "Negro Front—The race question is "being solved—Negro progress is "satisfactory."

Like the war bulletins, their essential truth laughs ironically at hundreds and thousands of Negroes daily snubbed, often insulted and even publicly murdered; at bitter discrimination against them in the South and indifference and neglect in the North; at the drag on normal progress and prosperity caused by the dead weight of masses of ignorant and dependent blacks.

In spite of these mocking, often harrowing, incidents, to which the schoolhouse flames at Maryville, Mo., give tragic illumination, the Negro's progress in America has been "astounding in its sweep" during the last half century. To those who have been in close contact with Negro affairs, it is stated, the race problem is "no longer insoluable," though it is hard for one at a distance to believe that is not even among "the unduly difficult questions of this democracy." The report is, however, most encouraging: colored children are in schools in practically equal proportion with the rest of the children; in the North and West Negroes attend the regular schools and colleges and are holding their own, as instances cited indicated; in the South, where the races are separated, over two million colored pupils are attending school and colleges; as workers, farmers, business men they are slowly making their way, 700,000 owning their own homes, 232,000 their own farms and 70,000 their business enterprises.

The Rosenwald Fund, which spent during the year ending June 30, 1930, nearly $2,000,000 for Negro welfare, speaks with authority. And it is therefore with no uninformed optimism that it makes its assertion concerning progress of the Negro. His general condition —intellectually, hygienically, economically—is far below that of the white man, and there must, for America's sake as well as his own, be further progress; for a democracy "cannot endure half educated and half ignorant." Nor can communities safely ignore the health of a part of their population. Disease cannot easily be segregated, nor can it be made subject to "Jim Crow" laws. All is quiet on the Nego Front—not that the War for Negro welfare is over, but that the race question is in the way of being solved, as those who are nearest the front believe, and that Negro progress is "satisfactory," though the firing has not ceased.

SCHUYLER'S CAVORTING

George Schuyler is a columnist whose writings appear for the most part, in the Pittsburgh Courier and ofttimes sift through to other publications of the Negro racial group. Judging from several recent releases from his pen, the well known writer assumes the role of one of those individuals of the group whose upper lip is adorned with a goodly sized piece of limburger cheese. He readily appears in that class whose criticism of everything and everybody brings forth the query, "What does the Negro want?" 1-29-31 Louisville, Kentucky

Several weeks ago he was caustic in his criticism of the philanthropic spirit of Julius Rosenwald, the Rockefeller Foundation and other earnest benefactors who have contributed millions of dollars for the advancement of education among the Negro racial group. Mr. Schuyler advances the contention that while Mr. Rosenwald, Mr. Rockefeller, and their like contribute much toward the cause of education among the racial group, they do not provide positions for those benefitted. He seems to lose sight of the fact that where an education is provided, all other things will be

Changing the course of his tirade from the Rosenwald Fund and the Rockefeller Foundation, the columnist pounces on the Inter-racial movement and directs unjust criticism at the earnest group of men and women made up of the leaders of both races who are earnestly desirous of bringing about an amicable solution of any problem that may confront the races of our country. His thrust at the Inter-racial movement comes just on the eve of such effective functioning of that organization as the introduction of an anti-lynching bill in the Tennessee legislature that bids fair to become a law designed to prevent the recurrence of mob activity in at least one southern state.

Brother Schuyler seems to have been lost for something to criticise until the Spingarn Medal was awarded Mr. William H. Harrison and then he pursues the course of least resistance by taking the judges of this award severely to task for having selected an artist of excellent accomplishments who has done much to get Negro talent before the eyes of other races.

Writers of special columns of newspapers and orators of our group can do much good in the way of bettering the condition of the race as well as make innumerable friends for them by directing constructive criticism but when the motives of philanthropists and interested men and women whose only purpose is to render worthwhile and conscientious assistance to the minority group, are questioned and criticised, nothing less than great harm is perpetrated.

United States.
HIGH POINT, N. C.
ENTERPRISE

NOV 13 1931

THE HANDICAP UNDER WHICH THE SOUTH WORKS.

Criticism of the University salary cuts in this state is incidental in a very fine survey of the condition of the institutions of higher education in the south by Edwin R. [illegible]ee, president of the Julius Rosenwald fund.

The primary object of the fund is education of the negro, but the view of the south that Mr. Embree displays ought to be of general interest. He places his finger squarely on the disabilities of southern education.

He writes:

"The south has been a distinctive part of the United States since the beginning of the nation. In the early days, wealth and culture flourished there with a piquant flavor. Virginia, South Carolina, and the region about New Orleans are especially notable in American history.

"A peculiar economy and way of life grew up throughout the entire south because of concentration upon the great agricultural industries of tobacco, sugar, and cotton, and because of the slave system which developed about the cultivation of these crops. Whatever the condition of the laborers, the families at the top of the system developed a rich and characteristic type of life. Living was a fine art.

"Since the Civil War the south has been under an eclipse. The devastation of the war, the breakdown of the old economic order, and the maladjustments that followed, have conspired to impoverish and retard a section once prosperous and distinguished.

"Any one interested in the progress of America as a whole must be interested in conditions in this historic section. The traditions and the attitude toward life should make possible a recrudescence of high thinking and fine living that will be a contribution to our civilization, otherwise overbalanced by mechanism and industrialism.

"The negroes, who comprise a third of the population of the south and who have usually been thought of as a cultural and economic liability, have made great progress during the brief generations of freedom. From now on, negroes should be an asset, not only in labor as they have been for three centuries, but in general economic well-being and in intellectual and artistic distinction. A renaissance in the south will naturally rely in no small part on the creative and expressive talents of the brown Americans. And in turn, the negro cannot get far in the south, where in the great mass he still lives and will continue to live for many generations, until the south as a whole faces and solves its economic problems and regains its intellectual, artistic, and business leadership.

"More disturbing even than the present financial impoverishment is the selective process which has carried and is carrying so many leading southerners to life and careers in the north. One cannot look for the south to take its proper place in the nation until the best of its own sons make their careers there and until it can count upon receiving from the rest of the country its fair share of able men.

"Plenty of capable men are born in the south, but to a shocking degree those of ability and ambition emigrate to the north and west, where their notable achievements add to the eminence of those sections but contribute nothing to the prosperity, distinction, and enrichment of the life of the south. In a series of fellowships recently granted to southern students, it was found that most of the men, although they wanted to work on southern problems and chose southern professors to study under, had to go to northern universities to find eminent southern scholars and teachers.

"The University of North Carolina, probably the most distinguished in its recent history, is an example. Happily, from the fiscal standpoint, it has not tried to maintain a medical school and thus is free from one of the most expensive departments—a branch which in many institutions consumes as much money as all of the rest of the university put together. With the establishment of a complete medical school at Durham, only fifteen miles away, there is no need for the University of North Carolina to concern itself with this expensive department. That should make it easy for the state to build up a great university in other branches. Unfortunately, instead of seizing the opportunity and realizing that the expenditures required were in reality very low, the state of North Carolina has during recent years severely cut the appropriations to the University and finally has put into effect a general cut in salaries—the one point at which southern universities are most strikingly below national standards.

"The south still glories in the traditions of Thomas Jefferson, as embodied in the University of Virginia. This has been for a hundred and fifty years an excellent institution, but university standards and accomplishments in other parts of the country have gone forward so rapidly during the past half century that, by comparison, Virginia is below its former standing in the nation. The University of Georgia for a hundred years has had a scholarly faculty and a fine body of undergraduate gentlemen. But the lure of practical training is sapping resources from sound scholarship, and the multiplicity of separate institutions under the University's hegemony is dissipating both funds and leadership.

"A new and vigorous state university has grown up in Texas, financially in the best position of any southern institution. Texas is not always thought of as a part of the old south, but the influence of this university on the whole section is increasingly important.

"Of the private universities, Tulane in New Orleans, and Vanderbilt and Peabody in Nashville, have had a good deal of influence throughout the south. None of them has adequate resources, and it is a question whether the influence of each has not diminished rather than increased during the past ten or fifteen years. The new Duke University in North Carolina may do much to arouse intellectual vigor if its faculty and its standards attain the eminence which its financial resources should make possible. But there is great danger that by scattering its funds in expensive buildings and over a multiplicity of departments, Duke may fail to do any single thing supremely well and become just another university doing a world of things with uniform mediocrity.

"A less known institution is Emory University in Atlanta. It has been modest in its pretentious and almost wholly lacking in the great American business of advertising. It does not maintain any spectacular football team and has calmly turned its back on the ballyhoo of intercollegiate athletics. It has declined to undertake branches of work until it felt itself able to do them creditably. For example, its undergraduate college is excellent, but it refrains from offering the doctorate on the ground that it thinks its graduate work is not yet at a level that would justify the granting of this degree. Such modesty and devotion to thorough, if limited work at high standard are all too rare in universities in any part of the country.

"Another institution that may move forward to preeminence at any time is the University of Alabama. This state has wealth in natural resources. If it wants to, Alabama may in an astonishingly short period create a university that will be a credit to itself and an asset to the nation.

"The south is not a wealthy region. But the lack is in leadership and strategy rather than in money. Large totals are now scattered over numerous institutions. It would be easy to bring a few southern universities to eminence with funds already available if there were concentration of resources and attention. Many of the southern states could add greatly to their public funds by revising their systems of taxation. And in all American history funds for colleges have flowed readily from one section to another wherever distinction appeared.

"Probably the greatest single obstacle to excellence in southern universities is

the low salary scale of the faculties. While other considerations influence a professor in his choice of a place to work —library and laboratory facilities, the presence of stimulating colleagues and of able students, especially graduate workers—nevertheless, salary is a concrete and powerful factor. The whole character of university leadership in the south might be transformed simply by the establishment of a dozen chairs with annual salaries of $10,000. If four or five of those professorships were centered at each of two or three universities and were filled with men of the ability that could be attracted by such salaries, the difference in university standing n the south would be immediate and fear-reaching.

"The recent eminence of the University of North Carolina is largely due to the distinguished professors appointed on the Kenan endowment which was given by a wise donor for the exclusive purpose of increasing salaries, and to the notable group of scholars in the Institute for Research and Social Science which, supported by private funds, is outside the limitations of the regular salary scale."

Chief Justice Hughes On Chief Justice Taney

By KELLY MILLER

WHEN Chief Justice Hughes accepted to deliver the principal address at the unveiling of the monument to his ill-famed predecessor, he must have done so with purpose single to reverse the moral judgment of the nation concerning the Dred Scott decision. Mere official courtesy would not have required acceptance of the assignment. President Abraham Lincoln detested the doctrine of Judge Taney, but he attended his funeral, in his official capacity, without a word of commendation or eulogy.

Kelly Miller.

Justice Hughes entered upon this engagement with great learning, calm judicial temper and ice-like severity of logic for which he is famous. The famous decision in the Dred Scott case had aroused and quickened the conscience of the nation, which has held its passion on that down to the present. It is to be doubted whether any eminent authority had ever before dealt with the Dred Scott decision without evincing his own attitude and conviction in unmistakable terms.

Judge Hughes' address, on the other hand, is notable for its passionate detachment and moral alcofness. One would have to assume, from circumstances aside from his discourse that his own judgment and conviction were in harmony with the settlement by the arbitrament of arms. To essay to redeem from "damnation to everlasting fame," which the verdict of history has imposed upon Justice Taney, was an audacious undereaking.

A man's place in history is determined by the appraised effect of his conduct upon the fate of his fellows, regardless of his personal honesty or purity of intention. The fact that Brutus was an "honorable man" in no whit affected the effect of the assassination of Caesar upon the fate of the world. Never did bigot stone a phophet or fanatic burn a heretic without approving conscience and holiness of motive. The apostle Paul consented unto the death of Stephen with a conscience void of offense.

That Judge Taney was a courtly, kind conscientious gentleman of his school and tradition is wholly aside from the point. That there were conscientious and kind-hearted slave holders abates nothing from the iniquity of the institution of slavery. When two great moral systems come in conflict, partisan adherents throw their reputation and their destiny into the scale, to go up or down with the success or defeat of the cause which they espouse.

The public conscience had been gradually or rapidly drifting towards the cause of freedom against slavery. At the time of the Dred Scott decision the issue had come to focus and had assumed the sharp opposability of right and wrong. The Supreme Court decision was accepted as the acid test.

Judge Taney not only accepted the test of this decision, but was the willing mouthpiece of its delivery. The cause of slavery scored a technical and temporary victory. He undoubtedly glorified in the triumph of his cause. If ever man was honestly and sincerely in the wrong, it was he. The people rose up in their righteous wrath and moral might and overrode his judgement and decision. The rules of good sportsmanship require a man to go down with his cause.

Chief Justice Taney was no more reprehensible than the other justices who joined him in the majority opinion nor of a considerable minority of the American people who shared his views. But by virtue of his conspicuousness as the exponent of the losing cause, he must bear the cross alone while the rest escape popular wrath and condemnation. Such is the irony of fate. An equation is characterized by its highest exponent. The sins of the many must be atoned for by one. Every great cause, whether for good or mischief, demands a symbol. Personal symbolization is always more appealing than visible material insignias and audible toc-sins. John Brown and Judge Taney typified in person the antithetic causes of freedom and slavery. Their personal merits or ill deserts were swept away by a wave of righteousness and of wrath which swept over the nation.

Of late attempt has been made to reverse the verdict of history for both famous and infamous characters. Last winter over the radio we heard learned legal argument in favor of the reversal of history in such cases, as able and astute as Judge Hughes brings forward in favor of Judge Taney. But the moral verdict of history does not budge.

United States.

Soap-Box Orators, With Cures for All Ills Of This Sick World, Find Mecca in Harlem

Amsterdam News

Communism, Religion, Garveyism but Few Panaceas Offered

New York, N.Y.

7-8-31

By HENRY LEE MOON

IF YOU wish to pick up scattered bits of information and misinformation of the varieties generally peddled in the colleges and universities of this free republic at so much per credit hour—if you wish such an education minus the academic trappings, stroll the streets of Harlem on a balmy evening.

Here on the corners of the highways and back alleys that traverse this district you may hear lectures on such sundry subjects as religion and economics, politics and race relations. For with the coming of the summer we have again with us the perennial soap-boxer.

Harlem is a mecca for all those prophets who would solve the world's problems with words, for all the seers who have panaceas to offer guaranteeing an acceptable adjustment of race relations, for all the frauds seeking victims upon whom to unload their nebulous nostrums. And on the street corners they offer their philosophical, sentimental and material wares to any passerby willing to give ear.

Soap-Boxer Has No Box.

The soap-boxer of today does not use a soap-box or any other kind of box. Instead he mounts a specially constructed step-ladder or speaks from the running board or fender of an automobile. From this point of vantage the speaker starts talking to a group of ever-present idlers. Soon other persons are attracted. The crowd swells, the number varying from a score to several hundred, depending upon the power of the speaker and the extent of his organized following.

Here on this corner a young chap is sarcastic in his unmasking of the Bible. The story of creation, the tale of Jonah and the whale, the miracles of Jesus—all these he strips bare of sacred significance, denouncing them as frauds perpetrated upon an unsuspecting people. "What good has the Christian religion done for the Negro?" he challenges. And from his audience of some sixty people come murmurs of assent mingled with hushed disapproval. The speaker continues his tirade against religion. Christianity is but an ancient mythology. From no moral, intellectual or scientific point of view can it be justified, he insists.

Expounding Garveyism.

Further down the avenue the philosophy of Marcus Garvey is being expounded. Short, fat and dark, the speaker looks like a younger edition of the matchless Marcus himself. He is warm in his espousal of the doctrines of the former provisional president-general of the continent of Africa and president of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. He agrees with the ironic young chap that the Negro has devoted too much of his time, energy and money to things religious.

THERE are soap-box orators and soap-box orators, but Harlem will tell you that none approaches the late Hubert Harrison (above), in whose honor Harlem's only liberal church was named. At the right is Clayburn Martin, the prophet, whose bare feet and flowing mane always draw a crowd.

"If the Negro had put his money into business enterprises, factories, steamship lines and the like, he would not today in this period of depression have to crawl upon his belly begging white philanthropists to keep him from starving. He would be employing himself and able to offer opportunities to black boys and girls being graduated from our schools and colleges." The speaker does not explain why in a nation dominated by white people that millions of men of that race walk the streets of American cities in idleness and crowd the breadlines for a bowl of colorless soup, a cup of watery coffee and a crust of stale bread.

Drives Red Away.

Observing an auditor distributing literature in the crowd, the speaker descends and investigates. It is Communist literature. Infuriated, he attacks and drives the offender away. An innocuous looking man of indeterminate racial identity, the comrade slinks away with most uncommunistic humility.

The Garveyite returns to his step-ladder launching an attack, worthy of Ham Fish or Matt Woll, against the iniquities of Communism—the effrontery of white men in Russia trying to tell black men in America and the West Indies what to do in a crisis, the insidious use of white women in a campaign to further the doctrines of the Soviets.

This last, an especially dastardly practice in view of the fact that colored women far outnumber men in Harlem and must go unescorted while traitorous black men parade the streets with Communist white women. As for himself, the speaker would have none but the purest black women.

Pleads for Communism.

On the edge of Harlem at Fifth avenue and 125th street a slim young Jew is eloquent in his plea for veterans to join the Workers' Ex-Service Men's League, a Communist organization. He denounces the American Legion for its paradoxical claim to represent capitalists and workers in a single organization, for its anti-labor bias, its color snobbery and discrimination against Negroes. In the Workers' Ex-Service League no such conditions prevail. All are workers. All are equal. And now into a Marxian discussion of the class struggle, the rights of the workers and world revolution. Here the audience is mostly white, but a sprinkling of Negroes lends color to the scene.

However, Harlem is not to be left unredeemed. The sinners shall not take this citadel uncontested. On the opposite corner a white man preaches the gospel from an automobile fender. "Through the blood of Christ we have redemption and even forgiveness of sin." He urges all those who would be saved, Jew and gentile alike, to come unto the Savior with faith. But the earnestness of the preacher competes only feebly with the eloquence of the young Jew across the way, for the crowd of the disciple of Christ is much the smaller.

Hubert Harrison, the Old Master, Still the Greatest

Down the street the ubiquitous Salvation Army, led by a diminutive blonde, holds forth. A chorus of none too attractive girls in drab uniforms chant in melodious hymns to the accompaniment of a fiddle. The clang of passing street cars and the back fire of motors drown their modest voices. Passersby halt for a moment. Observe the girls. Move on.

Back into deepest Harlem. Bareheaded and barefooted, looking for all the world like an Old Testament patriarch, stands one who needs no soap-box, for his gray mane towers above those who gather about him. Clayburn (Prophet) Martin extends his arms and bids all the wandering children to come unto the Father. For in the arms of the Father there is peace and contentment and freedom from fear.

Soap-boxing first became a popular pastime in Harlem during the period following the war. A new militancy, born of bitter disillusionment, pervaded the ranks of young Negroes at that time. Two movements, expressive of post-war unrest, sought the ear of Harlem—Garveyism and Socialism. Both sent out their emissaries who nightly harangued promenaders along the avenues.

Although the soap-boxer may be heard on almost any pleasant evening, he is most active during the weeks which precede election days. Then not only left-wing street speakers but candidates for office on the Democratic and occasionally Republican tickets take their stands upon street corners and seek the approbation of voters.

Many and varied have been the soap-boxers of Harlem. There have been Reds. There have been religionists. There have been Garveyites. There have been politicians. There have been plain swindlers. But by common consent the greatest of the soap-boxers was the late Hubert Harrison, in whom the art reached its highest point of perfection. The talks of Harrison rose to the dignity of lectures. He was able to attract and hold large crowds. His catholic training and reading enabled this author, orator and philosopher to speak upon a wide range of subjects. The exceptional quality of his street corner speeches attracted unusual attention and resulted in his being appointed a lecturer for the Board of Education, a position which he held at the time of his death in 1927.

Sidney Lanier Was Wrong

MORE than thirty years ago Sidney Lanier, one of the brighter literary lights of recent times, addressed himself to the so-called "Negro problem." Just thirty years have proved that this inspirational writer, while his rightful place in literature cannot be denied, was far from an expert on sociological questions. His fanciful observations concerning the place of the Negro in America fortunately have not survived as have his poems. But it is interesting to note some of the things he said in a speech before the Randolph Literary Society of Richmond in February, 1898. His speech was reported in the *Richmond Dispatch* at that time. A copy of it has been furnished the JOURNAL AND GUIDE by Mr. H. W. Melvin of Norfolk. After apologizing for the emancipation of the black man and discussing the generous efforts that had been made to give him an education, the scholarly gentleman said:

"But, after thirty-five years' experience, and in the light of the present condition of the Negro and the almost imperceptible progress he has made, the time has come when we may with very great propriety ask ourselves the question, 'Have we not made a mistake and have not our efforts been misdirected in the wrong channels?'

"I shall undertake to answer this question in the affirmative, and in doing so I shall advance propositions which I know full well will meet with hostile criticism and be considered bold and untenable.

"But, nevertheless, they are my honest convictions, resulting from considerable thought and observation on the subject."

Then after epitomizing the idea of education, Lanier gave the poet's argument for denying the Negro an opportunity to learn. He continued:

"I think the South should discontinue her assistance in the education of the Negro for the following reasons, viz:

"1. I firmly believe in the language of the Bible, that Almighty God created and intended the Negro to be a 'hewer of wood and a drawer of water.'

"2. I hold that education, without moral training, does not per se make good citizens or better men.

"3. That the Negro, as a race, is incapable of education that would be of any practical value to him.

"4. That the South is the geographic and climatic home of the Negro, and that he will never leave it; and that admitting his capacity for education, for the sake of argument, his social and commercial status in the South which is inexorable, makes his education undesirable to the whites of the South, impracticable and of little value to himself, because it unfits him for the service and position that God created him for, and in which his environment and situation will ever keep him.

"5. I am opposed to the further expenditure of money and effort for the education of the Negro, because thirty-five years of patient and constant effort has demonstrated its utter impracticability, and because after thirty-five years of education the Negro is today worthless as a laborer, more corrupt as a citizen, and constitutes today the most discontented and dangerous element in our body politic.

"6. I do think, however, that it behooves the South to extend to the Negro every encouragement in his industrial development, and give to him the benefits of a wholesome, spiritual and moral training and instruction in the industrial arts.

"I think that these propositions are so self-evident that it is a reflection upon any one's intelligence to argue them."

* * *

Suppose the South had given ear to Sidney Lanier's counsel. Suppose the fast developing agencies of enlightenment for the Negro had been stamped out as the learned poet wished. If that had happened the South would have been a quarter of a century behind. It illustrates the danger of snap judgments, unfounded on scientific principles. It is the glory of the South that those who heard him did not become his disciples and preach his doctrines.

At the very moment Sidney Lanier was libeling the Negro race so flagrantly, Booker T. Washington was approaching the zenith of his career; Tuskegee was stretching forth her arms; Hampton, Howard and Wilberforce were assuming a place of national importance in America's educational system. George Washington Carver was beginning to think in terms of humanity, two years before he had been elected a faculty member of Iowa State College. Paul Robeson was born that year. James Weldon Johnson received his bachelor degree. DuBois was a doctor of philosophy from Harvard. Carter Woodson finished college. Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune was already teaching school. R. Nathaniel Dett was about to enter college. Julius Bledsoe was born. Dr. John M. Gandy finished Fisk with an A. B. degree that year. Dr. R. R. Moton was commandant of cadets at Hampton. William Pickens entered college. Alain Locke was in high school. Mordecai Johnson was eight years old. And J. Rosamond Johnson made his professional debut that year.

Yet with such distinct forward steps being made by young Negroes, Sidney Lanier thought his propositions so self-evident "that it is a reflection upon any one's intelligence to argue them."

The march of events has proven his assertions false. He was a good poet, a rotten sociologist and a typical prophet.

MIXES 'EM IN ALABAMA

COLORED MAN HAS BOTH EAT IN RESTAURANT AND HIS WIFE BOTH WHITE AND COLORED SERVED IN BEAUTY PARLOR—STRANGE!

Montgomery, Ala., July 23, 1931—What may be the only business of its kind among colored people in the South is the Public Speakers' and Literary Bureau conducted in this city by Andrew J. Hurd.

Mr. Hurd, who for nine years served as custodian in the Supreme Court of Alabama, operates the bureau as one of several enterprises he and his wife conduct. He has a fearless speaker for equal rights in Alabama.

In addition to the speakers' bureau, Mr. Hurd operates a dining room in which both white and colored eat and a business service bureau, while his wife operates a beauty parlor in which she caters to both races.

FILIPINOS AND THE NEGROES

St. Louis Argus.

The demonstration and protest by the native Filipinos against the wrongs which the white Americans have forced upon them interests us very much. The one big factor in the affairs in the Phillipine Islands which precipitated the riot which was recently staged at Manila was the practice of denying the natives to clubs, swimming pools, and so forth which they (the natives) regarded as their natural right.

We do not assume to know the facts relative to the subject. Our interest herein lies in our approval of the spirit of the protest, based upon our limited information. The banner and the slogans thereon appealed to us, and we are quite sure that protests of such character will bear fruit of the right sort at the proper time. Therefore, we say to the Filipinos, keep up the protest.

We would drop the subject right here were it not for the fact that we feel that we should emphasize one of the slogans inscribed on a banner carried by one of the marchers in that great demonstration. Those words were: "We prefer hunger with liberty." These words especially appeal to us above all others. As we think of them, the picture of the situation of the colored people in these United States comes to our mind. We see the injustice, discriminations, and so forth, which are imposed upon us, and we see what a weak protest we make against the same. Those people are earnest. They are sincere. They are loyal to their own. They would prefer to go hungry with liberty rather than to betray their people and the cause they represent.

In contrast, our leaders, or so-called leaders, for the most part, have very little appreciation of what true leadership means. Their god is their bellies, and their highest ambition is to serve themselves. The thing which is going to win for the Filipinos is they prefer hunger with liberty, whereas we prefer a full stomach and the lot of a slave.

Already a number of our so-called leaders are busy trying to sell the rights of our people for a mess of pottage. They know full well that the men in public office whom they are supposed to be supporting are no friends of the Negro. But these so-called leaders are ready and willing to keep us in political slavery for the rest of our days for a little pittance of money and the hope for a little shyster job.

We call attention to this matter with a hope that the people may watch and see for themselves what is being put over on them by these so-called leaders. The people will know them by their works.

United States.

'WEIRD' VIEW GREAT CURSE, SAYS PASTOR

Macon Telegraph

Dr. Anthony Calls on Executive to "Deny and Repudiate" His Remarks

10/31

UTTERANCE "UNCHRISTIAN"

9-20-31

Editor of Sunday School Worker, Published Here, Voices Revocation

Macon, Ga.

In protest against Mayor G. Glen Toole's statement before the Junior Chamber of Commerce Thursday night to the effect that the Negro "is the greatest curse in the community today," an invitation for him to speak at a Negro "Harvest Drive" meeting has been withdrawn, and Dr. Walter Anthony, pastor of the Mulberry Street Methodist church, has called upon him to "deny and repudiate" the remark.

H. S. Bynes, editor and publisher of the Sunday School Worker, weekly publication endorsed by local Negro churches, voiced the revocation of Mayor Toole's invitation to speak at the "Harvest Drive" meeting.

"The colored people of Macon will not hear Mayor Toole speak on 'Harvest Drive' for Greater Sunday Schools in Macon, Thursday night, Oct. 1," he said, "because of the fact that Mayor Toole made disparaging statements in a recent public address which was quoted in the editorial of The Macon Telegraph Saturday.

Would Not Be Wanted

"Having been invited to speak to the colored people of Macon at the great 'Harvest Drive' for greater Sunday schools in Macon, the colored people as citizens of the city of Macon, believed that the mayor would be in accord with every civic, social and religious movement that seeks to elevate our citizens without regard to race or color; but his utterance upon the race question, as quoted in Saturday's issue, viz., "the Negro is the greatest curse of the community today,' and 'the sooner they leave the better off we'll be,' has caused our people to justly deprecate his presence and whatever he may say as regards to our prosperity as citizens.

Sept 20/1931

"Believing that the best citizens of both races do not acquiesce in the disparaging utterances of Mayor Toole regarding the status of our race, particularly Macon citizens, we therefore forego our invitation extended to him and will select another speaker, whom we believe will be in accord with our spirit of unity for the common uplift of all movements of Macon without regards to race or color."

Dr. Anhony branded the mayor's statement as a "wierd and grotesque example of crooked thinking."

Hopes He Will Deny It

"It is to be hoped that Mayor Toole will deny and repudiate his alleged utterances of yesterday to the effect that 'the Negro is the greatest curse of the community today'," he said, "and that 'the sooner they leave the better off we'll be.'

"Is it inconceivable that an intelligent and kind-hearted man such as we have thought Mayor Toole to be could have, under any circumstances, given utterance to the statements so unwarranted, unworthy and unChristian. A pathetic appeal from an honored and unright colored citizen of Macon addressed to me as a Christian minister has just been placed in my hands. This appeal, after declaring that 'the colored people have always had and shown the highest respect for Mr. Toole,' earnestly plead that some protest be made against his published declarations as being productive of 'race hatred among people who have lived here together for centuries.'

"Such statements as Mayor Toole is quoted as having made hurt everything and help nothing. They feed racial animosities, complicate the enforcement of legal justice, afford ground for unjust economic discriminations, embarrass social and Christian ministries, and humiliate and discredit Macon before the nation and the world.

"It is difficult to conceive a more wierd and grotesque example of crooked thinking than to proclaim the poverty and sufferings of a race as grounds upon which we should see to it that they are made yet poorer and caused to suffer yet more. And Mayor Toole indulges in that sort of reasoning when, after citing the wretched housing and food afforded the majority of the Negroes—and that under an economic system we white people have created—he denounces them as our 'greatest curse.' No; our greatest curse is such talk as that, and the conduct which follows it."

Remarks Made In Discussion

The remarks Mayor Toole made on the race situation were in the course of a general discussion of the present depression. He said a higher standard of living should be established, and declared that lowering the present standard would reduce the amount of money in circulation.

Explaining his belief that Negroes in a community lower the general standard of living by offering competitive labor at prices below what white labor can ask. He said that Negroes can live on a lower living standard than whites, and for this reason they can work for less. He said "they constitute the greatest curse of the community today."

"That comment," he continued, "is made with all due respect to the Negro. I have no race prejudice, and I am not mad with the Negro. They've been raised among us But that's the truth. The sooner they leave the better off we'll be.

"No self-respecting white man can compete with them. A Negro can live in most any sort of house in most any alley in town, and can eat most anything put before him. A white man can't do that."

He discussed the unemployment situation, and said that plenty of work is waiting to be done, and before he closed his talk, he protested against the custom of returning taxes at figures manifestly far below actual value of property.

The White Man Next Door To a Negro Drug Store

New York Age

10-3-31

By JESSE O. THOMAS

A rather interesting thing happened a few days ago in Yates and Milton Drug Store, Atlanta, Ga. The proprietor of the cafeteria located on Auburn avenue just below the drug store went into the pharmacy to obtain use of the telephone. He inquired of one of the dispensers at the soda fountain as to whether or not there was a telephone in the drug store which he might use. This employe pointed out two public telephone booths.

New York, N.Y.

The cafeteria proprietor asked him if there were not a private telephone in the drug store. He was told there was such a phone, but it was used only by physicians and employees in the drug store. The man in question proceeded to go behind the counter toward the private telephone.

One of the proprietors of he drug store halted him and instruct him that he could not go behind the counter and that he could not use the private telephone.

The cafeteria proprietor then made this startling and surprising statement: "Be careful how you speak to me; I am a white man."

This statement is full of meaning and is very significant in the connection in which it was made.

I had a friend once who met a white tramp on Michigan Boulevard in Chicago, whose clothes were quite worn, and who came into the city from some point in Ohio, riding the rods of a freight train. He asked my friend for some money to buy a meal. This was during the days of the open saloon and my friend was apprehensive less he take this money and buy some "Gordon Gin" or "Canadian Club," but unwilling to leave a person hungry, he suggested that he would be glad to pay for his breakfast.

They went into a restaurant, where my friend ordered the hobo a meal, and after the food had been put on the table, the man began to eat, whereupon he invited my friend to have a seat at the table. The invitation was declined. He urged him the second and third time to sit down.

In order to reassure my friend of the absolute cordiality in which the invitation to sit down was offered, the tramp said, "Sit down, I do not mind eating at a table with a Negro."

The man who sold one of our prominent citizens a bottle of Coca Cola in North Carolina a few weeks ago and knocked out his teeth and kicked him on the ground because he attempted to drink it while standing in the cigar store where it was purchased was a "white man."

Any white man who finds it necessary to come to Auburn avenue, or any other avenue or street in a Negro section of a city, and conduct a business among and for Negroes in order to find economic existence, and who, while on this economic level, calls Negro storekeepers "boys," and attempts to walk over the proprietor of a business concern to use a private telephone, gives some idea of what colored people may expect of him if they should enrich his coffers by their patronage.

If he is a "white man" now, he will be a white "Lord Almighty" if he gets rich. It is almost unbelievable that this kind of thing should take place under circumstances described above. It would seem that an individual so conscious of the fact that he is a "white man" might be constrained to confine his business operations among other "white men."

If the impression that seems rapidly gaining currency is a barometer of the repudiating attitude of the colored people, the Negroes on Auburn avenue and vicinity are going to say to the cafeteria proprietor in concert, in the language of the late Bert Williams:

MACON, GA.
TELEGRAPH

SEP 19 1931

Mr. Toole and Negroes

When Mayor Toole said to the Junior Chamber of Commerce Thursday night, that the "Negro is the greatest curse of the community today", and "the sooner they leave the better off we'll be", he was expressing the views of an individual and not the sentiment of the people whom he represents in an official capacity. We do not believe that any considerable number of the people of this city feel as he does, or that any considerable number of the white people of Macon would desire the mayor to say any such thing in their behalf.

Despite the mayor's disavowal of prejudice, The Telegraph considers the statement as the manifestation of a prejudice that has perhaps been boiling within Mr. Toole and as a statement highly prejudicial to the good relations between the races which the members of both covet. It was unfortunate that it should have been made by a man so ordinarily level-headed and representative as Mr. Toole. It sounds as if it might have been made by the grand lecturer of the Black Shirts.

While no one has ever attributed to Mr. Toole timidity of expression, it is inconceivable that he would have made such a statement if the Negroes of Macon were franchised and could visit the retribution of political opposition upon him. It is part of the irony of their condition that even persons who usually tread careful paths because of the exigencies of politics can feel perfect immunity in making any statement about the Negro.

The Telegraph does not concede either the wisdom of the mayor's speech or the truth of his conclusion, which is based purely upon speculation and certainly upon no demonstrable fact. No matter how much the mayor might desire the migration of Negroes, he knows it will not be achieved. A few years ago, Marcus Garvey started an abortive effort to take the Negroes back to Africa. The venture failed disastrously. The presence of the Negroes with us, perhaps for eternity, is assured and there is nothing the mayor can accomplish by barking at the moon, except to humilate the Negroes and annoy the white people who do not feel as he does.

While the mayor was referring to all Negroes in the South, it is the Negroes in Macon who must bear the brunt and suffer the humiliation. They have demonstrated, whenever the opportunity arose, either in war times or peace time, a civic spirit of which they need not feel ashamed.

They deserve much better of this city than to have the mayor or anybody else make any such statement about them.

IN MY OPINION

By COLEMAN HILL

The Macon Telegraph
9/24/31

Forthrightness is a virtue that long ago disappeared from the qualifications of our office-holders. Prohibition put a premium on evasion. And with its ardent pussyfooting became the rule in high places, from the tragic and incompetent Hoover down.

Official frankness is so rare that one should rejoice when occasionally it is exhibited. One should cherish the public man who sets forth definite and succinct views on any subject. One should, to be specific, applaud the mayor of Macon when he Takes a Stand.

Yet to applaud the strictures on the Negro which Glen Toole vouchsafed the Junior Chamber of Commerce last week, would be to countenance an attack upon a people impotent to defend itself; to condone rowdyism, since His Honor's appeal—despite the stencilled phrase of self-extenuation—was addressed to the basest brute instincts of the race; to encourage political opportunism, for the mayor's message was doubtless but a reflection of the shoddy economic philosophy which dozens of unemployed men and women voters must have been pouring into his sympathetic ear.

So I cannot commend the frankness of Mr. Toole. I cannot endorse his gratuitous insult to that large group of my fellow citizens who are to be blamed because the Tooles of the dominant race have denied them opportunity for advancement.

Macon, Ga.

* * *

Keeping Him in His Place

The Mayor condemns the underselling tactics of Negroes.

"No self-respecting white man can compete with them," he says. "A Negro can live in almost any sort of house, in 'most any alley in town, and can eat 'most anything placed before him. A white laborer can't do that."

As The Evening News pointed out in an excellent editorial, the Negro's low standard of living is not a matter of his own volition. Economic inferiority is forced upon him. Regardless of his attainments, no Negro can get a job as good as a white man's. Under identical circumstances, he cannot command the same rate of pay. His chances of promotion are almost nil. At the first sign of business depression, he is thrown on the streets, while his white co-workers, often less efficient, are retained.

* * *

After All, Perhaps They Shouldn't Know Much

His Honor should need no proof of these statements. They are part of his daily life, just as they are routine with every Southern employer of labor.

Mr. Toole, for instance, is a member of the Bibb county board of education. I have no statistics on that body's recent disbursements; but conditions today are similar to those in 1923, a year for which figures are available.

At that time this county appropriated $320,868.66 for the payment of teachers of 10,642 white children; and $52,292.00 for those who taught 8,847 blacks. In other words, Bibb county spent $5.91 for the instruction of each Negro child, and $30.16 for each Caucasian,—more than five times as much.

Yet Mr. Toole, who is part of the body responsible for this unequal state of affairs, complains that the disfavored group is "the greatest curse of the community today."

* * *

A Harvest Is Reaped

If, as I suspect, the Mayor was but echoing complaints that laboring men had made to him, I think he would have done better to counsel that the objectors examine their own consciences. More than any other in the South today, the laboring man is responsible for the opportunity for cut-throat competition from black hands.

Under our social system advance in wages—which means elevation of the standard of living—comes only with the pressure of mass tactics. What slight improvement has occurred in the last twenty years in the wages and hours of mill-hands, carpenters, brick-layers, painters and other skilled workers, has resulted only from their united effort.

Yet what encouragement, in all this time, has the white artisan given to the attempts at organization that his black fellow-worker has made? Every movement to unionize, either separately or as part of the white federated groups, has been met by rebuff. Every concerted step, if not squelched by the Ku Klux or by vote-seeking sheriffs who cry "Sedition" and "Communism," has been so vehemently attacked by white unions that no success has been possible.

If the Negro is today in a position to accept less than standard wage for a job, the fault lies with those who have deprived him of freedom of assembly and organization.

* * *

Echo of a Departed Day

The mayor turns back a decade in polemics when he suggests the desirability of a complete exodus of Negroes. This was not the cry in the Twenties, when trainloads of blacks were daily trekking northward, and the South was seething with hostility against labor-recruiters who stole our very population.

That outcry, so far as Macon was concerned, seems to have been baseless. In 1920 our Negro population was 43.57 per cent of the total,—23,093 out of 52,995. Ten years made but little difference. Nineteen-thirty found 43.02 per cent of the local population of Negro blood,—23,158 in 53,829.

If our blacks follow His Honor's suggestion and forthwith depart our bounds, we shall be reduced to a city of 30,671,—a community halfway in magnitude between Rome and Columbus. Perhaps Mayor Toole would prefer a city of that size; but I suspect the Chamber of Commerce would object.

* * *

Why Not Try This?

One excellent and certain method of attaining Mr. Toole's desired elimination of Negro bargain competition, lies open to us. Russia has already found it.

In the Soviet Union economic rivalry no longer exists. Everyone (including mayors) works for the state, and the standard wage varies over only a slight scale. Under communist conditions the mythical Joneses with whom all of us are now required to keep up, disappear. There is work for everyone, food and shelter are guaranteed until the end of life. The bugaboo of age 65 vanishes.

Naturally certain objections may rest against this program. But it remedies Mr. Toole's bellyache more effectively than any other nostrum I know it; it cures the competition malady at the source.

To venture on this experiment would require certain changes in the existing regulations of federal and state constitution. But a man who can swap the city hall for the postoffice, or raise the surface of the Ocmulgee river, should have little difficulty in bringing this about.

TOOLE IS SILENT ON NEGRO ISSUE

Mayor Says He Prefers to Make No Explanation

ONE PREACHER LAUDS HIM

More protests against Mayor G. Glen Toole's statement to the Junior Chamber of Commerce last Thursday that the Negro is "the greatest curse in the community today," caused no break in the silence he has maintained on the subject since the incident, and while Negro pastors and their flocks condemned him in many quarters, a Negro who said he is Bishop Socrates A. E. O'Neal, of Washington, D. C., raised his voice to champion the mayor.

Attacked from the pulpit by Rev. Leland Moore, presiding elder of the Macon district of the Methodist Episcopal church, South; by many Negro congregations in resolutions directed Sunday; and by local editorial writers, Mayor Toole said merely that he preferred making no explanation and that he has done and is doing "as much for the Negro as any man in Macon".

Bishop O'Neal came here yesterday from Columbus to deliver a series of talks on Racial Integrity. He expressed a conviction that the mayor is a friend to the Negro, and that his meaning in the talk to the Junior Chamber of Commerce was that the Negro race should elevate its standards of living.

"What he has done for the Negro speaks of his friendship," said the Washington Negro. "He is too much of an aristocratic white man to have any vicious feeling toward the Negro. If he were not friendly to the Negro he would not continue to employ so many of them as chief executive of the city."

Rev. Mr. Moore's attack on the mayor came in the course of his quarterly visit to the Vineville Methodist church. He was preaching on Loyalty to Christ and Christian Principles.

"Loyalty to Christ in this day demands that Christians assume the offensive in the warfare against wrong," he said, "and call those in public office to account for statements made from time to time which serve oftentimes to promote rather than to prevent lawlessness.

"Mayor Toole's recent statement that the Negro is the greatest curse our country has, and that the sooner we are rid of him the better off we will be was most unfortunate and positively inexcusable.

"If I were in his place, I think I would retract the statement or retire from office.

Criticises Remarks

"It ill becomes the mayor of any city in this land to speak thus of those of any race as a whole, many of whom are decent, honest and law-abiding citizens."

The Negro churches which adopted resolutions deploring the mayor's statement are First Baptist for Negroes, Holsey Temple C. M. E., Tremont Temple Baptist, Stewart Chapel A. M. E. and Turner Tabernacle A. M. E.

Meanwhile, there has been no change in the invitation for the mayor to make the opening address before a meeting of Negro farmers from all over Georgia at the city hall auditorium Friday morning, and yesterday he said he will be pleased to welcome the farmers as scheduled.

As a result of his statement at the Junior Chamber of Commerce meeting, incidental to a discussion of wage cut prospects and low standards of living, an invitation was withdrawn for him to make the principal address at the "Harvest Drive" Oct. 1, in the city hall auditorium, in the interest of Negro Sunday schools.

The resolutions which the Negro pastors announced their congregations adopted generally expressed the "unqualified" and "bitter regret, condemnation and resentment" of the mayor's utterances, and pointed to the fact that "the Negro has and is making a substantial contribution toward the development of Macon and the South; that as a laborer he is industrious and that there is scarcely an industry in the city that cannot point to the satisfactory employment of Negro labor."

A resolution of protest was being prepared yesterday by the Macon Evangelical Union of Negro pastors.

United States.

Text of Hoover's Message on Foreign Affairs

WASHINGTON, Dec. 10.—(AP)—The text of President Hoover's message on foreign affairs to congress asking ratification of his proposal for a one-year moratorium on intergovernmental debts follows:

With the support of a large majority of the individual members of the senate and house, I informed the governments concerned last June that—

The American government proposes the postponement during one year of all payments on inter-governmental debts, reparations and relief debts, both principal and interest; of course not including obligations of governments held by private parties.

Subject to confirmation by congress, the American government will postpone all payments upon the debts of foreign governments to the American government during the fiscal year ending July 1, next, conditional on a like postponement for one year of all payments on inter-governmental debts owing the important creditor powers.

For Recovery.

In making this proposal, I also publicly stated:

"The purpose of this action is to give the forthcoming year to the economic recovery of the world and to help free the recuperative forces already in motion in the United States from retarding influences from abroad.

"The worldwide depression has affected the countries of Europe more severely than our own. Some of these countries are feeling to a serious extent the drain of this depression on national economy. The fabric of intergovernmental debts, supportable in normal times, weighs heavily in the midst of this depression.

From a variety of causes arising out of the depression, such as the fall in the price of foreign commodities and the lack of confidence in economic and political stability abroad, there is an abnormal movement of gold into the United States which is lowering the credit stability of many foreign countries. These and the other difficulties abroad diminish buying power for our exports and in a measure are the cause of our continued lower prices to our farmers.

'Wise and timely action should contribute to relieve the pressure of these adverse forces in foreign countries and should assist in the re-establishment of confidence, thus forwarding political peace and economic stability in the world.

Limited Authority.

'Authority of the president to deal with this problem is limited, as this action must be supported by the congress. It has been assured the cordial support of leading members of both parties in the senate and the house.

'The essence of this proposition is to give time to permit debtor governments to recover their national prosperity. I am suggesting to the American people that they be wise creditors in their own interest and be good neighbors.

I wish to take this occasion also to frankly state my views upon our relations to German reparations and the debts owed to us by the allied governments of Europe. Our government has not been a party to, or exerted any voice in determination of, reparation obligations. We purposely did not participate in either general reparations or the division of colonies or property.

The repayment of debts due to us from the allies for the advance for war and reconstruction were settled upon a basis not contingent upon German reparations or related thereto. Therefore, reparations is necessarily wholly a European problem with which we have no relation.

Against Cancellation.

I do not approve in any remote sense of the cancellation of the debts to us. World confidence would not be enhanced by such action. None of our debtor nations have ever suggested it. But as the basis of the settlement of these debts was the capacity under normal conditions of the debtor to pay, we should be consistent with our own policies and principles if we take into account the abnormal situation now existing in the world.

I am sure the American people have no desire to attempt to extract any sum beyond the capacity of any debtor to pay, and it is our view that broad vision requires that our government should recognize the situation as it exists.

"This course of action is entirely consistent with the policy which we have hitherto pursued. We are not involved in the discusion of strictly European problems, of which the payment of German reparations is one. It represents our willingness to make a contribution to the early restoration of world prosperity in which our own people have so deep an interest.

"I wish further to add that while this action has no bearing on the conference for limitation of land armaments to be held next February, inasmuch as the burden of competitive armaments has contributed to bring about this depression, we trust that by this evidence of our desire to assist we shall have contributed to the good will which is so necessary in the solution of this major question."

Proposal Accepted.

All the important creditor governments accepted this proposal. The necessary agreements among them have been executed, and creditor governments have foregone the receipt of payments due them since July 1, 1931.

The effect of this agreement was instantaneous in reversing the drift toward general economic panic and has served to give time to the peoples of those countries to readjust their economic life. The action taken was necessary. I am confident it commends itself to the judgment of the American people.

Payments due to the United States government from many countries, both on account of principal and interest, fall due on December 15.

It is highly desirable that a law should be enacted before that date authorizing the secretary of the treasury, with the approval of the president, to postpone all payments due us on account of debts owed by foreign governments to the United States government during the year ending June 30, 1932, and to provide for their payment over a 10-year period, beginning July 1, 1933.

Further Adjustments.

As we approach the new year it is clear that a number of the governments indebted to us will be unable to meet further payments to us in full pending recovery in their economic life. It is useless to blind ourselves to an obvious fact. Therefore it will be necessary in some cases to make still further temporary adjustments.

The congress has shared with the executive in the past the consideration of questions arising from these debts. I am sure that it will commend itself to the congress, that the legislative branch of the government should continue to share this responsibility.

In order that we should be in position to deal with the situation, I recommend the recreation of the World War foreign debt commission, with authority to examine such problems as may arise in connection with these debts during the present economic emergency, and to report to the congress its conclusions and recommendations.

Disarmament.

The United States has accepted an invitation to take part in the world disarmament conference which convenes on February 2 at Geneva. The efforts of this conference will be in line with the endeavors in which the American government has taken a leading part beginning with The Hague conference in 1899.

Up to the present time the record of achievement has been almost entirely in the field of naval disarmament. It is to be hoped that further progress can be made in reduction of naval arms and that limitation and reduction so urgently needed can be extended to land arms.

The burden of taxes to support armament is greater today than before the Great War, and the economic instability of the world is definitely due in part to this cause and the fears which these huge armaments at all times create. No discouragements should be permitted to turn the world from sane and reasonable limitation of arms.

With a view to establishing an atmosphere of confidence for the opening of this world disarmament conference, more than 40 governments, including all the principal military and naval powers, have joined in accepting the principle of one-year armaments truce.

This truce, which is the outgrowth of a proposal advanced last September by the foreign minister of Italy, is designed to prevent the expansion of armaments program during the coming months in the hope of removing the threat of a sudden revival of competition in arms before and during the conference. These steps were fully approved by our war and navy departments.

Manchuria.

We have been deeply concerned over the situation in Manchuria. As parties to the Kellogg-Briand pact and to the nine-power treaty, we have a responsibility in maintaining the integrity of China and a direct interest with other nations in maintaining peace there.

When this controversy originated in September the League of Nations was in session and China appealed to the council of that body which at once undertook measures of conciliation between China and Japan. Both China and Japan have participated in these proceedings before the council ever since.

Under the Kellogg-Briand pact all of the signatories, including China and Japan, have covenanted to seek none but pacific means in the settlement of their disputes. Thus the ultimate purpose of proceedings under this section of the Kellogg-Briand pact and of conciliation proceedings by the League covenant coincide.

It seemed, therefore, both wise and appropriate rather to aid and advise with the League and thus have unity of world effort to maintain peace than to take independent action.

In all negotiations, however, the department of state has maintained complete freedom of judgment and action as to participation in any measures which the League might finally be determined upon.

Immediately after the outbreak of the trouble this government advised both Japan and China of its serious interest. Subsequently it communicated its views to both governments regarding their obligations under the Kellogg-Briand pact.

In this action we were joined by other nations signatory of the pact. This government has consistently and repeatedly by diplomatic representations indicated its unremitting solicitude that these treaty obligations be respected.

At present a resolution is pending before the meeting at Paris, with hopes of passage, under which Japan and China will agree to take no initiative which might lead to renewed conflict; in which Japan has reiterated its intention to withdraw the Japanese troops to the railway zone as soon as lives and property of Japanese nationals in Manchuria can be adequately protected; and under which both nations agree to a neutral commission to meet on the ground, to which commission all matters in dispute can be referred for investigation and report.

St. Lawrence Waterway.

Conversations were begun between the secretary of state and the Canadian minister at Washington on November 14 looking to the framing of a treaty for the development of the St. Lawrence seaway. The negotiations are continuing.

I am hopeful that an agreement may result within a reasonable time enabling us to begin work on this great project, which will be of much importance economically to Canada and to the United States.

Visits of M. Laval and Signor Grandi.

The president of the council of ministers of France, M. Laval, visited Washington in October in order to discuss problems of outstanding world interest, in the solution of which it was felt that the two countries could be of assistance.

The informal and cordial conversations served to bring into relief the respective positions of the two nations.

The visit in November of the royal Italian minister for foreign affairs also afforded an opportunity for a cordial exchange of views respecting the many world problems in which this government and the government of Italy are interested.

It was not the purpose of these meetings to engage in any commitments or to conclude agreements. However, the visit of M. Laval and Signor Grandi, together with the various meetings of statesmen in Europe and the visit of the secretary of state to European countries, have brought about valuable understandings of the nature of the problems confronting different governments which should aid in their solution.

Nicaragua.

In compliance with the agreement made in May, 1927, the Nicaraguan government requested supervision of an electoral commission from the United States of the congressional elections held in 1930.

This year a member of the commissions of 1928 and 1930 was sent to Nicaragua as an observer during the election of municipal authorities in order that, on the basis of his observations, it might be possible to arrange the many necessary details of the supervision of the 1932 presidential election in Nicaragua.

Armed forces of the United States maintained in Nicaragua have been reduced to the minimum deemed necessary to the training of the Nicaraguan constabulary and the rendering of appropriate support for such instruction. It is proposed to withdraw completely American armed forces from Nicaragua after their presidential election in 1932.

Nicaragua suffered a terrible disaster in the destruction of Managua, the capital, by earthquake and fire in March, last. With their usual generosity the American people, through the Red Cross, went whole-heartedly to the assistance of the stricken country.

United States marines and engineers of the war department, who were in the country making a survey of the proposed canal route, joined in rendering service.

The American legation building was destroyed with all its contents, but the minister and his staff continued to carry on their official duties and worked ceaselessly in the face of unusual hardships. The Nicaraguan government has expressed its deep

gratitude for the aid rendered.

Haiti.

Substantial progress has been made in carrying out the program for the withdrawal of our activities in Haiti recommended by the commission which, with the support of the congress, made an investigation of Haitian affairs in 1930, and by its good offices laid the foundation for the present popularly elected government of that republic.

After protracted negotiations an accord was reached with the Haitian government on August 5, providing for the return to Haitian control of important government services heretofore carried on under American supervision by virtue of general obligations arising through the provisions of our treaty with Haiti.

In accordance with this agreement the Haitian government on October 1 assumed definitely the administration and control of the department of public works, the sanitary service and the technical service of agriculture, which includes the industrial educational system. All American personnel was withdrawn from these services.

To minimize the possibility of epidemics and in order that the health of the American troops and officials still stationed in Haiti might be adequately protected the accord provided that an American scientific mission, consisting of three American naval officers and six hospital corps men, should be charged with the control of sanitation in the cities of Port Au Prince and Cape Haitien.

The accord makes appropriate provision for the continuance of adequate financial control and assistance on the part of our government. The liberty of action, both of the government of the United States and the government of Haiti with respect to questions of financial administration, is, of course, limited.

In this connection it must be borne in mind that investors have supplied capital desired by Haiti and that securities have been issued to them on the faith and credit of the provisions of that treaty and the American financial control which it provided during the life of the bonds.

Bolivia and Paraguay.

In 1929 the government of the United States, together with the governments of Cuba, Colombia, Mexico and Uruguay, formed the commission on inquiry and conciliation, Bolivia-Paraguay, which had the good fortune of being able to terminate an international incident which for a time threatened to cause war between the countries involved.

The five neutral governments then offered their good offices to Bolivia and Paraguay, with a view to furthering a settlement of their difficulties. This offer was accepted in principle. I am happy to state that representatives of both countries are now meeting in Washington, with the hope of concluding a pact of non-aggression between them.

It has been the privilege of this govevrnment to lend its good offices on several occasions in the past to the settlement of boundary disputes between the American republics. One of the most recent occasions upon which the disinterested services of this government were requested was in connection with the settlement of the dispute which for almost a century has been outstanding between the republics of Guatemala and Honduras with respect to their common boundary.

Conferences extending over a period of some months were held in 1930 in the department of state, and eventually on July 16, 1930, a treaty was signed submitting the question to arbitration, and there was also signed a supplementary convention providing for the delimitation of the boundary after the arbitral tribunal hands down its award. Ratifications were exchanged on October 15, 1931. The tribunal, which will meet in Washington, will be presided over by the chief justice of the United States, who has set December 15, 1931, as the date for the first meeting.

Mexico.

The period for hearings before the general and special claims commissions between this country and Mexico expired in August, 1931. Pursuant to a resolution of the senate under date of February 28, 1931, and under instructions from the department of state, the American ambassador at Mexico City is carrying on negotiations with the Mexican government looking to the renewal of the activities of the commissions, in order that the claims of American citizens still pending may be heard and adjudicated.

The governments of the United States and Mexico have approved in principle certain engineering plans submitted by the international boundary commission, United States and Mexico, for the rectification of the Rio Grande in the vicinity of El Paso, Texas, to prevent periodical floods in that region.

Negotiations are being carried on between the two governments in an effort to reach an agreement by which this important international project may be undertaken.

Treaties and Conventions.

There have been transmitted to the senate, from time to time, treaties and conventions which have failed during recent sessions to obtain that body's consideration or final decision.

Inasmuch as these treaties affect numerous phases of private and public endeavor, I earnestly commend their early conclusion to the attention of the congress.

In the past session of the congress I transmitted to the senate protocols providing for adherence by the United States to the permanent court of international justice.

Upon that occasion I expressed my views fully not only of the wisdom of such action, but that the safeguards against European entanglements stipulated for by the senate had been in effect secured and the interests of the United States protected.

I need not repeat that for over 12 years every president and every secretary of state has urged this action as a material contribution to the pacific settlement of controversies among nations and a further assurance against war.

By consideration of legislation during its last session, the congress informed itself thoroughly regarding the merits of the copyright convention signed at Berlin on November 13, 1908. I hope that necessary legislation will be enacted during this congress which will make it possible for further consideration to be given to the copyright convention.

The sockeye salmon fisheries treaty, entered into with Canada to afford protection to the industry, which was signed on May 26, 1930, merits the attention of the senate during the present session.

The United States sent a delegation to the conference on safety of life at sea, which was held in London in 1929. The convention, which was signed by the more important maritime nations of the world on May 31, 1929, has unified the standards of safety in accordance with modern developments of engineering science and in compliance with the governments' obligation to their citizens to reduce the perils of travel to a minimum by requiring high efficiency in seamanship.

The convention for the supervision of the internal trade in arms and ammunition and in implements of war, signed at Geneva, June 17, 1925, represents another of the steps taken in the general field of restriction of armament. It has been ratified unconditionally by some nations, conditionally by others.

With the added impetus which ratification by the United States would lend to such a move, it is quite possible that the 14 ratifications necessary by treaty stipulation would be received to bring the convention into force.

Among the other treaties and conventions which remain before the senate for its consideration and of no less importance in their respective fields are a treaty regarding consular agents of American states (sixth international conference of American states, Havana, 1928); a treaty relating to maritime neutrality with American states (sixth international conference of American states, Havana, 1928); the general treaty of inter-American arbitration, signed at Washington January 5, 1929; the convention relating to prisoners of war, signed at Geneva on July 27, 1929; a convention signed on the same date for the amelioration of the condition of wounded and sick of armies in the field (the Red Cross convention); and the convention for the unification of certain rules relating to bills of lading for the carriage of goods by sea, signed at Brussels on behalf of the United States on June 23, 1925.

New Treaties and Conventions.

Since my message to the seventy-second congress and by virtue of the power vested in the office of the chief executive, I have continued to commission representatives of this government to negotiate treaties with the representatives of other countries which affect the amicable, political, commercial and judicial relations of this country, as well as treaties dealing with humanitarian matters.

Important treaties and conventions which have been signed recently by representatives of this government are as follows:

1. Treaty of arbitration and conciliation with Switzerland, signed February 16, 1931.
2. Treaty modifying the conciliation convention with Italy (Bryan peace treaty), signed September 23, 1931.
3. Extradition treaty with Greece, signed May 6, 1931.
4. Protocol relating to military obligations in certain cases of double nationality, multilateral, signed December 31, 1930.
5. Treaty of friendship, commerce and consular rights with Poland, signed June 15, 1931.
6. Treaty with reference to establishment and sojourn with Turkey, signed October 28, 1931.

These treaties and conventions will be transmitted to the senate in due course, with a view to obtaining its advice and consent to ratification.

HERBERT HOOVER.

The White House,
December 10, 1931

BROOKLYN, N. Y.
EAGLE

DEC 31 1931

Walker on Nation's Honor Roll; Wickersham Board There, Too

Twenty-five organizations and persons, ranging from the Wickersham Commission and Toscanini to Otto Solglow and Mayor Walker are listed by the Nation in its 1931 honor roll.

Those mentioned on the roll were selected for distinguished public service, contributions to art or science, or "additions they made to the gayety of nations."

The list includes Alanson B. Houghton, Senator Robert M. La Follette, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Wickersham Commission, the Southern Commission for the Study of Lynching, Mayor Walker, Frank P. Walsh, Aaron Sapiro, Gov. Floyd Olson and others who have taken part in Money's fight for freedom, Philip F. La Follette, Governor of Wisconsin, Supreme Court Justice George W. Maxey of Pennsylvania.

Also Louis Stark and the New York Times, H. L. Mencken and the Baltimore Sun, the Buffalo Evening News, Eugene O'Neill, Alla Nazimova and Alice Brady, S. N. Behrman, Evelyn Scott, Morris R. Cohen, Emma Goldman, the anonymous authors of "Washington Merry-Go-Round"; the artists and anthropologists who assembled the Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts, the designers and builders of the George Washington Memorial Bridge, Otto Soglow, the late Mrs. Harriet Lanier, Arturo Toscanini, Prof. Harold C. Urey, Dr. G. M. Murphy and Dr. F. C. Brickwedde, the Columbia scientists, and Drs. F. B. Downing, W. H. Carothers and Ira Williams.

United States.
NEW YORK
HERALD-TRIBUNE

DEC 3 1 1931

1931 Honor Roll Of 'The Nation' Includes Walker

Mayor Awarded Place Among 1st 25 Citizens for Mooney Plea; Houghton, Peace Aid

Wickersham Board Named

Toscanini, La Follette and Mencken Also Honored

Such varying personalities as Mayo James J. Walker, Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin, Arturo Toscanin and Otto Soglow are listed by "The Nation" on its honor roll for 1931. The honor roll contains twenty-five listings —in some cases more than one person is named—of individuals, newspapers and organizations who have "by public service, contributions to art or science, or additions to the gayety of nations, deserved in some measure the thanks of their fellow citizens."

Mayor Walker is mentioned, along with Frank P. Walsh, Aaron Sapiro Governor Floyd Olson of Minnesota and other public-spirited Americans, for his part in the fight to secure a pardon for Tom Mooney. The honor roll follows:

PUBLIC SERVICE

Alanson B. Houghton, former Ambassador to Great Britain and to Germany, for his constructive courage in urging statesman-like policies of peace.

Robert M. La Follette, Senator from Wisconsin, for his exceptional record in Congress, and especially for his efforts on behalf of the unemployed.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, for organizing and conducting the transcontinental peace caravan, and Dorothy Detzer, its secretary in Washington, for the remarkable day-by-day devotion and ability with which she has directed the executive work of this organization.

The Commission on Law Enforcement and Observance, otherwise known as the Wickersham Commission, for its informative reports in which were revealed and denounced the brutal treatment accorded minors in prisons, the general viciousness and many shortcomings of our prison system, and the lawlessness of public officials.

The Southern Commission for the Study of Lynching, for its careful investigation of and its thoughtful and highly useful report on America's worst national crime.

Mayor James J. Walker, of New York; Frank P. Walsh, Aaron Sapiro, Governor Floyd Olson, of Minnesota, and every other public-spirited American who has taken part in the long and so far unsuccessful fight to secure a pardon for Thomas J. Mooney, fifteen years a prisoner in a California penitentiary.

Philip F. La Follette, Governor of Wisconsin, for his constructive and provocative address to the state legislature on the economic crisis.

George W. Maxey, Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, for his courageous dissenting opinion in the case of the Kraemer Hosiery Company vs. Louis F. Budenz, in which he held that labor organizers no less than other Americans are entitled to enjoy the right of free speech.

JOURNALISM

Louis Stark, for his sympathetic and comprehensive report on the pitiful living conditions among the Kentucky miners, and "The New York Times" for publishing his articles.

H. L. Mencken, for writing, and "The Baltimore Sun" for publishing, an article denouncing the Salisbury lynchers, a fearless and effective polemic written in the face of threats by Salisbury business men to withdraw their business from Baltimore.

"The Buffalo Evening News," for its admirable work in improving conditions that amounted virtually to peonage in the employment and housing of laborers on state public works.

BOOKS AND PLAYS

Eugene O'Neill for "Mourning Becomes Electra," a tragedy which is not only the best of its author's work but one which adds new dignity to the American drama.

Alla Nazimova and Alice Brady for their impressive embodiment of Irs. Mannon and Lavinia in the O'Neill tragedy.

S. N. Behrman for "Brief Moment," a sauve and intelligent play which demonstrates its author's right to a place in the great tradition of high comedy.

Evelyn Scott for "A Calendar of Sin," the first novel of the year, a long and highly moving story of the pitiful folly of the human race.

Morris R. Cohen, whose "Reason and Nature" seems destined to rank as a brilliant milestone in American thought.

Emma Goldman for "Living My Life," a burning, partisan and utterly fascinating chronicle of one of the world's most famous and most consistent rebels.

The anonymous authors of "Washington's Merry-Go-Round" for giving us an honest and human picture of the many individuals who make up our national government.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The artists and anthropologists who assembled and presented to the public the Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts displayed in New York in December and now to make a tour of the country in the interests of the colorful and appealing arts and crafts of the American Indian.

The designers and builders of the George Washington Memorial Bridge and particularly the chief engineer, O. H. Ammann, for creating the most beautiful suspension bridge built in the neighborhood of New York since the Brooklyn Bridge.

Otto Soglow, for "Pretty Pictures" and for his Little King, who shows weekly in "The New Yorker" how pleasant and simple it is to be a ruler if you only know how.

MUSIC

Mrs. Harriet Lanier, who until her death, on October 27, was the patron of the Friends of Music, and Arthur Bodanzky, the director of this organization, which for ten years has given New York some of its finest musical performances.

Arturo Toscanini, Italian conductor of an American orchestra, who displayed in his defiance of and contempt for the compulsions of Italian Fascism a fine championship of the ideals of artistic freedom.

SCIENCE

Professor Harold C. Urey and Dr. G. M. Murphy, of Columbia University, and Dr. F. G. Brickwedde, of the United States Bureau of Standards in Washington, for their discovery of the hydrogen isotrope, a new atom which will prove important in the study of atomic structure.

Drs. F. B. Downing, W. H. Carothers and Ira Williams, for the discovery of "duprene," a synthetic rubber suitable for commercial production.

"The Nation's" honor roll is announced at the end of each year.

United States.

Macon, Ga. News
Saturday, September 19, 1931

Tut, Tut, Mr. Mayor

Addessing the Macon Junior Chamber of Commerce Thursday night, Mayor Toole said of the Negro problem as a factor in the unemployment program:

"The Negro is the greatest curse of the community today. This comment is made with all due respect to the Negro. I have no race prejudice, and am not mad with the Negro. They have been raised among us, but it is true that the sooner they leave, the better off we'll be.

"The Negro, who is able to live so much more cheaply than the white laborer, is affording too keen a competition. No self-respecting white man can compete with them. A Negro can live in almost any sort of house, in most any alley in town, and can eat most anything placed before him. A white laborer can't do that."

It's too bad the mayor felt called upon to say that. The Evening News heartily disapproves of such utterances. This newspaper has no intention of asking that he be ousted from office or even dismissed from his Sunday school class but, at the same time, we feel that he is making a bad matter worse by taking this attitude.

When anybody, even a mayor, talks about solving the South's race problem by eliminating one race, he has both feet off the ground. No hundred per cent exodus of Negroes from this section is ever going to take place. To discuss the desirability of this impossible eventuality simply encourages ill-feeling between members of the two races.

It seems to The News, too, that when the mayor classes the Negro as being "a curse," in that his living standards are lower than those of white men with whom he competes for labor, he is putting the blame in the wrong place. The Negro doesn't have a low standard of living because he likes a hovel better than a comfortable home, or because he prefers sow-belly to T-bone steak. He doesn't work for low wages because he doesn't want more pay. He didn't create his low standard of living and he doesn't persist in it because he likes it.

The dominant white race is responsible for makng the Negro laborer a wage-depressing influence in the South. When the white people enable the Negro to raise his standard of living, the bad conditions that distress the mayor will begin to disappear. That's not a simple thing to do. On the contrary, it is one of the most intricate problems that sociologists and economists know, involving, as it does, bitter prejudice, unequal education, divergent customs and folkways, differing racial aptitudes and attitudes, political alliances and sundry other tangled matters with which we are all familiar.

The devising of a workable system under which both whites and Negroes can live and prosper is something which calls for cooperative efforts from the leaders of the two races. For this reason, it is deplorable that the mayor should make a statement that seems to imply that the colored people are to blame for low wages paid to white workers. It is certain to discourage the Negroes and to arouse race hatred among the unskilled white laborers who are—along with the Negroes—the victims of a bad situation which the South has inherited.

Race Prejudice In the North

Page
10-24-31

By Bishop Wilbur P. Thirkield
In The Christian Advocate

The spirit of caste appears to be growing in the North. Members of the Negro and other colored groups are being discriminated against, segregated, cast out, not because they are low and bad, but because they are black. It is an impressive and most encouraging fact that progressive women and student groups in the South, under the leadership of the Interracial Commission, are definitely organized for interracial cooperation and betterment; for curing civil and educational unequalities and for war against the crime for lynching, so that among an everwidening constituency there often appears a broader spirit of interracial sympathy and tolerance than is found among many white people in the North, who hold unreasoning and utterly unjustifiable prejudices, and in their relations to the colored groups are governed by the spirit of caste and even hate. This is manifest not only in community life and school but in some degree even in the Church.

Consider this example. In a large city very near New York, members of our Church were bravely struggling to build a church to provide for the ever increasing tide of Negro population swept in from the South and in their strange and perilous environment needing religious guidance and help. To bring the enterprise to public notice and to broaden the sympathies of Methodism toward their church, the officers requested the use of one of the leading central churches for a Sunday afternoon service. Imagine their disappointment when they were informed that the use of the sanctuary was denied, as "the action taken by the offiical board grants you permission to use the chapel adjoining the church." The limited space available made a union service impracticable. A copy of this was also sent to the bishop who was to preach at the proposed service. What wonder that the pastor of the white church strongly resented this action and wrote to the bishop that "only the love of Christ can soften some of their perverse hearts." And that edifice was called "The Church of the Open Door"! The service was held in another church which generously opened its doors to this struggling people.

A Southern Instance

Here let me set forth a striking contract, revealing an ever-broadening interracial spirit in the South In October, just one month before this incident, I presided over the Eastern Tennessee Conference (colored) at Abingdon, Va. This is an aristocratic, conservative old Virginia town, with Emory and Henry College in the suburbs, and the seat also of both a Presbyterian and a Methodist Episcopal Church, South, college for women. After an address before the Rotary Club on the opening day, I was invited by the president of the leading bank to hold my cabinet meetings in the board room of the fine stone bank building. I explained to him that it was my custom to confer freely with ministers and laymen and that such numbers might prove a possible embarrassment. Notwithstanding, I met the cabinet around the mahogany table in the board room and every caller received courteous treatment. Now a colored Conference is an event. Our church was overflowing all the week. It was most gratifying, therefore, to receive through the pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in behalf of his official board, a most cordial invitation to hold the Sunday morning service in their spacious and beautiful church. When the Sunday school was dismissed, groups of colored people filled the church yard, as the hundreds of college girls and children passed through. What an exhibition of interracial goodwill! Some scores of white people sat on one side during the service, while choir-loft, floor and gallery were packed with devout colored people. The impression was so favorable that we were asked to hold the ordination service in the church in the afternoon. And this is not the first time this has occurred in the South during the ministry of my office. What wonder that I felt constrained to write as follows to the pastor of that Northern church with an official board so out of harmony with the spirit and teachings of the Lord Jesus: "The action of the official board, I am sure, is embarrassing to a faithful pastor who is standing face to face in———with one of the greatest interracial problems presented by your vast and complex population. Does this action mean that the several groups of peoples of color from this country and from other lands are not welcome to occupy the auditorium of this Christian church? If the attitude of your board represents the spirit and purpose of Protestant religious bodies in your city, God only knows what may be the outcome of such an attitude in the long future. As represented by the repeated action of our General Conference, the Methodist Episcopal Church stands for the Christian solution of our complex interracial problems in America, rather than for an attitude that would deepen and intesify the separation between the several colored groups that make up our population. The attitude of your board must be painful to a pastor whose sympathies go out in the spirit of the Lord Jesus toward all men of every race."

Humanity Barricaded

Would that we might realize that the most serious question today before the Church and society throughout the world is the treatment of peoples of color. Consider the attitude, as set forth above, in the light of this trenchant word of Rabindranath Tagore: "I regard the race and color prejudice which barricades human beings against one another as the greatest evil of modern times, which should be overcome if humanity must be realized as one in spirit." Think of the indictment by Professor John Cornelius, representative at the Williamstown Conference: "We came from caste-ridden India to America and we found that the Christians here have even a worse form of caste." An educated Indian friend of his had to go to a dozen barber shops in Chicago before he could get a haircut. Bishop McConnell returns from India with the conviction that the attitude of America toward colored peoples prevents access to multitudes of thoughtful minds. This gives a significance to the ominous word of Tagore: "As long as lynching goes on in America, she has very little of brotherhood to import to the Orient." In Russia in the antireligous museum, a prominent place is given to pictures of Negro lynching atrocities. Who can deny that this furnishes a terrific indictment of our so-called Christian civilization! Our Japanese exclusion act, based not on cultural or economic grounds, gave "a shock to the whole Japanese race, such as had never before been felt."

"In view of the above, recent race conflicts should awaken serious minds to a situation that is truly alarming and should arouse the Church to action. With gratitude we may contemplate the attitude of Christian organizations of young people which furnishes a rebuke to their elders, and gives hope for a future marked by boradder interracial cooperation.

The Negro Group Hardest Hit

In the present economic crisis the Negro is the first group hardest hit. Coming north by hundreds of thousands at the call of factories and trade, in Chicago alone over 40,000 colored laborers on the South Side are now cast out. Evictions have left thousands in desperate straits. Communists have taken advantage of the siutation and their inflammatory harangues in Washngton Park have gradually drawn many thousands. When a colored woman tenant of seventy-two years was evicted for non-payment of rent, the mob brought on a clash with the police during which three men were killed and three policemen badly injured. Caste, Communism, discrimination, repression, create an ugly and perilous situation which hungry and desperate people may force to the front this coming winter in many Northern cities into which a million Negroes are now crowded.

A situation, involving enforced segregation, developed last year at White Plains, N. Y. All admitted that the physician and his family were quiet, cultivated, personally agreeable and attractive people. But they were colored, and the neighbors would cast them out, together with the colored Y. M. C. A. secretary who roomed in the house. When the excitement had abated, called upon to address a union meeting of the churches on Interracial Sunday, I was permitted to say that "all decent-minded Americans condemn the devilish mob spirit recently let loose in several atrocious lynchings." I then added, "You people would not lynch the bodies of men, but do you not lynch the minds and souls of colored men by your caste and discrimination, your bitter strictures and segregation?" Choosing to find my life and work for nearly a half century largely identified with this group, how often have I seen refined, sensitive men and women fairly writhe and groan under the un-Christian caste and inhumanity of man!

"Sit Where They Sit"

"I sat where they sat," said the prophet of old. This awakened sympathy for the oppressed. Catch in the Negro Spirituals not only

the mood of spirtiual hope and strength but the anguish of the oppressed. My plea is, put yourself in the Negro's place! It is acknowledged that the finest concert tenor voice developed in America is that of Roland Hayes a man of lofty spiritual aims, and fine culture, a perfect gentleman, yet hotels are closed against him. Suppose you were a member of a quartet engaged to sing "Spirituals" over the radio, with studio in the top of a hotel, and because of the color of your skin you were hustled back to the freight and baggage elevator! And this is New York!

Consider the case of a young woman of refined tastes, graduate of a leading New York high school with educated Christian parents, who makes application for entrance to the Department of Home Economics of a leading university in the state founded by Methodism. Then dean "strongly recommends" the parents to withdraw the application as she would be "very much isolated socially," enforcing this by the example of a colored maid, who "leads a lonely life"; thus assuming that the candidate is so lacking in strength of character, social grace and adaptation that she will be "unhappy." Unfortunately the chancellor feels constrained to support the dean and the door of entrance to a great Northern university is slammed in her face. Yet the aim of this aspiring young woman is not "happiness," but equipment for service. She is willing to pay the price and run the risk of winning her place in the esteem of the student body, as did a colored girl at Smith College recently, who by free vote of her classmates was accorded one of the highest honors in her class. The dean expressed the fear that the university is "not prepared to place colored students on graduation." The candidate asked not for a place, but for a chance for preparation for service. The call for such equipped women is insistent. The over 19,000 Negro youth in our colleges and the tens of thousands in high schools require teachers. The work of our Bennett College for Women at Greensboro, N. C., which in four years from its founding won from the General Education Board the endorsement of a conditional gift of a quarter million dollars for endowment, has only been made possible by the fourteen thoroughly equipped teachers, who gained their degrees from Northern colleges. And three of these are from Cornell and Columbia, which did not debar them on account of race. Really the presence of such a cultivated and aspiring young woman of the Negro group should prove a blessing to the students of the university. The peril in our American is the isolation of race groups and the lack of contact on the higher levels between members of the various races. To them all the doors that swing downward are open. To the colored group especially, the doors upward into the library, lecture and concert halls are too often closed. Contact in class work and college associations with a noble, well-equipped young woman of the Negro group would tend to eliminate race prejudice, which is the beginning of self-inflicted blindness and a peril to our American life.

The hope of the South as regards the abatement of race prejudice is in the women and in the student groups in the colleges. In nearly fifty years of my personal life, identification with the Negro group, I see larger signs of hope than ever before. If this young woman is shut out of the university, it would evidently be on the basis of prejudice and race discrimination. What an example to the South, which is now facing the race question with a broader sympathy and a finer spirit of race recognition and cooperation!

In vew of this statement of facts and plea (in behalf of colored groups which now constitute two-thirds of the world's population), let me commend to people to whom all avenues to the larger life are open, this deeply significant word of Lord Bryce, after a profound study of the question: "Let the gospel of Christ come to them as a beneficial power which can fill their hearts with new thought and new hopes; which may become a link between them and ourselves; helping them forward and averting those conflicts and sufferings which will otherwise follow; a bond between all races of mankind of whatever blood, or speech or color; a sacred bond to make them feel and believe that we and they are all the children of one Father in heaven."

15 Gramercy Park,
New York City.

WHITE RICHMOND 'LADIES,' PEEVED, SLUR BLACK FOLK

Want Special Street Cars For Colored Passengers

10-10-31

RICHMOND, Va.—(ANP)—Writing in the "Forum" of the Richmond News-Leader, local white afternoon daily, two white women have raked Richmond Negroes over coals of fire, claiming, in one letter, that too much attention is being given the Negroes, and in the other letter that "Negroes sit in the street car seats, while white ladies stand up."

One of the women, Julia Spratley, wonders "if the powers that be are trying to make Richmond over solely for the colored population." She is also apparently vexed to find that she has to ride through colored sections in the busses going to her home, wherever it is. Says she: "For many years one has not been able to take a car ride to several of our best residential districts without passing through unsightly colored districts."

"Two Negroes", says this southern 'lady,' "can make more noise than six or seven white people."

Something Must Be Done

She doesn't even approve of Negroes sitting in Monroe Park, or Capitol Square, two public places. Anyway, she concludes, "influence the minds of the citizens to do something for the sake of the past and future of the white race and its tradtions."

The other, a South Richmond resident, Gladys Hill, writing about having to ride a street car whereon were a good many Negroes, declares that it is a dirty shame for white women to have to ride on street cars and stand up "while Negroes occupy seats." She calls on the Virginia Power and Electric Company to "produce men, not gentlemen,'. Evidently riled, she tells of seeing white women come into the car she was on and have to stand up, while she asserts that she rode to the "end of the line" and never once did the conductor make the Negroes move out of their seats so the white women could sit down.

Cries for Southern Blood

"Where," she asks, "is our noble southern blood, and what has become of our noble southern traditions. What would George Washington think if he saw such a thing exist?" She tells the world that "if Negroes cannot be made to behave and in their places, there ought to be a special car for them to ride on."

The two letters have created much laughter among Richmond Negroes, and have supplied a comic atmosphere to the usually naive city life which is relieving the boresome monotony quite much.

NEW YORK HERALD-TRIBUNE

SEP 27 1931

The Black American

Negro Editor Appeals for Square Deal in the United States for "the Man Farthest Down"

To the New York Herald Tribune:

Colored America looks with profound and pleasurable surprise upon the addition of Mr. Walter Lippmann to your staff. Mr. Lippman during his brief sojourn on the "World" carried on in tact the militant Pulitzer policy of an equal opportunity and equal recognition for the nation's colored citizens.

The twelve millions of us who wear the "shadow'd livery of the burnish'd sun" knew that we had in the "World" a great friend at the American court of public opinion.

With Lippmann on your great organ, is it too much to hope that the Herald Tribune will help to set the nation vibrant again for a square deal for the man farthest down?

You have met the acid test when in introducing Mr. Lippmann you said "he is to write freely upon such topics as he selects, expressing whatever opinion he holds."

Next to having a capable conservative columnist of the colored race upon your staff who could write freely upon our great domestic problem and upon all the other pressing problems impinging upon it, you have done the most courageous thing.

Race relationship in the future even more than in the past, seems destined to be a cardinal concern of this republic.

Since the days of Theodore Roosevelt there has been a resurgence of reactionary sentiment against the black American. Not only politically but industrially he has been progressively cast further away from the body politic. Segregation has become the order of the day. He is not only becoming again an untouchable in civic and commercial life, but a dependent ward and object of charity. Let this tendency of casting black Americans into a permanent inferior nation within the nation; let this process harden into a fast cake of custom and this nation too will reach the impasse that Mahatma Gandhi voices and embodies in the British Empire. How true this tendency is may be visualized in the fact that there is not a single spokesman of the race recognized and consulted by Caucasian America today save those educators, preachers, writers and speakers that are philanthropy maintained. Surely no man can have a tin cup in one hand and a progressive national and racial program in the other.

It is worthy of note that the only colored representative upon President Hoover's Emergency Employment Committee is a West Virginia state school president. It is not an accident that the one black American who has an entree to the White House is the principal of Tuskegee. The inevitable result of this race segregation is to make Afro-Americans a separate and supine class. The deadly danger to a nation of a caste system is written with blood and destruction in the records of every fallen government, ancient, medieval and modern.

America no longer can hide her head in the sand and, refusing to recognize the one and only honest solution of the race question, avoid its awful consequences. National prohibition was born and is maintained largely by the South through an attempt to solve her labor problem. Racketeering, in all its hydraheaded and deadly forms, has grown out of prohibition. The regnant bootlegging invisible empire sprang full grown out of prohibition, and prohibition out of the race question.

The problems union labor have imposed upon the nation have grown out of the effort to exterminate black scab labor. Lynching in the South advanced by quick and easy stages to the devastating race riots of recent years in Northern cities, to general outlawry in the cities, to Ku-Klux Klan terrorism in the rural sections, to the lowering of the morale of the nation at home and respect for it abroad.

The woes of persecuted black America have furnished vitalizing propaganda food for the Communists, who are harrying the South, bedeviling the North, and avowedly seeking to overthrow the American government.

Neglected black ghettos have long been health and crime menace to metropolitan communities.

The country must change its point of orientation upon its colored constituency. The revamping of the policies of the nation to conform with the principles of the founding fathers awaits the progressive and liberal and courageous action of great molders of national opinion like the New York Herald Tribune. In this are the issues of life or death to the republic.

GEORGE W. HARRIS,
Editor "The New York News."

New York, Sept. 21, 1931.

United States.
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Negro Problem (1931)

Native Sons News

SEP 14 1931

Be A Friend of the Negro

On the twenty-second day of September in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two a proclamation was issued by Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, containing, among other things the following.

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever, free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom."

Recognize and maintain the freedom of the negro—Even should others forget—let us at least be gratefully mindful of the Proclamation of that great President of our United States.

Why should we resent the Negro? Are they not the same God fearing—law abiding citizens as we are? Does not the negro, as a whole, live as respectably as the white man? Yes—we know that there are many negroes in the Penal Institutes today. Are those men gangsters, bootleggers, or racketeers? Very few!

I was the President of St. John's Holy Name Society for a number of years and I came in contact with many negro members of the society. Fine, decent, upright American citizens! At one of our important functions, a negro was one of our main speakers. No one present but was impressed by his thoughtful, eloquent and forceful address.

Do we forget the former fifteenth infantry, now three hundred and sixty ninth infantry, New York National Guard. These soldiers, patriotic and even heroically brave, are now famous as the Colored Regiment of New York City. Early during the World War they trod the rough roads of war torn France, and the white crosses of Flanders Fields mark the resting place of many of their numbers who paid the supreme sacrifice. To die in battle is a tradition in the fifteenth infantry. They love their city, they serve their country. Are they not entitled to a fair chance?

The negro will always find a friend in great men—Abraham Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson, Calvin Coolidge, Herbert C. Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Alfred E. Smith, James J. Walker and John H. McCooey have never discriminated against them. Perhaps it is a sign of greatness to fraternize with all God's children—regardless of their color.

David F. Soden

Mr. Toole and Negroes

Telegraph 7-17-31

When Mayor Toole said to the Junior Chamber of Commerce Thursday night, that the "Negro is the greatest curse of the community today", and "the sooner they leave, the better off we'll be", he was expressing the views of an individual and not the sentiment of the people whom he represents in an official capacity. We do not believe that any considerable number of the people of this city feel as he does, or that any considerable number of the white people of Macon would desire the mayor to say any such thing in their behalf.

Despite the mayor's disavowal of prejudice, The Telegraph considers the statement as the manifestation of a prejudice that has perhaps been boiling within Mr. Toole and as a statement highly prejudicial to the good relations between the races which the members of both covet. It was unfortunate that it should have been made by a man so ordinarily level-headed and representative as Mr. Toole. It sounds as if it might have been made by the grand lecturer of the Black Shirts.

While no one has ever attributed to Mr. Toole timidity of expression, it is inconceivable that he would have made such a statement if the Negroes of Macon were franchised and could visit the retribution of political opposition upon him. It is part of the irony of their condition that even persons who usually tread careful paths because of the exigencies of politics can feel perfect immunity in making any statement about the Negro.

The Telegraph does not concede either the wisdom of the mayor's speech or the truth of his conclusion, which is based purely upon speculation and certainly upon no demonstrable fact. No matter how much the mayor might desire the migration of Negroes, he knows it will not be achieved. A few years ago, Marcus Garvey started an abortive effort to take the Negroes back to Africa. The venture failed disastrously. The presence of the Negroes with us, perhaps for eternity, is assured and there is nothing the mayor can accomplish by barking at the moon, except to humilate the Negroes and annoy the white people who do not feel as he does.

While the mayor was referring to all Negroes in the South, it is the Negroes in Macon who must bear the brunt and suffer the humiliation. They have demonstrated, whenever the opportunity arose, either in war times or peace time, a civic spirit of which they need not feel ashamed.

They deserve much better of this city than to have the mayor or anybody else make any such statement about them.

Boston Sees Literature Issued by United Guards of America In Membership Drive.

Courier 8-15-31

BOSTON, Aug. 13—(CNS)—Boston was flooded Monday with literature urging "pure Americans" to become charter members of the United Guards of America, an organization with headquarters in Baltimore and whose origin and motives are veiled in mystery so far.

The invitation to join has in small type under the name of the organization, "a pure Protestant patriotic and fraternal organization for American men and women."

On the reverse side is an oath by which the signer "solemnly promises" and "swears without any mental reservation whatever" to believe in the Bible, to uphold the Constitution, to protect womanhood and the sanctity of the home, to vote for no one for public office who is not as good an American as the member and to believe in the Protestant church and the American flag.

The signer also pledges himself to keep secret the names of those with whom he comes in contact.

Some of those speculating on the new order declare it an offshoot of the Ku Klux Klan, and others maintain it is a rival organization.

The latter declare that this is shown by the fact that the Klan always endeavored to disguise the fact that that it was a political or-

Pittsburgh Courier 8-22-31

by Ben Hardy Jr.

Another Georgia mayor has opened his mouth, and put his foot in it. Mayor G. Glen Toole, of Macon, made a public statement to the effect that "the negro is the curse of this country," which brought sharp retorts from a number of sources. However, it does not appear that his utterance will have the stirring aftermath that followed Mayor Key's announcement that "prohibition has failed."

Chief Justice Hughes Praises Taney Of Dred Scott Case Infamy at Unveiling

Associated Press
9-30-31 Newspaper, N.Y.

Declares It Is Unfortunate That Estimate of His Labors Be Judged by Pronouncement of Negro's Rights to Respect

WASHINGTON, Sept. 28.—"It is unfortunate," said Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes of United States Supreme Court, in an address at the unveiling of a memorial bronze bust of the late Chief Justice at Frederick, Md., last Saturday, "that the estimate of Chief Justice Taney's judicial labors should have been so largely influenced by the opinion which he delivered in the case of Dred Scott. It would be futile at the present time to re-examine the circumstances and consequences of that historic controversy."

In the Dred Scott decision, Chief Justice Taney declared that the Negro "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect."

"It should be said, however, that the charge which formed part of the violent and malignant attack upon the decision, that it was the result of a conspiracy or political bargain, had not the slightest foundation. Whatever may be said of the merits of the case, or of the scope of the court's determination, or of the reasoning employed, there can be no doubt of the integrity of the members of the court and of the sincerity of the action of the Chief Justice, who thought he was rendering a national service.

"In looking at the background of the decision, it is apparent that there was a fundamental error in the supposition that the imperious question which underlay the controversy could be put at rest by a judicial pronouncement."

Roger B. Taney, declared Justice Charles Evans Hughes of the United States Supreme Court in an address at the unveiling of a memorial bronze bust of the late Chief Justice at Frederick, Md., last Saturday.

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"In looking at the background of the decision, it is apparent that there was a fundamental error in the supposition that the imperious question which underlay the controversy could be put at rest by a judicial pronouncement.

"That issue was beyond the resources of the forum or of the Legislature—it was an issue definitely settled by the arbritrament of war. With that settlement, the Dred Scott case passed into history as an event pregnant with political consequences of the highest importance, and having a most serious effect upon the prestige of the court, chiefly because of the unbridled criticism induced by the temper of the times, but having a negligible influence upon the development of the constitutional jurisprudence of with which we are now concerned."

JUSTICE TANEY'S STATEMENT WAS UNFORTUNATE

Washington, D.
10-2-31

"The Negro Has No Rights Which the White Man Was Bound to Respect"

It is unfortunate that the Dred Scott case should have so largely influenced public estimates of the judicial labors of Chief Justice

HERALD

Albany, Ga.
SEP 26 1931

Mayors seem to have a way of making unfortunate statements. Mayor Glenn Toole of Macon is the latest to get himself into hot water by making the remark the other day that the Negroes in Macon are "the greatest menace to the community" and he would be glad to see them all emigrate. An invitation which had been issued to the Mayor to address a convention of Negroes was withdrawn, and he was severely criticized by both whites and blacks. Mayor Toole must have been a little off from normal when he made that statement. We do not believe there are many mayors in the South who would either think or say that the Negroes in the community were a menace.—Moultrie Observer.

Mayor Toole probably is a pretty good mayor, as mayors go, but there are a lot of things he doesn't know. One is that cheap publicity is expensive in the long run, and another is that here in Georgia not many people are impressed with rabid "anti-nigger" talk. If the mayor of Macon could have his wish and get rid of all the Negroes in that city, he would find himself the most unpopular individual in the community. For in Macon, as in every large town, the Negroes have a very important part in community life. Many of them serve in humble places, and what they earn constitutes a very material contribution to the prosperity of Macon. If all of them should be run out, in accordance with the mayor's ideas, there would be a lot of vacant houses in Macon, a lot of white families would do their cooking with a can-opener, and a lot of work which Negro citizens are glad to do for modest wages simply wouldn't be done. When Macon's mayor gets ready to start moving out the Negro population, we have an idea he will find a lot of opposition from the white people of the Central City.

"Dred Scott" Taney

Associated Press

CHIEF JUSTICE HUGHES, speaking at Frederick, Md., last Saturday ,eulogized Roger B. Taney, who was Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court from 1836 to 1854. He called him a worthy successor of John Marshall, unflinching in the face of rancorous assaults and possessed of a deep-seated conviction as to the constitutional right of personal liberty. He deplored the fact that Taney's opinion in the Dred Scott caused his integrity to be unjustly assailed.

9-30-31 New York,

IN THE DRED SCOTT CASE, some will remember, Chief Justice Taney invalidated the Missouri Compromise, maintaining that a slave was still the property of his owner even when he had escaped to free territory. He summed up his opinion in words that fired the North with indignation and have rankled in the Negro mind ever since: "The Negro has no rights that the white man is bound to respect."

SUCH WORDS are not consistent with Chief Justice Hughes' praise of Taney as a man whose deepest conviction was the right of personal liberty; they are the most arbitrary, most un-American pronouncement ever made by a United States justice. Justice Hughes' word may be taken for Taney's ability as an expounder of technical jurisprudence; but Taney's influence upon the course of American history was deplorable.

MACON, GA.
TELEGRAPH

SEP 28 1931

MR. TOOLE'S SPEECH

The mayor of Macon has made himself very unpopular in the eyes of Macon's Negro citizens. His statement that "the Negro is the greatest curse of the community today and the sooner we get rid of him the better" has caused a series of protests and the adoption of resolutions by congregations of five leading Macon churches for Negroes. These resolutions deplore the fact that this statement will stir up race hatred; they disclose the tendecy in Macon to beautify parks and provide beauty spots for the white citizens but to neglect such improvements for the Negroes. The resolutions continued to point out that the Negro schools were overcrowded, that many of their districts were poorly kept and were dangerous for traffic.

This criticism from the Negroes is accompanied by protests from the pastors of churches for white citizens, which is as it should be. There are too many worthy and honest Negroes in Macon and elsewhere to whom this statement would not apply. The mayor remains silent in the face of these remarks. Perhaps he has said too much already!—Cordele Dispatch.

United States.

THE CHANGING SOUTH

IT MIGHT be interesting for our readers to know some of the impressions being made on the new editor by conditions in the South as compared with what they were fifteen years or more ago.

I am a Southerner by birth, born in the State of Mississippi, generally recognized as one of the most typical Southern States. I was educated in Rust College, Holly Springs, Miss., and at Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Ga. After graduating from Gammon I went to Boston for two years of post-graduate study in Boston University. Christian

Although I finished my educational work in the North, I had no urgent desire to work anywhere but in the very center of the Negro population of the South. I applied for admission on trial in the Louisiana Conference when I left school, but the cabinet, fearing that I would desire too large an appointment to begin with, very kindly excused itself by stating that it had no worthy place for me. I then sought admission in the Washington Conference because the Baltimore District of that Conference was among the few districts which held no District Conference, thereby giving me the privilege of being recommended for admission on trial by the Quarterly Conference of Mt. Zion, one of the smaller charges of the city of Baltimore, a few weeks before the session of the Washington Annual Conference. 6-18-31

I remained in the Washington Conference seven years, but when the opportunity came for me to transfer into the South, I gladly went to Little Rock, Ark., as pastor of Wesleyy Chapel, the college church of Philander Smith College. I was there, however, only two years, for I heeded an invitation to go to Los Angeles, Calif., where the larger part of my ministry was spent, as the pastor of Wesley Chapel of that city. Cincinnati

During this period on the Pacific Coast, naturally I became somewhat out of touch with Southern conditions. My visits South were few and only of short duration, so that I did not have time to note even casually the general trend of things. Being now back in the heart of the South, even though my present stay has been short and my observations may not be accurate on that account, yet I think I observe some very remarkable changes for the better, both in the Negro race and in the relation of the two races living together in many places in equal numbers.

First of all, I note a much more courteous attitude being manifested toward Negroes by white people in public places and on common carriers. Just what has brought this about I cannot definitely say, but I am inclined to think that the economic life of Southern white people has become so strenuous during the last few years that they have been forced to give such undivided attention to the ordinary question of making a living that there has been little time left for the studied system of discourtesy toward Negroes so prevalent back in those days when things were economically better. On the railroads this change is very noticeable. Conductors and brakemen are now quite courteous to the Negro patrons of the roads. The courtesy is not of the former patronizing quality found in good conductors in other days, but it is a real courtesy of the same quality as that given to the patronizing white people. The officious conductors on the trains and street cars seem a thing of the past. Since I have been traveling in the South during the last few weeks—I have been on trains nearly half the time—I have not run across a single discourteous conductor of the old order so common fifteen or more years ago. Even the "News Butcher" seems more interested now in making profits from sales than in impressing upon the Negro passengers the superiority of the white race and the inferiority of Negroes, so common under the old order of things.

Although there is the entire separation of the races on common carriers, it does not now seem to be enforced with that rigid determination so manifest by those in charge in former years. Now passengers who have been out of the South for years and have forgotten the Jim Crow system, are not rigidly insulted for forgetting as in former years. The train crews seem to be on the lookout now for Negro passengers who have naturally forgotten, and courteously they are shown the accommodations for Negroes.

It is hardly worth while, however, to talk about accommodation for Negroes on Southern trains. It is certainly not equal to that enjoyed by whites, and only in rare cases can Negroes secure any sleeper accommodations at all. I am inclined to think, however, that if during these times the Negroes would present courteous petitions to the Legislatures of the typical Southern States, laws would be enacted forcing the railroad companies to provide some regular sleeper accommodations for Negroes even in the heart of the South. It seems to me that the time is ripe for fruitful action on our part, and that we can secure undreamed of results by our concerted action.

Here in New Orleans I have noted no less courtesy extended Negro patrons in the stores than in Los Angeles. The clerks and floormen seem to be out for business, and are ready to trade with people who have money to pay for what they get, no matter what the race or nationality of the customer.

In matters of employment, Negroes really have a better opportunity in the South than in the East, North, and West. The labor competition is not half so keen. The size of the Negro population, together with the strict separation of the races, make it much easier for Negroes to secure and hold the Negro business for the business of the race. In fact, Negro business men have not touched the surface of their opportunity in this regard. I realize that business competition is very keen, and yet, excellent business men of the Negro race can easily compete with those of other races for the Negro's trade.

In education the progress in the South is perhaps the most remarkable. The belief so prevalent among many white people a few decades ago that education was injurious rather than helpful to the Negro, has almost entirely vanished. Many of the typically Southern States are spending many times as much for Negro education as they did a few years ago. The same academic standards required for white teachers are required for Negro teachers also. I can remember when county superintendents of education made a regular system to supply the Negro public schools of their county with as ignorant teachers as they could possibly secure. Really educated Negroes were not wanted in the public schools of many sections of the country.

As I observe things during the short time I have been again in the center of things, I must confess that I see very little, if any, progress among Negroes of the older set. Here he remains painfully true to the older form. He dresses, acts, and thinks in the same old way in spite of the manifest changes all around. This also is true with the younger under-privileged Negroes who have grown up on the plantations under conditions worse than slavery. He also remains true to the old form—the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. The present generation of Negroes, however, show marked progress in every way, especially among those who have taken advantage of the far better educational advantages now in vogue, both in church and State schools. This group seems to have been able to throw off the old life of the race altogether, and is becoming a worthy product of this new day in which we are living.

I do not note any improvement worth mentioning in the Negro's church and religious life. A deadly indifference and lack of enthusiasm, which to me is appalling, seem everywhere manifest. The whole race seems religiously tired and burdened. It seems that the temporal needs of the Negro church so far exceed his spiritual power to supply them that he is religiously bewildered. Something must be done to change his situation, or we are doomed at the very e in our life where hitherto we have trongest.

N.C. SCHOOL FIRED RED EDITORS

North America

CHAPEL HILL, N.C.—Milton Abernathy and Anthony J. Buttatti, both white, editors of Contempo, a liberal magazine which recently published a satiric poem by Langston Hughes, were ousted some time ago from the University of North Carolina for their "radical" views, it was learned this week.

University authorities deny having anything to do with Contempo, and in response to inquires state that Abernathy, whose home is at Hickory, was expelled last year on moral grounds, after having created, for three years, a storm center at the institution. Baltimore, Md

Mr. Hughes, who is a native of Raleigh, visited Chapel Hill and was received hospitably by the editors of Contempo, who accepted in addition to his poem, "Christ in Alabama," a short article based on the Scottsboro affair. In this article he referred to the two white girls in the case as "prostitutes," and to Dixie justice as "syphilitic."

Wilton E. Hall, white newspaper publisher of Anderson, S.C., appealed to Governor Max Gardner of this state, on the belief that student editors at the university here were responsible for the publication, asking for their expulsion. It was the subsequent investigation that revealed that the editors had already been expelled.

HOOVER'S SPEECHES

President Hoover has delivered three speeches recently. In his address at Indianapolis, the President stated that depression or the "Hoover panic" would not be eliminated soon and recommended optimism to the American people. His philosophy is that of the engineer.

It is rather hard to conceive that this, the richest and most advanced nation in the world should have an unemployment army of more than 7,000,000 of unemployed men. Riches and intelligence should presage prosperity and steady employment.

In his speech President Hoover praised President Harding and denounced his critics. Evidently the President did not remember President Harding's Birmingham speech in which he insulted and reflected upon 12,000,000 of American citizens with the statement of "inescapable difference" of the Negro and white man. President Harding insulted the Negroes of this country then, as President Hoover insulted the inhabitants of the Virgin Islands when he referred to the islanders as "a poor house."

It will take more than talk to restore the hard times through which this country is passing.

Reducing wages and letting out help certainly cannot restore prosperity. The 1932 Presidential campaign has begun. President Hoover has not said anything yet that is encouraging to the laborer or the unemployed. 7,000,000 unemployed voters with their wives and daughters will be enough to decide a Presidential election.

CREDIT, NOT CRITICISM

PRESIDENT HOOVER has made so many mistakes—most of them errors of omission—that it is quite a relief to be able to commend him when he does something of importance. His recent suggestion to suspend payment of international debts for one year has received world-wide approval.

But President Hoover must remember that the world is full of evil minds and petty jealousies; and while the highest motives may have actuated his conduct, there are many who have set about to discount him by injecting partisan politics into his suggestion for economic relief.

Of course, critics can find the material without the looking, and the President ought to be well aware of this fact. But before he rejoices too much over the favorable reaction which his suggestion first evoked, he must take into account the deep and subtle forces now at work to deprive the President of any political benefit his payment suspension was calculated to bring him. His friends will tell him he has made his nomination and election absolutely certain by taking hold of the international depression. They will tell him that he has made it possible to bring at least contentment to this and other countries within the next few months, thereby restoring some semblance of prosperity to this country before the Republican National Convention convenes in 1932. So much for his friends.

But his enemies and critics are prepared to tell him that his motives are not as high as he would have the world believe, and they are using the recent reports from France as a basis for their attitude. France, it is well known, does not look so favorably upon Mr. Hoover's program. France is reported to take the position that President Hoover is making it possible for Germany to become a menace to the French. This position is shared by many people in the United States. There are those who go even further than France. They will tell the President that his attempt to relieve Germany for one year is nothing more nor less than an effort to save Germany from economic destruction and thereby save American capitalists the loss of several millions invested in German securities. It will be argued that these same American capitalists had something to do with the action of the President. One particular set of critics have already advanced the theory that these American capitalists who have millions invested in German securities cannot contribute as largely as they would like to the election of President Hoover if Germany is rendered unable to meet her obligations.

Of course, people may think what they please; and in this country say almost anything they please, but our belief is that President Hoover has done a very humanitarian thing in attempting to relieve the depression common the world over. If what he has done works to the special advantage of Germany, Germany is to be congratulated upon her good fortune. We cannot subscribe, however, to the theory that the President was motivated entirely by political ambitions. Neither do we think he would evade an opportunity to make political hay while the sun shines. Our disappointment in President Hoover is well known. We do not believe that he has measured up to the requirements of the President this country is entitled to have. We believe that he has fallen into the hands of poor advisors, and this, coupled with his natural tendency to follow the line of least resistance, has made him a President none too popular and none too aggressive. Notwithstanding our disappointment, we cannot share the opinion of those who believe that the President, in asking for suspension of payment of international debts, was advised to do so by American capitalists who would be selfish enough to embarrass their country for the sake of a political campaign. The President should be given credit for what he has done and not criticized until and unless what he has done proves as futile as some other mistakes already recorded against him.

Phila Pa. Record

OCT 17 1931

Third Degree

Editor of The Record:

Sir:—Because of your fair and impartial manner of publishing the facts which affect the humble as well as the exalted we kindly ask you to insert the following letter in your paper:

His Honor President Judge Williams,
Montgomery County, Pennsylvania.

We, the Tuskegee Club of Philadelphia, composed of graduates and former students of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, have noted with pleasure and gratitude the action of the Court in administering justice in the case of William Campbell, Ambler, Pa., who was arrested and given the third degree, charged with dynamiting the house of E. K. Jones, Fort Washington, Pa.

We take this method and occasion to express our thanks to you, the jury and all concerned in this important case. Courageous acts of this nature, dealing out speedy and complete justice to even the humbliest will go far towards breaking up repetition of this kind.

Respectfully,
THE TUSKEGEE CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA,
(Mrs.) E. Finch Ellis, President.

This letter is being written as an outcome of the trial and conviction of three police officials on Wednesday, September 30, 1931, for brutally beating William Campbell, negro, while putting him through the third degree in connection with alleged crime mentioned in the above letter. After failing to make him confess to the crime he was released. Campbell went to a doctor for treatment. The doctor called in the judge to see the patient's wounds. Hence the investigation, trial and conviction of the three officers.

(Mrs.) LEILA M. JACKSON, Sec.
Philadelphia, October 14.

GLIMPSE OF A NEGRO SHANTY

Young nigger woman
Sitting on the porch
Combing her kinky hair
Peeping in a broken mirror
As she rocks her chair.

Seven pickaninnies
Playing in the yard
Jumping up and down
Their clothes are just the color
Of the clean swept ground.

Old nigger papa
Hoeing in the field
Working row by row
Funny how much he looks like
That skinny scare-crow.

—ELIZABETH ANDERSON.

of three police officials on Wednesday, September 30, 1931, for brutally beating William Campbell, Negro, while putting him through the third degree in connection with alleged crime mentioned in the above letter. After failing to make him confess to the crime he was released. Campbell went to a doctor for treatment. The doctor called in the Judge to see the patient's wounds. Hence the investigation, trial and conviction of the three officers.

(Mrs.) LEILA M. JACKSON, Sec.,
The Tuskegee Club of Philadelphia.

PHILADELPHIA, PA
INQUIRER

OCT 17 1931

Tuskegee Club Tribute

To the Editor of The Inquirer:

Because of your fair and impartial manner of publishing the facts which affect the humble as well as the exalted we kindly ask you to insert the following letter in your paper:

His Honor, President Judge Williams,
Montgomery County, Pennsylvania.

We, the Tuskegee Club of Philadelphia, composed of graduates and former students of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, have noted with pleasure and gratitude the action of the court in administering justice in the case of William Campbell, Ambler, Pennsylvania, who was arrested and given the third degree charged with dynamiting the house of E. K. Jones, Fort Washington, Pa.

We take this method and occasion to express our thanks to you, the jury and all concerned in this important case. Courageous acts of this nature, dealing out speedy and complete justice to even the humblest, will go far toward breaking up repetition of this kind.

Respectfully,
THE TUSKEGEE CLUB OF PHILA.,
(Mrs.) E. Finch Ellis, President.

This letter is being written as an outcome of the trial and conviction

Race Problem - 1931

United States.
NEW YORK
HERALD-TRIBUNE

NOV 14 1931

Slavery Better For the Negro, Says Faulkner

Mississippi Novelist Thinks White Race Would Suffer Under Old Relationship

His Fame Slight at Home

Most Neighbors Attribute Mode of Life to Laziness

William Faulkner, the Mississippi novelist, who has been called the Dostoievsky of the South, revealed himself yesterday in an interview as a curious mixture of the modern and the conservative, a Southern sage who reads scarcely at all, thinks the Negroes were better off under slavery, and votes Democratic to protect his property.

Arnold Bennett said of him, "He writes like an angel." But Mr. Faulkner hates interviews, hates being asked questions, and "Ah don't care much about talkin'," he says. He is a pleasant, somewhat embarrassed young man, until he gets interested in something he is saying, when he speaks with assurance. He answers questions slowly, almost reluctantly, in a Southern drawl so low that he is a little difficult to understand.

Mr. Faulkner is a writer, and has been one since he was a boy, but it is only in the last year or two that he has had any public recognition. "I never sold a short story until about a year ago. For about six years I didn't average more than $100 a year from my writing. I finished one novel and pretty near finished another one before I sold the first."

Sales Secondary Consideration

But he is not the kind of author to whom market difficulties offer a real obstacle. "That didn't have anything to do with it. I'd have gone on writing just the same. Anybody would, that had anything to say."

He met his first literary opposition early, when he was a student at the University of Mississippi, where he contributed poetry to the college magazine. "I was the only man I ever heard of that was black-balled from the literary society down there."

The people down in Oxford, Miss., where he lives, do not think he is a great man. Mr. Faulkner says most of them think he is merely lazy. "A lot of them don't know I write books, and they think I don't do anything at all. The bookstore in Oxford only sells school-books. The drug store down there has some of my books—some times."

Mr. Faulkner thinks the Southern Negroes would be better off under the conditions of slavery than they are today. He pictures a kind of "benevolent autocracy" as the ideal condition for the Negroes, though he admits such a system would not be sound theoretically. "Facts don't fit theories very often," he says, "but I never heard or read about a lynching in the slave days."

Likens Negroes to Children

"The Negroes would be better off because they'd have some one to look after them. I don't think it would be as good for the white peoples as for the Negroes to have slavery come back—theoretically, anyhow."

But when asked if he thought slavery would soften the white slave owners, he said, "Most white men wouldn't need very much softening."

He believes that Negroes are like children in many of their reactions, and when asked to explain Negro artists, he simply said, "Well, most artists are children, too."

He refused to take any stock in the notion prevalent in certain circles of literary New York, that all Negroes are born artists of one kind or another, any more than he would believe that the Southern "poor whites" had a deep-rooted fear of the Negro, based on the latter's physical or mental superiority. He said he had never been to a party where there were Negroes, but said that if he went to one he would shake hands and in general behave like a sophisticated New Yorker.

It is unlikely that he will find himself in this position, however, as he admits he dislikes literary parties, and he finds New York's liquor "just like tea" after the moonshine of Mississippi. "They've been making corn liquor down there ninety years and it's pretty good now."

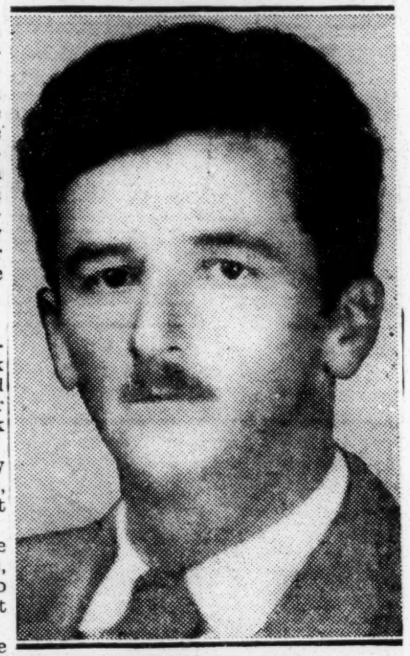
Never Reads Reviews

The author grew almost perversely vague when he was asked questions about books. He was definite, however, about reviews. "I never read them," he said. "Maybe my friends have some influence with me about my books," he responded to another question. "I don't know. I like to think nobody's got any influence, but you can't tell."

He refused, with some justification, to name his favorite author. "The two books I like best are "Moby Dick" and "The Nigger of the Narcissus," he said, "but I wouldn't say Melville or Conrad was 'my favorite author.' I'd just like to have written those two books more than any others I can think of." He admires the work of Ernest Hemingway, whom he has never met. "I think he's the best we've got," he said.

Asked about the stories in "These Thirteen," one or two of which have been mentioned by literary critics as showing signs of Hemingway's influence, he said they had been written four or five years ago. Mr. Faulkner never read any of Hemingway's work until two years ago. The possibility of his having influenced Hemingway is ruled out by the fact that the stories in question had never been published in any form until "These Thirteen" was issued last month.

Sees Slavery Aid to Negro



William Faulkner

Mr. Faulkner is interested in politics, but not national politics. He is aware that the Democrats will probably control the House of Representatives in the next Congress, but it seems to affect him like the election of a very distant relative to office. He votes mostly for town and county officers down in Mississippi. "I vote Democratic because I'm a property owner. Self-protection," he says.

The author of "Sanctuary," "As I Lay Dying" and "The Sound and the Fury" arrived in New York on November 4, and will be here for a month longer.

Journal
SHREVEPORT
LOUISIANA

DEC 8 1931

DR. DODD ASSAILS OSCAR DE PRIEST

Vice President of Southern Baptist Convention Flays Negro Congressman.

Oscar DePriest, negro congressman from Chicago, was roundly flailed Sunday night here in a sermon by Dr. M. E. Dodd, pastor for nearly 20 years of the First Baptist church of Shreveport. Dr Dodd, rated as one of the leading Southern Baptist ministers, and listed as first vice president of the Southern Baptist Convention, was president of the Shreveport ministerial alliance at the time the congressman was employed by local negro organizations to make an address here.

Fearing inflammatory remarks by the speaker employed, local negro leaders conferred with Mayor Palmer and the Ministerial alliance about the proposed address. The mayor in the public press opposed his coming and negro leaders wired for the congressmans' agreement to deal with non-controversial matters in his proposed address, whereupon the congressman cancelled his engagement.

"Ability plus opportunity has always equalled responsibility," declared Dr. Dodd in speaking upon the parable of patience and power as found in Luke xx. "This equation holds good for races, nations, individuals, organizations and churches. To the Greek peoples were vouchsafed the ability and the opportunity to contribute a sense of beauty to the world's civilization. When that responsibility was fulfilled, the nation moved off the scene of action. To the Roman culture was the ability and the chance to contribute a sense of law and jurisprudence. While their contribution persists, their tenure ended with the fulfillment of their responsibility. To the Hebrew was given the task of planting permanently the monotheistic conception of deity. The integrity and vitality of their race through all the vicissitudes of the centuries is testimony to the permanent value of their task.

"I find that many negro people hear me Sunday nights as this KWKH radio carries my message afar. In pullmans and diners over various parts of the country I have had them recognize my voice. I want to say to those that may be listening tonight that God has vouchsafed to them an opportunity and an ability. No greater personality has been produced in America than Booker T. Washhington who has fulfilled his responsibility as shown in the wonderful institution at Tuskegee, Ala., devoted to the uplift and development of the negro race. George W. Carver, scientist, has evoked nation-wide and world-wide commendation for his constructive work in science. To many foreigners coming to pay him tribute, it is a surprise to find him a full-blooded negro without a drop of white blood in his body.

"But contrast his attitude with that of Oscar DePriest, member of congress from Chicago. I am a Southerner, born and bred, the grandson of a Confederate leader, but I wish to say that DePriest is animated by no such attitude towards his race as was Booker T. Washington and George W. Carver. Nor does DePriest have in mind any good for my own white race. His purpose is to exploit race antagonisms for his own personal aggrandizement. The parable here plainly teaches that the stone rejected by the builders will become the head of the corner and will grind to powder those that destroy instead of build. The negro race has an opportunity vouchsafed to no other, that of building a race civilization for their own people which will be a blessing to the world. But DePriest does not lead the way: Boker T. Washington, George W. Carver and Tuskegee institute point the way to peace and light.

"The Lord of the vineyard parable is still looking for those who will put ability to opportunity and accept responsibility. Our country has enriched our money centers and large holders of wealth. A national leader rightly holds that these 60 people controlling the major wealth of the United States possess both the ability and the opportunity to reduce the rigors and suffering of the present depression. This position seems self-evident, and yet we have a campaign headed by the president of the United States whose purpose is to transfer to local communities the responsibility for relief. These communities have poured their wealth into these concentrated groups and now the communities are asked to handle their own burdens of relief. These communities have no ability and therefore no opportunity. The responsibility cannot be solely placed on them. Responsibility arises from ability plus opportunity and this national leader will have a larger and larger hearing as he pleads this thesis from our capital.

"I confess the truth of this parable in another point. As messengers came to the vineyard to find responsibility growing from ability plus opportunity, the messengers were in succession slain. Every messenger of the gospel today that brings this very message is still crucified. Look at the movies for their crucifixion of every minister portrayed; watch the movies for the same spear thrusts; listen to the politicians as they mill about the cross on which they crucify every minister who speaks the truth on vital issues. I have been personally warned by friends near and dear to me, whose friendship I cherish, but my soul is not for sale. The word of God standeth sure and I stand by it. They crucified Lincoln; they crucified Wilson; they crucified Christ, and I am warned that they will crucify me. I believe in the eternal verity of right and I propose to stand or fall with God and the right."

Dr. Dodd announced that for the next 10 days he would be in a series of special meetings with the Southside Baptist church, Birmingham, Ala., Dr. J. E. Dillard, pastor, and that the pulpit of the First Baptist church here would be 'sup-

port's popular young bus. having been connected local store for the last two years.

Use of Good English Regarded as Social Equality in Dixie

Afro-American 12-12-31 Baltimore Md.

Uncle Jaggers, Favorite of Columbia, S.C. Ofays, Given Biggest Funeral Since Wade Hampton. "I Beg Your Pardon" too Toney for South, which Prefers "Scuse Me, Boss."

By J. A. ROGERS

"Good Housekeeping" for December has a remarkable and touching story of an ex-slave who died recently in Columbia, S.C., at the age of 93.

This ex-slave, Uncle Jaggers, a beggar, was perhaps the best known and best beloved citizen of Columbia. His radiant cheerfulness, his benevolence and good-will to all humanity, assured him a welcome everywhere. He was such a privileged character that he would enter the governor's private office, hang up his hat, and sit down for a chat at any time.

Self Appointed

Uncle Jaggers was a self-appointed and self-regulating missionary to the poor. He preached to colored chain-gangs, to prisoners in the State Penitentiary, to colored paupers in the County Home, and he conducted, according to his own notions, a home for ancient and impoverished colored folk of any religion, or of none. "Whomsoever will, let him come," said Jaggers. Money for the support of this home he got by begging.

So much was thought of him that a movement was started by the white people to erect a bronze statue of him while yet alive at the state capital. A plaster model had already been made, and it was only the hard times that prevented the execution of the plan.

When Uncle Jaggers died the mayor of Columbia issued a proclamation, and the business houses of the city closed their doors at the hour of the funeral. The county court adjourned. The governor of the state, several former governors, bank presidents, college presidents, ranking survivors of the Confederate States Army, also colored laborers, paupers, ex-convicts, society, and the fringes of society were present.

Columbia gave him the biggest funeral known in years. "According to one of the white editors who was present, it was second in attendance only to that of the great Wade Hampton," commander of General Lee's cavalry "governor and redeemer of South Carolina and United States Senator who won national fame and affection."

The story of Uncle Jaggers, as was said, is a truly remarkable one. (It is told by James C. Derieux, the governor's secretary.) If but only a half of what is said is true Uncle Jaggers merited the esteem showered on him. He was the living embodiment of kindliness and of those qualities that endear.

But one wonders whether Uncle Jaggers had had a better education, and had he spoken better English, whether with all his excellent qualities, he would not have been considered a challenge, a menace, rather than a blessing.

Elmer R. Carter, editor of Opportunity, and graduate of Harvard, tells the following story:

He says that he was once walking in a Southern town when he accidentally brushed against a white man of apparent refinement. Turning back Carter apologized politely, "I beg your pardon," whereupon, he said, the white Southerner, who, up to then, had said nothing, turned about and abused him roundly.

"Scuse Me, Boss"

At a loss to explain this odd conduct, Carter inquired of a colored resident and was told that the proper form of such apology was: "Scuse me, boss." The good English: "I beg your pardon," was "social equality."

Several readers have been surmising what Foundation had written me to say that it did not give funds for the kind of work I am doing, and in each instance they have guessed wrong. All think it is the Guggenheim.

The Guggenheim scholarship is not specifically colored, but national. Of the thirty or more annual awards, two are made to Afro-Americans. The Guggenheim Foundation also does not limit what its recipients must write about, though, I believe, it also takes steps to insure that its beneficiaries must be safe and sane. In any case they must be recommended by safe, respectable persons, with no known radical tendencies. Philanthropists are, as a rule, not interested in eradicating evils, only in ameliorating them. They believe in salves, and nothing else, regardless of the nature of the malady.

Rosenwald Foundation

This being the case, the objection raised by several readers against what I said last week about the good being done by the Foundation in question—the Rosenwald is perfectly in order. I maintain, however, that when this Foundation gives awards for the study of music, science, and even painting and sculpture, it does good work, but that when it gives money to writers, teachers, preachers and all those whose teachings have a direct influence on the mind of the colored masses, then the group as a whole, is the poorer thereby.

Writers, above all, should express their opinions independently. Afro-American writers and thinkers should work uncompromisingly to break down the color line. Right or wrong they should be free to speak out. This they cannot do once have received a hand-out. Tell me whose bread you eat and I'll tell you whose songs you sing, runs the old saying.

A colored writer may accept a scholarship of the above-mentioned nature in good faith. He may even firmly resolve that he is not going to let up one unit, but having once received a hand-out, is it not likely that he will so conduct himself that he may be mentioned for other free, and too all of us, welcome money?

INTRODUCE BILL IN CONGRESS TO SOLVE THE RACE PROBLEM

Chicago Defender 12-26-31

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 24.—A bill to create an industria commission composed of Race members was introduced in the house Tuesday by Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat of New York. The bill would create a commission of five members, three of whom would be of the Race. The members would be appointed by the president for terms of four years each. They would be non-partisan and their positions in no way political.

Their salaries would be fixed by the president, but would not exceed $5,000 a year except in the case of the chairman, whose salary would not exceed $7,000 a year.

This commission would be authorized to study the economic condition of the Race and its labor problems and to stimulate thrift and industry. It would promote the general welfare of Race members in industrial pursuits, encourage the general uplift of the Race and work out plans for the solution of the different problems confronting it. The commission would consider all questions pertaining to the Race that may be presented to it by any department of the federal government and report the proper solution of any problem that may be presented to it by any officer of the United States or the governor or attorney general of any state.

The commission would also be authorized to investigate all labor questions that might be referred to it by the governor of any state and to recommend what is necessary to regulate labor conditions for the best interest of the communities in which the labor question may arise and what may be necessary for the stability of labor in the different states.

The commission would be further authorized to discourage bolshevism wherever it may exist and to formulate a policy for mutual understanding and confidence between the races. Its reports to congress would be submitted through the president and would include all its acts and doings and recommendations for the solution of any problem affecting the Race that might be deemed advisable.

The bill would appropriate for the expenses of the commission for the first year the sum of $200,000. Quarters in the District of Columbia would also be provided for the commission.

Author of Textbook on History To Change Georgia Paragraph

Constitution 12-28-31

SAVANNAH, Ga., Dec. 27.—(AP)—Charles Ellis, president of the Savannah board of education, today said Dr. David S. Muzzy, author of a textbook on American history, had agreed to eliminate references to early settlers of Georgia as "poor debtors and criminals."

The reference to General Oglethorpe's companions brought a protest from Savannah school authorities and others. Mr. Ellis went to New York for a conference with Dr. Muzzy, who is a member of the faculty of Columbia University.

Mr. Ellis said the conference was a friendly one, and that he explained to Dr. Muzzy that Georgia was colonized primarily as a military project rather than as a charitable expedition.

Today he made public the following letter from Dr. Muzzy:

"I write to express my regret that certain phrases in the paragraph on the colony of Georgia in my textbook in American history has been taken as casting discredit on the earliest settlers of the colony. I assure you that no such idea could be further from my intention or disposition. In writing on Oglethorpe's recruits as 'poor debtors and criminals' I was thinking of the terms as synonyms without considering the different and sinister meaning which the word 'criminal' has in our present-day speech. In other words, I was thinking of it from the angle of the unjust laws of the eighteenth century England which convicted a man for such slight offenses as would now be dismissed by a magistrate or not entertained at all as involving any moral delinquency.

"I am always more than ready to correct any error which is pointed out to me or to modify any statement that is open to the interpretation of being unfair or invidious. In this I have the full consent and approval of my publishers, Ginn & Company, who, like me, are anxious only to have the textbook acceptable to fair-minded people in every section of the country. I appreciate the courteous manner in which you have approached me on this subject and am very glad, with the indorsement of the publishers, to eliminate from the paragraph the expressions objected to. Therefore I am sending you herewith a draft of the paragraph which I shall submit for incorporation into the next printing of the book.

"Hoping that this will prove acceptable to the board and to the people of Georgia, I am, cordially yours,

(Signed) "DAVID S. MUZZY."

United States.

TRICKED BY TRUSTED WHITE EMPLOYER INTO SIGNING AWAY PROPERTY-CLAIM

Petitions Court to Set Aside Deed and To Restore Home Which Represents The Savings of a Lifetime

"Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn."

An old, worn, wrinkled brown woman, typical of the race with whom she is identified, moved to Kansas City several years ago from a small Missouri town.

By hard work, and close saving, she purchased a tract of land located at 1320 East Twenty-fourth street and upon this lot she built a house. The property is worth between four and five thousand dollars. It was bought in the name of herself, Mary Lyle, and that of her daughter, Ada Lyle.

The mother and daughter lived here together for a number of years. They called it home. But on July 6, 1930, Ada, the daughter died. This left Mrs. Lyle, now in her seventies, all alone. For more than 10 years Mrs. Lyle had been laundress for a white woman who knew her condition, and who knew about the property that she owned. So shortly after the death of Ada Lyle, Mrs. Minnie McGirl, 1831 E. Seventh street, the woman for whom Mrs. Lyle had washed clothes for a decade, had herself appointed as administratrix of the estate.

According to Mrs. Lyle's petition, Mrs. McGirl suggested the idea that if Mrs. Lyle would sign an agreement that would give to her (Mrs. McGirl) and one Arthur G. Brewer, of the Kansas City Sewing Machine company, 1313 Grand, the property at the Twenty-fourth street address, at Mrs. Lyles' death, they would provide her with food, raiment, and with all the other necessities of life for the remainder of her days.

Signs Warranty Deed

Instead of signing a so-called agreement, Mrs. Lyle in her petition says she signed a warranty deed, and later discovered that Mrs. McGirl and Brewer had complete possession of her property, for which she had worked hard to obtain. The blow to Mrs. Lyle was doubly crushing when she realized that the woman for whom she had washed clothes for ten years, had taken this method to deprive her of her property. Mrs. Lyle had trusted her as a friend, she states.

The plaintiff talked to a lawyer about the case, and after a recital of the facts, the lawyer, L. A. Knox, agreed to take the matter into court. On October 20, last Tuesday, he filed a petition in the circuit court of Jackson county to set aside the warranty deed alleged to have been obtained by fraud. In addition, both L. A. Knox, and C. H. Calloway have filed another petition asking the court to revoke and set aside the appointment of administratrix, claiming that Mrs. McGirl's interest in both the estate and in Mrs. Lyle is insufficient for her to continue as administratrix of the estate. The case will come up at the November term of the circuit court.

BROOKLYN, N. Y
EAGLE

SEP 26 1931

Radio Dial-Log

By JO RANSON

Radio Show at the Garden Ends Today—Corse Payton Arrives at WJZ to Offer an Old Fashioned Drama—Other Radio News

LADIES and gentlemen of the New York radio audience, today concludes the eighth annual Radio-Electrical World's Fair at Madison Square Garden. . . . This is your last chance to view Sanabria's enlarged television screen at the Garden. . . . So hurry up, folks. . . . And while you're at the show do drop in at The Eagle booth.

The air tonight is simply grand, what with inventors, Supreme Court justices, political analysts, crooners, actors and announcers vying with one another for the honors the day.

Our favorite Brooklyn actor, Corse Payton, makes his debut on the National Broadcasting Company networks (8 p.m.-WJZ) in a 19th Century drama by Don Boucicault entitled "The Streets of New York." Mr. Payton's stock company (prices fit for all pockets, ten-twent'-thirt') will no doubt score a hit in this Gotham drama. Listen to it.

* * *

Roger Brooke Taney was born in Maryland in 1777. In 1831 he was the attorney general in President Jackson's Cabinet. In 1836 he became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, succeeding the famous John Marshall. Chief Justice Taney's fame grew when, in rendering his decision in the Dred Scott case (1857) he denied the right of citizenship to the Negroes.

Today Maryland citizens will unveil a bust of Taney, and Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes and Albert C. Ritchie, Governor of Maryland, will be present to pay tribute to the jurist.

The ceremonies will be broadcast at 4:15 p.m. over WEAF.

* * *

Frederic William Wile, Columbia's Washington broadcaster on politics, will this evening inaugurate his ninth consecutive season of talks on "The Political Situation in Washington Tonight" at 7:15 over WABC, in this area. Wile was first heard on the air when Calvin Coolidge went into the White House, and later he did sterling work in covering the London Naval Conference for Columbia. This season Wile expects, from time to time, to present guest speakers, men prominent in the political world.

* * *

Still another distinguished feature on the Columbia wires this evening is the weekly National Radio Forum, which brings to us this time Senator Cordell Hunt of Tennessee, who will discuss the problems confronting the country and the next session of Congress. The Senator is to be heard at 9:30 over WABC.

* * *

Capt. Richard H. Ranger's pipeless organ in a half-hour concert at 2:30 this afternoon over WEAF... You can have all the football predictions you want at 5:45 over WABC...Oh, yes, and the Gloom-Chasers at 8:45 over this same station...Ray Perkins, N. B. C.'s busy artist, reports that he met a Scotchman who would give $1,000 to be a millionaire...Who wouldn't?...David Newell in an exciting talk on the Matto Grosso hounds over WJZ at 9 o'clock.

* * *

Stocky Alvin E. Hauser, program director of WLTH, will present his At Home Party at the television theater, Madison Square Garden, tonight from 10:30 to 11. Mr. Hauser will first offer the sound part of the program over WLTH at 7 o'clock.

His party includes Kay Fayre, whose voice sounds like that of Kate Smith's; Tom Lillis, who does a la Morton Downey; Jack Badish, who resembles Chick Farmer, and Gladys O'Day, singer and dancer. Alvin will do the announcing at the local station and also at the Garden.

* * *

For Tomorrow

Nineteen stations will broadcast Father Charles E. Coughlin's sermon at 4 o'clock tomorrow. WOR will handle the talk in this territory... Dr. Julius Klein, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, will speak on "Where the Money Goes" tomorrow over WABC...Elvin N. E. Edwards, District Attorney of Nassau County, will be heard on the same program with Robert Daru during the Current Legal Topics broadcast over WOR.

* * *

David Freed, who is now devoting his time to television, draws this conclusion from the show at the Garden:

"The nation is ready for and wants television." Mr. Freed also says the pictures we will be receiving next season from the television set will be about six by eight inches and that "the cost, that 1931 bugaboo, will not even approach that of a radio receiver five to ten years ago.

"Another very important fact is becoming common knowledge," he adds, "and that is that—television or not— the radio receiver of today will continue to entertain its owner for many years to come. Sight without sound will never be the rule, and sound will require a radio receiver as it is known today."

* * *

About That Diction Medal

The last week in October will be known as Good Diction Week in radio circles, and announcers during that time will be on their good behavior trying their darndest to please the judges of the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

The erudite members of the Academy assigned to the radio division, and whose task it is to award a gold medal to the announcer employing the finest diction, are Hamlin Garland, Prof. George Pierce Baker, Dr. John H. Finley, Prof. Irving Babbitt and Augustus Thomas.

"I should like to see during this week a concentration of the best announcers," Mr. Garland, chairman of the Radio Committee announced, "and the best programs on all stations, which would permit a more inclusive audition on the part of the committee. This would make it easier for the Academy to hear and judge the announcers. The problem in America is difficult by reason of our enormous distances and our great number of stations."

MAN JAILED FOR SITTING BESIDES WHITES IN COURT

NOV 2 1931

Birmingham Hot Place For Negroes, Reporter Declares

Journal and

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—There are hot times in this old town of steel and coal these days as incident after incident comes to light where Negroes are being given the raw end of many deals which come before the law, or which are caught by mobs before they reach the bar of justice.

William Peterson, suspected of shooting three white society girls some months ago was shot in court, and his assailant walks free under a measly $1,000 bond; Lonnie Boaz, college teacher, was beaten to death by a band of cowdies last wek, and up to now his attackers are unarrested; and several other persons have been roughly handled and threatened.

Now comes the story of F. S. Sharpe, operator and owner of the Sharpe Detective Agency, who was recently thrown in jail because he sat beside a white man in the colored section of the courtroom when an overflow crowd of whites occupied it.

Whites In Colored Seats

Mr. Sharpe had visited the court to witness an argument that his attorney was making in a robbery case, but despite the fact that he went to the "jim-crow" benches, he was reprimanded, sent for a ride in the police wagon, and thrown in jail, until "good white friends" could come to his aid.

Mr. Sharpe relates the story in this fashion:

"The judge asked me if I didn't see those white men sitting where I started to sit when I came in, and I told him that I did, and that I thought it was the colored section. He said that it was, but that I had better be particular, and that he was going to let me off this time.

"As I turned away he turned to the bailiff and asked him didn't he have some trouble with me once before, and the bailiff told him that he had,—during the trial of Burns, several months ago. That I had crowded in, and had been told by him to move and that I moved slowly. He stated thoughtfully that I was in the Negro section at that time, but that there were a lot of white people there also.

Twelve Hours In Jail

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THE PASSING OF A MEAN MAN

Whip 12-5-31

Hoke Smith of Georgia is dead and there are those who will weep and mourn over his passing and there are those who will rejoice and give thanks. Those into whose souls Smith breathed rancor, hatred and bitterness toward the colored people will mourn his passing because his honied words fell upon eager ears and seeped into twisted souls. Those misguided, exploited and ignorant people regarded Smith as the Champion of the lost cause, as the exponent of southern white supremacy and as a menace and barrier in the path of the colored man's ascendency. The colored people will rejoice and give thanks within their hearts because Hoke Smith insulted them, oppressed them, aroused their enemies against them, presented them in a false light. They will rejoice because he made their yokes heavier and their burdens more crushing. Hoke Smith has gone to join his fathers in a better or worse land. Peace be to his tempestuous soul and undertaking to his blighted mind.

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Tribune

11-27-31

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Baltimore, Md.

12-5-31

Posing with Mr. Hoover

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MAN JAILED FOR SITTING BESIDES WHITES IN COURT

NOV 2 1931

Birmingham Hot Place For Negroes, Reporter Declares

Journal and

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—There are hot times in this old town of steel and coal these days as incident after incident comes to light where Negroes are being given the raw end of many deals which come before the law, or which are caught by mobs before they reach the bar of justice.

William Peterson, suspected of shooting three white society girls some months ago was shot in court, and his assailant walks free under a measly $1,000 bond; Lonnie Boaz, college teacher, was beaten to death by a band of cowdies last wek, and up to now his attackers are unarrested; and several other persons have been roughly handled and threatened.

Now comes the story of F. S. Sharpe, operator and owner of the Sharpe Detective Agency, who was recently thrown in jail because he sat beside a white man in the colored section of the courtroom when an overflow crowd of whites occupied it.

Whites In Colored Seats

Mr. Sharpe had visited the court to witness an argument that his attorney was making in a robbery case, but despite the fact that he went to the "jim-crow" benches, he was reprimanded, sent for a ride in the police wagon, and thrown in jail, until "good white friends" could come to his aid.

Mr. Sharpe relates the story in this fashion:

"The judge asked me if I didn't see those white men sitting where I started to sit when I came in, and I told him that I did, and that I thought it was the colored section. He said that it was, but that I had better be particular, and that he was going to let me off this time.

"As I turned away he turned to the bailiff and asked him didn't he have some trouble with me once before, and the bailiff told him that he had,—during the trial of Burns, several months ago. That I had crowded in, and had been told by him to move and that I moved slowly. He stated thoughtfully that I was in the Negro section at that time, but that there were a lot of white people there also.

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Race Problem - 1931.

United States.

LIBELS ON NAME OF HARLEM.

Some ghost writer in one of the sensational tabloids which cater to the craving of the moronic public for vicarious indulgence in vicious exploration, printed another instalment of libelous description of Harlem, his authority being the notorious stool pigeon, who goes by the name of Chile Mapocho Acuna. The manner of the libel may be gauged by the opening paragraphs which described Harlem as the "Mecca for the colored peoples of the world—playground for wealthy, pleasure bent whites—sink hole of sin and vice to 'wise ones in the know'." The ghost writer went on in this sensational vein as follows:

> Row on row, block after block, the teeming tenements stretch. Every doorstep and curb alive with urchins. Streets, bleak and windswept in winter, reek and sizzle in summer's heat.
>
> Squalid, wretched, poverty-stricken. Such is Harlem—home of 400,000 colored persons—by day.
>
> But night comes and casts a spell, mysterious and exotic, over all. Everything is changed.
>
> The avenues come to life. Gay, colored lights blink out, and great brilliant signs cast a noonday brightness on the scene. Noisy, honking taxicabs scurry about the streets. Light-hearted throngs fill the sidewalks, shouting flip greetings at friend and stranger with equal abandon.
>
> From shuttered, curtained windows come snatches of throbbing, pulse-quickening, jungle-born rhythm. The clink of glass and bottle. The agonizing wail of muted trumpet and sax. The throaty shout of "hot" blues singers. Music! Lights! Night clubs! Harlem night life—to the casual visitor.

Now, some of this is true. The streets of Harlem are bleak in winter and hot in summer, when the curb is alive with children, but so are many other sections of New York, in the same degree. There are blocks and blocks of tenements, although the estimate of their housing four hundred thousand colored residents is rather high. Squalor and poverty are visible in certain parts of this territory. But, on the other hand, the great majority of the population are hardworking respectable people, earning their living in the varied occupations followed by most New Yorkers. At night the men and those of the women who have outside occupations return to their homes and rest for the next day's work. Few of this great majority ever see the inside of a night club. A neighborhood movie or a church or society meeting serve as their greatest recreation.

As for Harlem being "a sink hole for vice and sin," it probably has no more iniquity to the square mile than many other sections of the great city. Vice and sin may be found hiding in secluded districts on the East side or flaunting their jewels and furs on Riverside drive or Park avenue. No quarter of the city is exempt from human frailty and its exhibition, whether masked or openly revealed. There is no earthly reason why Harlem should be held up to public reprobation as the exclusive haunt of vice and sin. So far as the night resorts are concerned, they are supported mostly by visitors from other parts of the city, and their entertainment is no more brazen than some of the same brand exhibited on the Broadway stage.

This practice of tabloid ghost writers picking upon Harlem as the only sink of iniquity in the city is getting to be tiresome to those residents of Harlem who look upon it as a home section, possessing many natural advantages and public improvements. The persistent printing of such wholesale libels has a tendency to damage the section as a place of residence, because it gives an entirely false impression as to its general character. Harlem has a large and growing population of lawabiding citizens, with its quota of schools, churches, public baths, armory and library, which minister to its mental and physical needs. Its character as a desirable residence should not suffer from such persistent libels as those we have quoted.

Libel against an individual is actionable in the courts, but libel against a community is harder to counteract. Some method of redress or abatement should be devised for this persistent libel of Harlem as a lawabiding community.

Birmingham, Ala. News
Sunday, February 22, 1931

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Expressions from readers upon topics of current or general interest are welcomed. Writing should be on one side of the paper only and should not exceed 300 words. Anonymous communications will not be printed and letters unaccompanied by self-addressed, stamped envelope will not be returned.

CONSERVATION OF NEGRO LIFE

To the Editor The Birmingham News:

No intelligent man or woman, white or black, can truthfully deny the fact that the modern city is everywhere a challenge to the civilization of any people, and especially the unprepared and unskilled. Under urban conditions the breath of man seems to be fatal to his fellows, but most fatal to my people because of unpreparedness. Here we find the struggle for existence fiercest, and the battle an ungrade one, too much for his physical and moral strength. Here the forces of life most rapidly eliminate the physically and morally weak. Again, here physical and social diseases most rapidly work their destructive results upon the weaker race.

As we are perfectly aware, the laws of racial development have something like the steady, fateful pull and power of gravitation or any other natural law. And more than 6 per cent of my people are wholly unprepared to cope with these mighty natural laws in the march of civilization. Twenty-four years of Negro welfare social service throughout Alabama, my native state, has taught me many things about the Negro and the South, for it has instilled into my life the truth that the South is the Negro's natural home, and his best place to build an industrial, efficient character; and that old-time Southern interracial affinity was born during the dark days of slavery, and it laid the foundation of racial peace, harmony and contentment, to the extent that history has no parallel in the faith kept by the Negro in the South during that terrible four years of carnage and blood..

The grandchildren of these faithful fathers and mothers are the wards of Alabama, and 6 per cent of them are unskilled and unprepared to fight your civilization on paved streets. The eternal remedy and moral and industrial salavtion of these black wards of Alabama is the socialization of the large farm lands that are today growing up in weeds and briars. What I mean by socialization is dividing the lands into 75 and 100-acre farms, building nice, modern four and five-room bungalows and modern barns, selling these farms to Negro men and women on a live and let live installment plan. This would mean building Negro law-abiding manhood and womanhood, and forever doing away with unemployment in the state of Alabama as far as the Negro is concerned, and saying to crime and immorality within the Negro race, "Go back to your own hell-bought home." I say if the Negro is worth anything to the state of Alabama he is worth making an industrial asset, instead of what we are allowing to happen today—a criminal liability.

REV. P. COLFAX RAMEAU (Col.).

Birmingham. Feb. 19.

Speaks on the American Negro

Vanderbilt Students Hear President of Julius Rosenwald Fund

Mr. Edwin R. Embree, president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund Board, delivered an address to the students of Vanderbilt University this past week on "The American Negro."

The Nashville Banner of this city, in writing upon this recent address delivered by Prof. Embree, said:

"Characterizing the American Negro as a member of the newest race in the world, Edwin R. Embree, president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund Board, told Vanderbilt students Friday morning in an address which he delivered in Calhoun Hall at 10 o'clock, that the Negro has attempted to accomplish as much culturally in the past hundred years as has been accomplished by other races over a period of thousands of years.

The American Negro race is a new race both culturally and biologically, according to Mr. Embree, for it cannot trace either its customs or its ancestry to any special African tribe. The Negro, Mr. Embree said, is the result of a fusion of the many different tribes whose members were brought over to America and enslaved, and contains as well a high percentage of white and Indian blood.

"The accomplishments of this new race within the past hundred years are truly remarkable," Mr. Embree said. "During the past thirty or forty years particularly, the Negro has worked to win his intellectual freedom. The development which he made during reconstruction days was a forced growth, from which he derived no lasting good.

"The Negro gives a piquancy and charm to American life," continued the speaker. "He is the source of the only American folk songs and folk dances worthy of the name, for the lower whites in our country have never achieved anything picturesque or artistic. Collectively, the Negroes have added to the artistic possessions of our country. Within the past few years, individual Negroes have contributed greatly to the fine arts, music and drama. There have also been outstanding achievements by Negroes in the field of biology and sociology."

In speaking of outstanding men in the field of sociology, Mr. Embree mentioned Charles S. Johnson, of the Fisk University faculty, who, he said is widely known as an authority in his subject. Mr.

Embree also spoke of the high mental calibre of Fisk students, saying that they ranked above

Mr. Embree said that the percentage of Negroes in our country in proportion to the whites is decreasing rather than increasing, for, contrary to population supposition, Negroes today do not have large families. Urbanized Negroes in the North rear smaller families than those in the rural South, the speaker said, and our Negro population is rapidly becoming more urbanized and more urbanized and more national in character.

Mr. Embree has this week been giving a series of lectures at both Vanderbilt University and Fisk. At each school, he addresses selected group of boys and discusses with them problems of civilization, especially mentioning the culture of the peoples of the Pacific."

DuBois Speaker at Society's Dinner

Amsterdam News

World's Disinherited People Must Receive Nation's Help, Says Crisis Editor

2-19-31

Permanent peace will not be established until we turn our faces to the disinherited people of the world, and until we help those people out of the mud, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, director of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People, declared in an address last week at the Flushing Peace Society's second international relations dinner held in the social hall of the Church on the Hill at Broadway, Flushing. The Rev. Bradley J. Folensbee, minister of the church, presided and introduced the speakers. About 100 persons attended the dinner.

New York, N.Y.

Yosokichi Morse of Japan declared that the immigration laws of the United States have served to improve the Japanese people because the restrictions make it imperative that the Japanese prepare themselves more thoroughly before making application to enter this country.

Dr. J. C. Chatterji, director of the study of the India Academy of America, said the social system of India has been responsible for the long life of that nation and for its present strength. He urged that the American people make a study of India's social system.

Mrs. Frank W. Hubbard, president of the Flushing Peace Society, presided at the dinner preceding the addresses. The Rev. Oscar Maddaus, of Manhasset, spoke briefly, urging the sending of petitions to Congress in favor of the World Court. Among those present were Rabbi Max Meyer, of the Flushing Free Synagogue; the Rev. George C. Fort, of the Methodist Episcopal church, and the Rev. McKarl Nielson, of the First Unitarian Church of Flushing.

RECORD
COLUMBIA, S. C.

FEB 26 1931

"LET MY PEOPLE GO."

Did you ever read Exodus? Do you remember how frequently the appeal was made to Pharaoh, "Let My People Go," preceding the seven plagues?

Irrepressibly the expression comes to mind, not so much as a wail but as an argument, as one reads "Woofterism" by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, one of the most intellectual Negroes in America and the editor of The Crisis, the Negro magazine published in New York.

It is based upon "The Economic Status of the Negro," by Thomas Jackson Woofter, a sociologist of Macon, Ga., who has been working under the Phelps Stokes Fund, and the United States Bureau of Education.

The premise upon which Dr. DuBois starts is, "But when a Southern white man comes to the study of the race problem apparently with the idea of leaving out all 'controversial' matter, and nevertheless calls the result scientific, then something is being done that is not only wrong but vicious.'

There may be something fundamentally right in this premise so far as the "wrong" goes, but it does not appear that it is necessarily "vicious," and to begin with such a premise is likely to lead to serious error in conclusions.

This is made evident by the undue emphasis which Dr. DuBois, lays upon certain distressing facts—and facts they are, deeply distressing—but nevertheless influenced by other facts upon which they rest, and which in orderly and necessary process must first be corrected.

Dr. DuBoise in wholly discounting the value of the studies by Dr. Woofter says: "His facts are usually true, but he does not give all the facts, while his conclusions are grossly inadequate and incomplete."

This is no defense of Dr. Woofter and has no reference to his studies. This merely deals with the statements of Dr. Dubois and what is believed to be the undue emphasis which he gives to certain facts, but which are based upon conditions which first must be corrected.

Dr. DuBois says: "But the facts are celar; in the country districts of the South the Negro farmer has no voice in his own government; he is taxed without representation; he has the poorest schools of any group in the United States; he is often subject to terrorism, mob violence and lynching; and over large districts he is in actual peonage. * * * Negro farmers over wide areas in the Southern States are compelled to borrow, are compelled to pay exhorbitant interest, are systematically misled and cheated in the sale of crops and seldom allowed to get out of debt to their landlords. This system is so universal in the southern South that not to mention it, or to make it appear that the tenant's one crop system is due to sloth and stupidity is deliberate deception."

It does not completely answer the argument but there is great point to the question; how far does the condition of the tenant white man differ from that of the Negro in many respects?

A nearly complementary answer is found in "A Vision" by Charles C. Wilson of Columbia, wherein he pictures South Carolina fifty years hence: "If maintained for the next fifty years the white population will be about 2,500,000 and the Negro about 800,000. * * * Much as we may respect and prize the Negro, this preponderance of white population will largely eliminate friction and injustice, settle the vexatious and disgraceful race question and remove one of our greatest obstances to progress."

bring the races together in a cooperative effort to better the condition of the Negro. The program we have in mind is to do what we can to prevent lynchings, to afford the Negro justice in the courts, education, better opportunities and better civic improvements."

Let It Lie

As a friend to both sides, The Telegraph hopes that the storm provoked by Mayor Toole's statement with regard to the Negroes as a "menace" will be allowed to die down and that there shall be no artificial pumping by the bellows of orators.

It is natural that the Negroes should feel resentful and hurt that they should be so regarded by the mayor and that the head of a city of 70,000 should make any such statement, but the fact that the mayor's unfortunate address has been repudiated by so many white people ought to be comforting to the Negroes. Nothing is to be gained by further resolutions or further effort to assuage their feeling. This is one case in which the Negroes might have relied upon their white friends to express their resentment for them.

We think, too, that the mayor is wise in refusing to amplify his statement. He has delivered himself of, apparently, an old prejudice, and the quicker what he said is forgotten, the better it will be.

GA. WHITES FIGHT JUDGE BECAUSE HE IS FAIR TO NEGROES

Chicago Tribune
3-7-31
Chicago, Ill.

WASHINGTON, March 4.—Just as Judge Parker was defeated as a aspirant to a Federal judgeship because of his prejudice against colored persons, so may E. Marvin Underwood be defeated for exactly the opposite reason. This curious situation results from a hot fight being made by several prominent white Georgians to prevent Underwood from getting the post for northern Georgia because they say "his views on the race question are too liberal."

The scene of the "battle" in the Senate Judiciary Committee, and thus far Underwood has stood his guns.

His attitude toward the "race" question is expressed thus:

"My attitude is that the racial question is a difficult and important ane for the Southern people. I have joined in an organized effort to better the relationships between the races in the South, and I have attempted to do so without political significance. I have tried to

Race Problem - 1931

United States.

The Negro--Present Day Questions As They Affect Him; Political Aspect

East Tennessee News 5-14-31 Knoxville, Tenn.

By Robert Fletcher Leftridge

WASHINGTON.—(CNS)—Most significant is the fact that the Negro has developed from the status of a vagabond, having been emancipated of slavery without land or subsidy. Wandering the countryside, the object of ridicule and charity, that he did not perish has been one of the wonders of the past three generations. From this meager beginning he has grown in numbers, extent and power, comprising a robust group of thirteen odd million persons, and has accumulated wealth to the aggregate of more than two billion dollars. Over a period of three hundred years the Negro has contributed his labor, and skill to the building of the Nation's basic industry. Economists and historians are unanimous in the opinion that the agricultural development of this country and slavery are so intertwined that the former cannot be considered apart from the latter. During this period, the Negro helped take directly out of the crust of the earth materials which have placed this country among the foremost powers of the world in industry and commerce. Today he stands an indissoluble a part of the interests of all of the American people. As a citizen, a soldier, and a worker, he has contributed to American achievement, principles and ideals. He is directly affected by all of the influences which enter into the lives of the American people.

PRESENT DAY PROBLEMS: UNEMPLOYMENT, TAXATION, and PROHIBITION, are some of the serious and vexatious questions with which the Negro has to deal.

Unemployment, and the permanent hope for more gainful employment are questions inhibiting and agitating the mind of the Negro. The free voicing in the present unemployment crisis of the fact that a seemingly calculated, unfriendliness, is being directed against him gives color to the expression "That he is first to be fired, and last to be hired." Being denied an equal opportunity to sell his labor, his skill and training in the most gainful and permanent fields, he has limited opportunity to accumulate a surplus to carry him over any prolonged period of depression, consequently he suffers most. Whatever the extent or degree of progress the Negro has attained it can be traced directly to his efforts as an employee, rather than as an enterpriser, or employer. Governmental agencies will have to recognize these conditions which separately confront the Negro.

Taxation has been often referred to as "The People's Business." Taxation without representation, or better without equal representation, fits the circumstance of Negroes, the length and breadth of this country. When you look at the question of taxation, and the almost unbelievable sums paid by the Negro directly or indirectly into municipal, state and federal treasuries, and his proportionate return in educational facility—civil rights—privileges of a public nature——employment by governmental agency and other rewards that accrue directly from this revenue, the picture is dismaying. In most of the large urban centers inn this country, Negroes occupy large segregated areas. In most instances these areas are adjacent to the business districts, where the land value is high, and where the improvement is old and delapidated. The rent is high for the pleasure or pain of living in this section, he is furnished with a house, in many instances about ready to fall down. Either as tenant or owner he pays all of the tax upon the land sites and dwellings he occupies. He steps right out in the community in which he lives and buys his necessities, his pleasures, and limited luxuries of a sort. He pays all of the tax of the various business and public service activity in these communities. Negroes are certainly most vitally concerned with this question.

Prohibition has been with nine-tenths of the people for the past 12 years; the other tenth, well, what does it matter? We have been made so familiar with being denied the right to ride peacefully and comfortably on trains, to receive fair and adequate service in public places. to receive equal justice before the courts of justice, and sectionally the right of franchise, so that to be denied the privilege of alcoholic beverage of more than a certain alcoholic content as prescribed in the Eighteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, and enforced at law by the Volstead Act, presents no question of serious moment to the Negro. Personally, I believe it to be very helpful to the Negro group.

It is also my opinion that this country has two constitutions. One a written instrument, accumulated since the birth of the nation, part of the governmental record, establishing the fundamental law of the land, the other, the majority opinion of the people so diffused by sectional spirit; yet so conclusive in power that it has dwarfed the written significance of the fundamental law. This opinion, lax in law observance, has given rise to a saturnalia of crime, the like of which has heretofore been unexperienced in a so-called civilized state. It cannot be expected of colored people that they help any group that seeks the repeal of any section of the Federal Constitution. Only after the utmost difficulty were they able to have the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments added to its tenets. They hope to have the full privilege of the promise they hold. They will most bitterly contest any tampering with the fundamental law as written, as it jeopardizes too greatly their separate interests.

In politics the day of raising the Negro as an issue is at an end. Neither party will have the right to arouse prejudice on that issue. He will be found voting the Republican and Democratic tickets as it suits his fancy. It follows that certain commonwealths will be forced to adjust themselves to the conditions brought about by the better education and enlightenment of the present and newer generation of Negroes. This rising tide of consciousness on the part of the Negro is being met and shaped by his most eminent leaders. Outstanding among these figures is Dr. John R. Hawkins, president of the National Negro Republican League, financial secretary of the A. M. E. Church, president of the Prudential Bank, Washington, D. C., and formerly director of the Colored Voters Division of the Republican National Committee. Under Dr. Hawkins' leadership and guidance the old "referee system" in vogue since the late Booker T. Washington's leadership, is being abandoned. This is absolutely necessary for two reasons. First, a man of Washington's calibre and capabilities has not risen in the South, a non-voting section. Secondly, large migrations from the South have established large districts of vast political significance in the voting sections. The Hawkins leadership recognizes that two distinct influences enter the general situation.

One is that the South has power in the pre-convention campaign, in the nature of National Committee-men and women and other Southern delegations, to the national convention where the choice of the party receives his nomination. This same group comprise a non-voting group in the general election.

Secondly, in many of the large states and in the large urban districts in these several states is a voting power among Negroes that amounts to the actual balance of power in determining the election of the candidate. This power is of such extent that it can elect Congressmen, state legislators, judges, magistrates and other elective office holders and demand high appointive office. In the near future the first Congressional district of Philadelphia, as well as the 21st district of New York City, will send a Negro to Congress. The non-voters' condition can only be remedied by the power brought to bear on this situation by the voting element.

The Republican League leadership contemplates a clearing house through which the influences gained in local politics can be cleared

standing, ably and eminently led.
May 6, 1931.
and does not presume to supplant
local or state organizations. Genuine mutuality and cohesiveness
will be forged out of this under-

MIGHTY CROWD CHEERS AS DARROW ADVISES NEGROES TO USE BALLOT

Courier

Joel E. Spingarn Cusses "Damn Fool Mississippi Farmers" As Type of Race's Worst Enemy—Says N. A. A. C. P. Believes Constitution Means Just What It Says—Conference Here Highly Significant.

7-11-31

By FLOYD J. CALVIN

"We certainly feel we are more capable of judging as to the superiority or inferiority of races than some damn fool Mississippi farmer."

—Joel E. Spingarn

"Under the laws of the country, which do not mean much, the Negro is entitled to every equality."

Pittsburgh Pa

—Clarence Darrow

These two statements, coming from the President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and from the man who is recognized everywhere as the greatest criminal lawyer and champion of the Negro cause this country has ever known, threw - bombshell into the radio microphone and before a vast audience of 5,000 people assembled Sunday afternoon at Soldiers' Memorial Hall, at the closing mass meeting of the 22d annual convention.

Darrow, known everywhere as the "defender of human rights," the same man who represented the N. A. A. C. P. in the Sweet case in Detroit, captured his audience with his withering sarcasm, directed at both the oppressors of the Negro and the Negro race.

Speaking in a low, deliberate voice, Darrow began:

"If it had been any organization other than this one, which is closing its annual convention today, I would not have been here. I don't want to hand you any bunk. I don't like bunk. But I want to give you some good advice. If you take it, I'll be more surprised than anybody else.

"First, I want to say that this association should have been called the National Association for the Advancement of White People. They are the ones that need it.

"Under the laws of the country, which don't mean mu h, the Negro is entitled to every equality. And there are some places where he gets every equality. For instance, in the time of war, they will take the Negroes first and put them away up front: Commenting on the admitted conceptions of most whites that they are superior in intellect to Negroes, Darrow said: "We all come from what we call the lower animals. We call them lower, because we wrote the books."

Darrow then became serious, telling the Negro that his vote was the only power which he could use most effectively to carve a niche for himself.

"According to scientists," said Darrow, "there won't be any race problem in this country in 400 years, but you or I won't be here to see that happen. You can get very little help from the white man today, North or South. When he nursed the breast of his 'black mammy' in the South he loved you. Not so now. The South loved you as long as you were their meal tickets and offered them no competition. They don't love you now. The idealism is gone. They know you now and know that you are not much better than white people. The white people of the North have surrendered to the South in their idea of the Negro."

And as he raised his right hand and shouted into the microphone, "The time has come when, if there is anything to be done for the Negro, he must do it himself," he was cheered to the echo.

"I am not telling you how to vote," declared Darrow, "but your ballot is your most powerful weapon. Stop listening to the lies of these politicians. Judge the character of the man for whom you are voting, and then cast your vote. The traditional colored politician who sells your vote to the whites for an office should be discredited and run out of the community," Darrow shouted.

Touching the local situation, and taking to task the Negroes for their lack of having colored school teachers, he continued, "The fact that there are no Negro teachers in the public schools of this city is your own fault. Whatever help the Negro gets from now on must come from himself. He must unite as a race.

Praises DePriest

Darrow praised Congressman DePriest, the only race representative in Washington, as a 100 per cent Negro American.

He also flayed the general conception of racial inferiority and superiority when he stated that Dr. DuBois was one of the greatest scholars, white or black, in the country.

"Of course," said Darrow, "they claim in the next breath that DuBois might be an Indian. Walter White is also colored, what color there is of him, and no one can question his intelligence. And then there is our good friend, Pickens. We KNOW what he is. And he ranks with the ntelligentsia of the country."

Darrow also praised Negro artists mentioning the names of Roland Hayes, Countee Cullen, Paul Robeson and others.

Darrow flayed the Negro's overzealous religious traits, saying that if the Lord had intended to help the Negro, he wouldn't have damned him first.

"Get up off your knees and quit praying to your God," he shouted. "Do something for yourselves. You've been praying to Him for over 300 years now, and He hasn't helped you."

In closing, Darrow held out a ray of light for the Negro's future, saying: "In spite of the heaviest handicaps that ever have been put upon man, the Negro is making his way."

For Social Equality

The speech by Col. Joel E. Spingarn reiterated the guiding principle of the association when he declared: "The association is still dedicated, as it was from the beginning, to the idea that the Constitution of the United States means exactly what it says, that democracy can be made a fact, and need not necessarily remain a dream or a pious fiction. The program of the association is, and remains, the constitution, and if that program cannot be realized, then it will be well for all the people of this country anxiously to scan the possibilities of the immediate future."

Col. Spingarn minced no words in his declaration for "economic, political, cultural and social equality." He was wildly cheered and when he sat down at the close of his speech, he was cheered so continuously that he was forced to rise and bow in acknowledging the applause.

Walter White, in his rapid-fire style, after enumerating the handicaps under which the Negro labors, including a number of unfortunate circumstances, existing in Pittsburgh (no teachers in the local schools, few political office holders, segregation in theaters, etc.) took up the question of Communism. He declared: "The day has passed when America can any longer ignore the race question or follow a policy of laissez-faire. Today she must choose between one of two courses—either to follow and see the others follow orderly processes of the law, guaranteeing to the Negro all the rights which belong to him as a citizen and a human being, or to leave the Negro open to communist propaganda. Every struggle won for the Negro benefits all Americans. The successful struggle to prevent confirmation of a prejudiced southern jurist as a member of the U. S. Supreme Court, in which Negroes played a notable part, has helped to liberalize the nation's highest tribunal."

The greatest conference in the 22 years of its history was held by the National Association in the Iron City of Pittsburgh. The fourteen special speakers addressed a total of 15,000 people, and the radio broadcast is estimated to have reached 100,000 more in the tri-state district—Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia.

The coming of Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Governor of Porto Rico, who is doing much to hold the name of Roosevelt high on the field of battle for Negro advancement, as did his "trust-busting daddy," was one of the high-water marks of the conference. Col. Roosevelt chartered a plane and flew from Washington to Pittsburgh, arriving only a short time before the Thursday night meeting, and going immediately back when his speech was over. Col. Roosevelt urged full recognition of the Negro's contribution to American civilization in business, science and arts and praised the loyalty of the Negro to the nation. The Negro should be given his full rights, the colonel said, from opportunity for an education to holding public office. "Any time you need my help," he said, "all you have to do is ask for it." The colonel was given an ovation as he left the meeting. A squad of motorcycle police and patrolmen were furnished by the city to escort the colonel to the meeting from his hotel.

The speeches heard during the conference proved a liberal education for the thousands who followed them closely. Three nights in succession Ebenezer Church on Wylie avenue was packed to capacity. On the opening night Homer S. Brown, president of the Pittsburgh branch of the association, presided. Thomas A. Dunn, president of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, welcomed the delegates. Miss Mary White Ovington, chairman of the board of the association, responded. Robert W. Bag-nall electrified the meeting with a sharp attack on the latest manifestations of race prejudice. He scored the placing of a bust of Jeff Davis in the capitol at Washington, and flayed Claude G. Bowers, author of "The Tragic Era," for "traducing in history the brilliant defenders of Negro rights." Norman Thomas, leader of the socialist party in the United States, criticized the system of economics under which Americans are living, saying there is something radically wrong with a land where there is so much wealth, progress and achievement, and yet so much unemployment, hunger and misery.

The system of a series of highly interesting mass meetings proved the most effective means of stimulating interest in the association's work. On Wedneday night, the second night of the conference, a packed house again greeted the speakers. Isadore Martin of Philadelphia presided. First on program was the dynamic woman leader from North Carolina, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, founder and principal of the Palmer Memorial Institute. Mrs. Brown's keynote was: "The Negro woman is lowest in the economic scale and this presents serious social problems, the solution of which has required the services of highly trained women. This pioneer work has had small pay, however, bu the satisfaction, as is true in so many of the compelling duties of Negro women, is that she is giving the children of the next generation a better chance by improving the living conditions of their parents. Pressed from within and without, Negro women have orga ized to meet the onslaught of prejudice and discrimination against them solely on account of color. Chiefly among these organizations are the National Association of Colored Women, the National Association of College Women, the various sororities. And may it be said of the largely organized bodies of church women, that they have been the bulwark of strength and a sure foundation, out of which these organizations have come."

Race Problem - 1931

United States.

FIGHT LAUNCHED ON UNDERWOOD

Constitution

Nominee Disqualified Because of Inter-Racial Activity, Is Charge.

2-15-31

WASHINGTON, Feb. 14.—Charges that E. Marvin Underwood, nominated a week ago to fill the seat of Judge Samuel H. Sibley as federal judge for the northern district of Georgia, is disqualified on account of his former connection with the inter-racial commission, have been filed with the judiciary committee of the United States senate, it was learned today. Atlanta Ga.

Other charges have been preferred which allege that the nominee of President Hoover and Attorney-General Mitchell is so closely allied with "big business" through his present law practice that he is unfitted to serve as a United States judge.

The charges made, which have been referred to a subcommittee consisting of Senators Felix Hebert, of Rhode Island, chairman, are considered serious enough to call for a special hearing. This will be taken up by the subcommittee at a meeting to be held on Monday.

While the definite sources of the charges could not be learned, it was ascertained that they came from two sources, one an individual, and the other a women's organization in Georgia. In the first instance the direct charge was made that Mr. Underwood as an attorney and in his personal contacts, was closely allied with the corporate interests of the state and was unfriendly to labor and the smaller property owners.

The women's organization, it is learned, took much the same attitude but also brought in the fact that the nominee had been extremely active in inter-racial matters and that he invariably took the part of the negro against the white man.

Both Senator Walter F. George and Senator William J. Harris were informed of the fact that charges such as have been outlined above had been made, but declined to state what position they would take until better informed in regard to the sources of complaint and the basis for the charges made.

It is expected that a hearing will be held next week when the complainants will be given a chance to appear personally or by attorney and Mr. Underwood also have an opportunity to refute any testimony which may be given.

NEW YORK TIMES

FEB 15 1931

EQUALITY PLEA WINS SOUTHERN AUDIENCE

Negro Educator Acclaimed for Frank Discussion of Ticklish Subject.

DEMANDS RACIAL INTEGRITY

Mary McLeod Bethune Tells Florida Meeting There Should Be No Discrimination.

By HARRIS G. SIMS.

Editorial Correspondence, THE NEW YORK TIMES

LAKELAND, Fla., Feb. 11.—When a Negro daughter of slave parents can stand before an audience of persons born and reared in the South, talk frankly of such traditionally explosive topics as social equality and social justice, win frequent applause and afterward have her hands clasped by persons who have never before made that particular gesture of friendship toward one of her race, it is evidence not only that the speaker is persuasive, but more than that—that the South is assuming a new attitude toward the Negro.

Mary McLeod Bethune was the mirror in which this new attitude was reflected when an interracial conference was held here last week under the leadership of Dr. Ludd M. Spivey, president of Southern College, an outstanding Southerner who has thrown his dynamic personality with full force into the task of pouring oil on waters long troubled by race friction.

Born on a South Carolina plantation, Mary McLeod Bethune, one of a family of seventeen children, learned to read and write at a mission school, settled at Daytona Beach twenty-six years ago and later became president of Bethune-Cookman College for Negroes, a position she still holds. But it was not of her personal achievements that she spoke in addressing the audience of Southern College faculty members, students and other white and Negro men and women representing various vocations. She went straight to the heart of the race problem, pleaded for social justice, pointed out injustices that are being practiced upon her race, and did it with such sincerity and zeal that her remarks were followed by applause, instead of the derogatory comment that often follows when a Negro speaks with such candor.

Problem Less Acute.

She did not say that a leading magazine is going to publish an article about her as one of the fifty most important women in America, nor did she say that it is her splendid supply of common sense and a clear vision that have qualified her to represent her race in promoting the new attitude among white people.

That the Daytona Beach educator was correct in stating that the race problem in the South is becoming less acute, there is little doubt. There is cause for optimism; but here in Florida, as well as in other Southern States, there are still mountains of prejudice which will be moved only by the coolest of thinkers. Dr. Will Alexander, perhaps the best known interracial worker in America, gave last week's conference a right start by warning the delegates in his opening address that objective thinking is the only sane approach to a solution of the problem. His statement probably had much to do with the fact that the conference discussions on the following day were comparatively free from emotionalism. The paramount issues between whites and Negroes were discussed from a detached, scientific viewpoint which would have been an anachronism in the South of a quarter of a century ago.

The conference did not produce a definition of social equality, although the delegates struggled for two hours with that elusive point. There were too many conflicting conceptions. Mary McLeod Bethune did not define them, but she indicated that it should include equal educational opportunities and equal railroad accommodations. Impressively enough, she held her head high, said she was proud of her own black skin and emphasized her desire for maintenance of strictest racial integrity. Her conception of social equality calls for no intimate contact between the races. He appeal was for equal opportunity.

The young Southerners spent considerable time discussing the provocative points of shaking hands with Negroes and addressing them as Mr. and Mrs. They never could quite agree on these points, but, strangely enough, made a beeline to the Negro college president after she had made her speech, awaited their turn to shake hands with her and to address her as Mrs. Bethune.

Prejudice Due to Environment.

The conference apparently was in unanimous agreement that whatever race prejudice exists in the South has come from environment; that it has not been a matter of biological inheritance. It would appear, therefore, that if Mary McLeod Bethune and other Negroes of similar character and intelligence continue to emphasize the fact that it is merely equality of opportunity that Negroes are seeking, the younger generation of the South may be able to tackle the race problem with less prejudice and provincialism.

The delegates hit upon a significant phase of racial antagonism when they agreed that economic conflict between whites and Negroes makes both races more susceptible to communistic propaganda, but it is a matter that is not of considerable importance in Florida. There are vague rumors of communistic activities among Negroes here, but not a great deal of evidence has been unearthed. Much of the racial antagonism in this section springs from economic conflict between the lower class of white people and Negroes. Dr. Alexander pointed out that lynchings occur most frequently in those sections where economic competition is keenest.

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June

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2-15-31

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New York, N.Y.

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TAKING ISSUE WITH DARROW.

America is the name of a weekly periodical, sub-titled "a Catholic review of the week," which discusses current topics from a Catholic viewpoint. In the issue of January 24, there appeared an article written by the Rev. John LaFarge, S. J., under the alarming title of "Poisoning Negro Youth," in which the writer took violent issue with some utterances attributed to Clarence Darrow, in a talk to the students of Howard University some time in December. Among the passages quoted as having been given as advice to the students on this occasion were the following:

"If there is a god, he is white. So don't depend on him. Depend on yourselves."

"Prayer wont do you any good," remarked Darrow. "What your race needs is education, as good as you can get, courage, perseverance, and as many of the material needs and comforts as it is possible to obtain. I am not saying that you should not give to churches if you want to, but I am saying that, with the little money the Negro has, he should consider material, practical things very carefully . . .

"Your race has accomplished a great deal by these methods of education and organization, but nothing by prayer, reliance on preachers and native trust in the deity.

"If there is a Lord who governs everything, be sure that he knew all about your troubles before you took them to him. And he had done nothing about them. He stood by when your ancestors were dragged from their homes in Africa and shipped across the ocean into servitude. . . . He has been present at every lynching and burning . . . . And he has never helped!"

Father LaFarge, who would appear to be a member of the Society of Jesus, that strong order devoted to the propagation of the Catholic faith, thinks that no great mental strain is needed to pierce the absurdity of Mr. Darrow's reasoning, for he argues, "it was precisely his spiritual strength, derived from prayer and a firm belief in a God of Justice that has enabled the American Negro to make in a few brief generations, a progress from a state of servitude in a degree unparallelled by any nation in history." He calls it hypocrisy for Mr. Darrow to sympathize with the oppression of the race, while at the same time offering to his hearers a cup of what he terms "mental poison."

He agreed with the iconoclastic speaker, that it is perfectly true that, "with the little money the Negro has, he should consider material, practical things very carefully. He must have them if he is to continue to progress." The advice to make out a budget of one's needs was considered sound and needed by youth of all races. But the exponent of Catholic doctrine pronounced it a delusion to hold out the hope that justice will begin its sway when man's spiritual destiny is mocked at or forgotten, or that materialism will quench the appetite for gain and atheism abolish the lust for power. He called the inculcation of such teachings as cruel as physical violence, as having the effect of setting these young people "adrift on a sea of mental insecurity, which will later make them the mark of the exploiter and the political schemer."

But Father LaFarge did not stop at his denunciation of the teachings of Mr. Darrow. He endeavored to stir the followers of his own church to a proper sense of their duties and responsibilities toward the Negro race. He called attention to the fact that the Negro youth in the colleges today are those who will handle the destiny of the race in this country. He maintained, that notwithstanding popular beliefs, the educated Negro wields an immense and legitimate influence among the members of his own group. Moreover, he wields an influence in world affairs, as was attested in the calling upon the services of such members of the race as Dr Moton and W. T. B. Williams in dealing with Haitian affairs and Dr. Charles S. Johnson in the investigation of slavery in Liberia. He also noted that the educational recommendations of Booker T. Washington had been made the basis of American educational work in many foreign lands.

Father LaFarge then put the pertinent question, in view of the indifferent attitude of the higher institutions of Catholic learning, what chance is there of bringing to these future leaders of the race "the life-giving message of the Catholic philosophy of life." He insists that Negro youth, like white youth, must look to Catholic schools to convey to them the mind of the Catholic church. He believes that there is an honest desire to preserve some sort of Christian heritage amongst young American Negroes, although many of them are dissatisfied with emotional religionism, which is supposed to be the special delight of the race.

He warns against the flippancy within the Catholic church itself, that is apt to meet this situation by raising the eyebrows or ejaculating: "Oh, Negroes are looking now for Catholic education! Soon they will be wanting us to ask them out to lunch!" With the earnestness of a member of a society for the propagation of the faith, Father LaFarge called upon the conscience of the whole Catholic people to find an adequate answer to the question of upon whom the responsibility lies for "the poison entering the minds and hearts of these Catholic boys and girls" in non-catholic colleges.

The question of religion or the absence of it in the colleges and whether it should play a part in the later life of the graduates is one that demands the attention of all denominations. The questions raised by Father LaFarge as peculiar to the Catholic church, affect in greater or lesser degree, all the other churches. They should be taken more seriously by both clergy and laity, if religion is to continue to play a part in the development of modern society and government. And the religion that would meet the demand must be one that justifies its faith by its works, rather than by mere lip service.

Race Problem-1931

U.S., Literary Exploitation of the Negro.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
STATE

MAY 10 1931

"The Road to Canaan."

They're all doing "nigger stuff" these days; if not scarlet this and green and black that and Porgy and Brass Angle and Po Buckra, it is just some other nuance or lingo. The fiction product of the Southern mills today is all of the Negro, for the Negro, or even by the Negro. Just so the artisan can transmogrify the illiterate lingo of the lower-class folk of the Southern regions, so that it will get by the editors of Northern and Eastern publications or managers and play-merchants...precious few of whom, and precious few of their readers in other sections, know anything whatever of the various so-called Negro dialects...it seems to be sufficient to shatter sales resistance, which has always been pretty stiff in those quarters.

....By the way, we are glad to call attention—here and now, before we slip into saying something in dispraise of inane dialect which too often makes the "success" of a vacuous yarn or play—to the significant fact that Ned Adams, our Ned Adams of the Congaree, who always does the best thing in any "nigguh" dialect, since Ambrose E. Gonzales lived and wrote his masterly interpretations of the Gullah folk and language, is to have more of his matchless stories in Scribner's Magazine....

We have before us a small collection of short stories, "The Road to Canaan," by the late Pernet Patterson, which are almost good enough not to require the salesmark of nigger dialect. The jacket of the publishers (Milton, Balch and Company, New York) tells us that "the Negro of the South is here portrayed with rare intuition and sympathy by a man who understood him better perhaps than any other writer of our time."

The Negro of Patterson's pleasant stories is the Negro of Virginia, and not of all Virginia. He is, it ought to be understood by any one reading them, not the Negro of what is often called the deep South...of the Black Belt, of the Black Border of Gonzales, of Harris's and Colonel Jones's Georgia, of Ned Adams's Congaree, of DuBose Heyward's Charleston alleys of Cabot's New Orleans levees. He is quite close to, but hardly in contact with, Page's adorable Rebel Virginia darkies. But they are an interesting folk, even if we sometimes doubt the sincerity of their lingo, which seems to have rather too much merely truncated or mutilated low words of the low-class white. To take a single instance, does a real nigger or nigguh or Negro ever say "'at" for "dat" (that)? The illiterate of the North and East and West say "attaboy" for "that's the boy;" but does a Negro ever say anything for "that" but "dat," or something like "dat"? One finds it in bad usage in Middle English; but it is tabu among our Negroes...as genuine dialect.

Some of these stories were published in The Atlantic—two of the best, "Buttin' Blood" and "Conjur"—and another, "The Road to Canaan," is good enough to have made that grade. "Buttin' Blood," outside its dialect and the doggish fight of one breed as against another, is not, we think, quite "Atlantic" stuff, even allowing for the passing fad for this sort of thing. The title story, however, is very fine, regardless of its chosen dialect. While it is a story that would hardly be possible on any other level of American life, it is told with a true knowledge of both Negro and general human nature. It has a rarer and a finer psychology than is often seen in pure Negro tales. The character of the hunchback Negro David, who so pathetically and with the blind faith of his race, expected God to fulfill the promise in Isaiah, and "make crooked things straight."

The other stories, while good of their kind, do not come quite up to the clean height of "The Road to Canaan" ..."uh haad road tuh trabbul, uh buhleebe." Of course, this bit of Gullah, is of another dialect and realm from those of Pernet Patterson's "niggers."

Those who care for Negro folk stories will find these tales of far higher character and finer art than most of the so-called dialect stuff that pours its dark and muddy floods over the Southern Sahara.

Lovers of South's Picturesque Folk-Lore Assemble To Honor Joel Chandler Harris

People prominent in perpetuating the memory of Joel Chandler Harris gathered at the Georgian Terrace hotel Wednesday to honor the birthday of the man who wrote the immortal Uncle Remus stories at a luncheon given by the Uncle Remus Memorial Association. Left to right in the picture are Julia Collier Harris, author of "Joel Chandler Harris, Editor and Essayist;" Mrs. A. McD. Wilson, life president of the association; Lucien Harris, son of Joel Chandler Harris, and Mrs. Lucien Harris. Staff photo by George Cornett.

BY ROY ROBERT.

They could not have been the grown-ups they appeared to be—those 50 people who gathered Wednesday at the Georgian Terrace hotel, heard stories of Bre'r Rabbit and Sis Cow, and laughed as only children can laugh at the lovable idiosyncrasies of Bre'r Fox.

They gathered to pay honor to the greatest writer of picturesque lore the world has ever known, Joel Chandler Harris, whose birthday anniversary it was. The luncheon meeting was given by the Uncle Remus Memorial Association, and assembled from all parts of Georgia those who love southern literature.

There were present children and relatives of Uncle Remus, relatives of Frank L. Stanton and Henry W. Grady, and those who cherish the memory of Robert E. Loveman. There were educators and ministers, writers and just plain everyday people who love the philosophy and quaint wisdom expressed in the delightful tales of the Little Boy and Uncle Remus. Their eyes were knitted with crows feet and their heads were whiter than the brown locks of the Little Boy, many of them. They would tell you their ages ran from 40 to years, most of them—but they wouldn't be anything but children when their eyes lighted like that in appreciation of lore.

Celebrated Throughout Nation.

The birthday anniversary of Joel Chandler Harris was celebrated throughout the nation by schools and literary organizations, but it is doubtful if any other gathering responded to the sentiment of the day in the manner of the Atlanta gathering. The abiding humanity of the writer and philosopher was told in words, halted now and then by a tear that sprang to eyes, which a moment before were sparkling with mirth at the pert actions of Bre'r Rabbit.

Intended as a double ceremony, to begin with the luncheon and end with the laying of four marble stepping stones in the new "Authors' Walk" at the Wren's Nest, old home place of Mr. Harris, the observance was marred by the unfavorable weather. Because of lowering clouds and drizzing rain—a day to sit by a log fire and hear Uncle Remus stories—the laying of the stones to memorialize Henry W. Grady, Frank L. Stanton, Robert Loveman and Mr. Harris was indefinitely postponed.

Colonel Paxon Presides.

Colonel Fred Paxon, for years chairman of the advisory board of the Uncle Remus Memorial Association, presided as master of ceremonies and explained the purpose of the gathering. Mrs. A. McD. Wilson, life president of the association, gave the invocation and the assemblage sat down to hear new things of the influence of Joel Chandler Harris in world literature.

Sitting near the toastmaster and

president were Lucien and Julian Harris, sons of the author; Mrs. Lucien Harris, Julia Collier Harris, author of "Joel Chandler Harris, Editor and Essayist," a new book, and Mrs. Eugene R. Black Sr., daughter of Henry W. Grady.

Following the introduction of notables in southern literature, Mrs. Olive Herty Lucas, of Milledgeville, gave readings of some of Uncle Remus' most delightful tales. Then came the revelation that lovers of Uncle Remus never grow up.

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Mrs. H. G. Hastings is chairman of the committee for the "Authors' Walk" ceremonies, with Mrs. Wilson, Miss Beverly Wheatcroft, and Mrs. Pauline Branyon members. The late James B. Nevin, editor of The Atlanta Georgian, also was a member.

Observance of the anniversary of the great writer's birth is held in some form in virtually every state in the Union. The school children of at least 30 states hold special "Uncle Remus" exercises, pantomimes and readings, and so popular are the writings of Harris that even as far back as 1914 his birthday was celebrated in London, when British critics took occasion to remark on the lack of vision of American play-seekers in going to England and Europe for material with dramatic possibilities. It was on the occasion of Harris' anniversary in 1914 that Mrs. Percy Deamer, outstanding London dramatic writer, pointed out the theatrical possibilities of Br'er Rabbit and Br'er Fox to London producers, who immediately began a series of children's matinees. Egan Mew, writing in The Academy, a sophisticated London review, urged that every British child should be given the opportunity of "seeing at least twice" the delightful plays presented.

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Joel Chandler Harris was born on December 9, 1848, and died on July 3, 1908.

Professor Hits History Discusses New Joel Chandler Harris Book

Atlanta, Ga., Dec. —Joel Chandler Harris acted an important and most enlightened part in the years of bitter sectionalism which followed the Civil War, Dr. E. M. Coulter, professor of history in the University of Georgia points out in a review of Julia Collier Harris' latest book on "Uncle Remus." The review will appear in the book section of the Athens Banner-Herald Sunday morning.

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"Indeed, during the eighties they were associated in their good-will program, both being, during this time, associated with The Atlanta Constitution."

"Julia Collier Harris," writes Dr. Coulter, has "edited with skill these selections from the writings of her father-in-law. Her work has not consisted so much in identifying or explaining persons or things in the text, as in appropriate introductions to the selections. She writes effectively and charmingly."

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Atlanta Constitution

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U.S. – Book Reviews.

WHY GET MAD ABOUT IT?

Courier

THE Board of Education of Savannah, Georgia, is somewhat "excited" over the recitation of some facts which Prof. David S. Muzzy, of Columbia University, terms as historical truths. It appears that Prof. Muzzy has released a book on the "history of the United States" and in this book the professor says, among other things, that the original settlers of the State of Georgia were "convicts and criminals." Pittsburgh, Pa

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It is very often stated that Negroes raise too much noise when they are referred to as slaves or descendants of slaves, and it is frequently claimed that Negroes are too thin-skinned when they protest against insults, oppression, disfranchisement, lynching and even "Amos 'n' Andy.' The fact is that we are descendants of slaves; we may not like it, but it is a fact.

Now comes the good people of Georgia who cannot deny successfully that they are descendants of convicts and prisoners brought over here to settle Georgia in the long years gone by and protest against historical facts. The facts are true, but our friends in Georgia do not want to hear about them and they are somewhat excited because Prof. Muzzy put down in his "History of the United States" the plain fact about the early settlers of Georgia.

If we are descendants of slaves, it is a fact we cannot change. If the people of Georgia are descendants of convicts and prisoners, they cannot help it. It is simply their duty now to rise above their ancestry and show by their demeanor and their civilization that they have completely lived down their birthmarks. It is likewise incumbent upon Negroes who are descendants of slaves to accept the facts as true, but to demean themselves as to live down entirely and completely their birthmarks.

It is not who your father was, but rather who you are today. No man is responsible for his parentage—he is responsible for himself. Georgia is unnecessarily excited. Rather, Georgia should be proud that it has been able to show some improvement over an ancestry made up of "convicts and criminals." The Negro is going to be proud that he has shown some advancement over a slave parentage. Why get mad about it?

Planter and Peckerwood
Amsterdam News

THE CABIN IN THE COTTON. By Harry Harrison Kroll. Published by Ray Long & Richard R. Smith, Inc., New York. Price $2.00.

10-28-31

WHENEVER we hear of Southern oppression we instantly think of the Negro. We have enough cause to, heaven knows, for there is no group of people on earth more persecuted. Interracial and biracial Pollyannas try to minify the facts; but the South is still a mediaeval-minded section dedicated to race hate and exploitation. The Negro is the passive governor of the South's thought and actions; for all his weakness he tyrannizes the South as a baby does its mother. He is the ball and chain which the South has fastened upon itself.

New York, N.Y.

His tribulations have been so shocking, and have provoked so much comment that people overlook the fact that the Negro is not the only exploited class in the South. The poor white, squalid clay-eater that he is, comes in for his full share of extortion and oppression. Except that he is allowed to vote, is seldom lynched, and is permitted public privileges that he has no money to enjoy, he is as badly off as the Negro. What with his filth, his nonmorality and his invincible ignorance, the only thing that differentiates his lot from that of the Negro is a white skin that looks dirty even when it has been washed. To convince himself that he is white, he enthusiastically lynches Negroes.

For the first time, so far as this reviewer knows, the poor white's case has been presented in literature. There have been stories about him before, but none in which his part in the Southern drama has been clearly brought out. This is powerfully done in "The Cabin in the Cotton," a novel by Harry Harrison Kroll. It is the first novel published by the new firm of Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, and if they keep up to its standard in their subsequent books their success is certain.

The story revolves about that great staple of the South—cotton—which the author describes as a vast business with no method or sense of business. He sees the South as a triangle of conflicting interests: "The aristocrat looking upon the black man with a mixture of racial antipathy, and, in proportion to the black's docility, a gentle, wise paternalism; the "pore" white viewing the n----r with the antipathy but not the paternalism; the aristocrat looking at the pore white with mixed tolerance and disgust, mostly disgust; the n----r looking up at the grand aristocrat but down upon the pore white; and all of them driving mules to skin the land of cotton, more cotton, and still more cotton."

The planter, the aristocrat, rents his land to the poor white, who has to give the planter half of the cotton he raises. The planter is secured by a contract that has everything in his favor. The poor white is too ignorant or lazy to keep books, and that is an added advantage to the planter. Still another advantage is that the renter must buy all his clothes and provisions at the planter's store. Thus the renter is beaten from the start; no matter how much cotton he raises he is always in debt to the planter, who juggles the books and overcharges for goods to suit himself. Kroll cites a case in which a planter red-inked a renter out of $500 a year for twenty years. After a lifetime of drudgery all the renter has is a white skin to show that he is not a Negro.

Upon this scene comes the novelist, with his eye for human relations and consequences. He takes a Mississippi cotton plantation with its planters and poor white renters. The hero, Danny Morgan, is a poor but intelligent white who is employed as a bookkeeper by Wilson Lord, the planter. Lord has sent him to school and regards himself as the boy's benefactor. So does the boy, who juggles the accounts as he is told to and is otherwise dutifully dishonest. But he lives with his family, who are poor white renters.

The plantation renters know that Lord is robbing them, but they are too ignorant to prove it. They resort to stealing cotton and selling it. They confide in Danny and ask him with his superior education, to act as their agent. They argue that their stealing is not thievery, that they are only taking what belongs to them. Danny is torn between sympathy with his people and loyalty to his employer and benefactor. His contacts at the Lord mansion have given him a glimpse of a higher life which he is ambitious to enter. There is also that eternal complication—a woman. Lord has a pretty, worldly daughter, a sinning siren who has got into Danny's blood.

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The enraged tenants, knowing that recourse to law would be futile, start burning Lord's buildings. One of them kills a neighboring planter and is lynched for it. They get into

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—AUBREY BOWSER.

Lord's office at night and steal his books. Danny, disgusted with the [illegible] poor whites and determined to get [illegible] to planter society, keeps working [illegible] Lord and informing on his people. [illegible] his testimony two of them land [illegible] jail, awaiting trial for arson, and [illegible] community is in an uproar. Finally Danny gets hold of a book [illegible] bookkeeper. For all that Lord had [illegible] one for Danny he had been paid

U.S. - Book Reviews.

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—AUBREY BOWSER.

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KELLY MILLER SAYS:

Journal 11-13-31

BROWN BUT NOT WHITE

Washington By Kelly Miller

"Brown America" by Edwin R. Embree, Executive Head of the Rosenwald Foundation, is a significant contribution to the literature of the race problem. This book is significant, not as a learned or profound treatise on the subject but by reason of its subtle implications. The "Apologia" tells just why the book was written, not to establish a theory, but to stir up interest." Mr. Embree both by virtue of his personal background and positional authority is well calculated to accomplish that purpose. He is grandson of John G. Fee, a most ardent and insistent abolitionist and philanthropist of a by gone type, and is executive head of the great Rosenwald Foundation which approaches the race problem from the altered standpoint of the present day. Mr. Embree expresses surprise at the amazing ignorance of the ordinary people with whom he contacts on this question. He would therefore prepare a simple manual setting forth representative facts and opinions for their enlightment. The burden of the book is devoted to this task. Much of this boasted ignorance is sophisticated and purposive. Assumption of ignorance is but an assertion of supercilious aloofness from an unpleasant problem which falls beneath the level of the boaster's exalted consideration. This volume will fulfill its declared purpose only in cases where the alleged ignorande is genuine, and not spurious or conceived in conceit.

The first chapter, "The New Race" is not merely a curious description of "Brown America," but a serious attempt to set forth the obvious physical destiny of the Negro population, which will condition its future relation to the body politic and the body social. It is the same thesis which I set forth in The Atlantic Monthly twenty years ago, and more recently in the South Atlantic Quarterly, under the caption "Is the American Negro to Remain Black or Become Bleached?" Mr. Melvin J. Herskovits has devoted much research to the same thesis.

Here we have a group of American citizens rapidly gravitating to an ethnical unity, neither black nor white, within any calculable time. Religion and philanthropy are no longer shaping their regimes on the equality of races in the sense of identity, but equality, as far as feasible, with dissimilarity. Booker T. Washington's hand and finger furnish the accepted motto of practical procedure. Such is the trend of facts, whatever may be one's cherished theory. Mr. Embree does not engage to ride the fiery steed of his grandsire whose fiery temper recked of nothing short of equality with "I" dotted and "T" crossed, but he finds a still milder mount with more cautious and hesitant temper. There be some few of intrepidity of spirit who sit astride the old abolition steed and enjoy poking spurs in to his side, seemingly unmindful of the fact that the "critter" is dead.

The old basis of philanthropy insisted on rights; the new foundations require the observance of duty. The one demanded equality of privilege, the other specilc performanse. The stubborn spirit of the old Atlanta University would not yield, and was starved. The newer Atlanta capitulated and thrives as a tree planted by the river. Howard, Fisk, Atlanta and New Orleans have been selected by present day philanthropy and educational statesmanship as the great centers of opportunity and culture from Brown America.

If one reads these pages subtly, he discerns a noticeable shift in the leadership of Negro philanthropy from the North to the South. The grandsons of the Boston abolitionists have forgotten the beneficiaries of their grandsires. Mr. Embree is a Kentuckian who holds steadily to the purpose though not to the passion of his grandfather. It may not be without deep seated significance that John G. Fee, Abraham Lincoln, and Justice Harlan were bred and born in the Southland. As the Northern sentiment is growing cold and indifferent, the Southern sentiment, especially among the young men and women of the intelligentia class, is growing more considerate and sympathetic. The educational statesmanship of the North is beginning to recognize this fact. The great Negro university project for New Orleans bears the name of one devoted and revered Southerner and will be headed by another. Where is the Negro or Northerner who would have it otherwise? Where can you find three names that mean more in genuine understanding, sympathy, appreciation and sincere devotion to the cause of Brown than James H. Dillard, William Alexander and Edwin R. Embree. Southerners all?

BOOK REVIEWS

Journal 9-25-31

"ZEKE"

By Mary White Ovington

An absoutely new developmen in fiction is marked by the publi cation of "Zeke," written by Mary White Ovington and issued by Harcourt, Brace and Company. The public, which has long been interested in stories centering around schools and colleges of various types, is introduced to something entirely unique in the educational field—the large Negro industrial school of the deep South.

Against the background of Tolliver Institute, located in Alabama and near enough in its physical aspects to remind one sharply of Tuskegee Institute, Miss Ovington has drawn a clear picture of a lonesome, promising boy. That the lad is colored and that he moves in a colored world, one never forgets. But the story is concerned not so much with the problems peculiar to the young Negro as with those which confront every healthy chap who leaves the quiet shelter of home for the more complex environment of the boarding school.

Ezekiel Lee, to give Zeke his full baptismal name, was the first colored boy who had a chance to leave backward Callis County with its Negro cabins sprawled along a rutted road where rature and the state agreed that "things should be as they had always been." Tolliver Institute, where other colored boys and girls from sections as far distant as Africa and Harlem gathered to learn from books and work, presented many novel problems. First of all it was a place that had stairs, and never before in his life had Ezekiel Lee slept so far up away from the friendly ground. Then there was the sheer physical size of the establishment. Buildings with domes, broad green lawns, farm that extended far back away from the campus, even a post office and a general store were part of or near the Institution.

While the new student, fresh from the cotton fields in which his family worked, had been a leader in the little Rosenwald school which he had attended, at Tolliver he was only a boy who read as some preachers talk. He was an odd duck and he knew it. Looking back to one's own school days, remembering the same feeling, the reviewer knows just how unpleasant it is.

Playing cards on Sunday in the chapel tower, cutting out at night to visit a poky little house that was thought to be only one step awoy from perdition, studying hard and crying himself to sleep in the first dark days, Zeke began to get his feet on the ground by the time the year was half over.

Other boys enter the picture as real, rounded characters. There is the serious man from Africa who washes dishes by day and attends evening school. He is the son of a chief and his English is not the soft, full drawl of the South but the precsie speech of the student. Responsible and mischievous, none really bad and none plaster saints, Miss Ovington develops her young characters with skill and understanding. Their tragedies—there is one minor tragedy in the book—are real. Their joys are actual and their problems are, to them, all important. Older characters such as the Principal and the Major are handled with equal skill. Though they have only small parts of the narrative yet they stand out as true, understanding teachers and leaders.

Chicken raising and companionships with others bring Zeke a long way toward balanced manhood during the year covered by the book. Wide problems of race and color, of justice and injustice, have but little place in hsi crowded, bysy life. Yet they are not left entirely out of the story. In one fine passage Miss Ovington raises all of the fundamental questions which confronts the Negro in America. Rightly enough this section is concerned with the thoughts of the principal as he looks out over the chapel and sees the hundreds of eager faces, shading all the way from sable to white, staring up at him.

"They were as worthy a place in American civilization as the boys grouped in their chapels to-night at Exeter or Groton. Very well, then they must fight for it, scramble for it, kill for it as the white men did," decides the principal. But he does not tell the audience his thoughts. Soon enough they will be confronted with the outside world and for that battle the school is, and readers will agree with the principal's thoughts, furnishing the best of preparation.

This fine sympathetic story of the Negro boy in the colored industrial school is written by a white woman. Probably no other author in America is as well versed in the material which the book contains as is Miss Ovington. For twenty-nine years she has worked with and for Negroes throughout the country. During most of this time she has been connected with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which she now serves as chairman of its Boarl of Directors.

Believe It or Not, Georgia Is Ashamed

Journal

SAVANNAH, Ga. (ANP)—History in respect to Georgia will be distorted if the efforts of the board of education of this city bear the fruit expected as the result of a protest which is to be made against a passage in the American history books used in the high schools, which refers to the settlement of Georgia by "convicts" and "criminals."

12-25-31

The history complained against is written by David Saville Muzzey of Barnard College. The protest was made when M. G. Swayne, a Georgia history professor, marked the uncomplimentary passage untrue.

Washington

A correction, members of the board said, will be sent from the publishers, although the board is aware some historians will uphold Dr. Muzzey's phraseology.

Race Problem - 1931

U.S. — Book Reviews.

Pros and Cons on Schuyler's Book

(By the Men He Satirized)
(By Telegraph to the AFRO-AMERICAN)

FROM DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS—

I like Schuyler's book very much and am reviewing it favorably.—W. E. B. DuBois, editor of the New York Crisis, organ of the N.A.A.C.P.

FROM WILLIAM PICKENS— afro-american

While I admire Schuyler's gift of satire, on the whole, his unnecessary and thinly veiled designation of certain well-known and reputable organizations and individuals for ridicule prostitutes his talent and degrades his book. The personal attacks are as little spirited as they are unnecessary, and are as malicious as they are inconsistent with the character and qualities of the individuals attacked, and the ribaldry and half-concealed malice spoil what might otherwise have been a delightful bit of comedy and satire.—William Pickens, Field Secretary, N.A.A.C.P., New York.

FROM DR. JOHNSON (Washington)— 2-7-31

President Mordecai Johnson of Howard University is out of office by advice of his doctor. Has not had time to see book.—Catherine E. Beard, secretary.

Baltimore, Md.,

FROM DR. MOTON—

Dr. Moton has no statement to make on Mr. Schuyler's book.—G. Lake Imes, secretary, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

FROM C. C. SPAULDING—

We are too busy operating and successfully managing our constructive programs, to lose time with men whose pent-up minds of jealousy and idleness, spend time and energy trying to tear down and destroy the confidence of our group. The fact that a man is an author and writer doesn't always mean that he has cornered all the brains.—C. C. Spaulding, president, Durham (N.C.) Mutual Life Insurance Company.

TRIBUNE
CHEYENNE, WYO.

FEB 1 2 1931

FUTURE OF THE NEGRO.

That the "color line" will not continue to be a barrier to amalgamation of the white and Negro races in America, is the conclusion of Dr. John Louis Hill, white Southerner and former clergyman, in a new book, "Negro—National Asset or Liability?" This conclusion is predicated on the assumption that climatic influences in the temperate zone eventualy will cause the Negro to lose the pigmentation resulting from climatic influences of the torrid zone and he will turn white.

The Negro migration northward in the United States has reserved the pigmentation tendency, Dr. Hill asserts, and "it is only a question of some more generations through some more centuries, when nature, through the inevitable working of the laws of human proximity, and through temperate and colder climates, will eventually obliterate the line of demarcation between the so-called white and back races in the United States of America, and there will no longer be a race problem growing out of the question of color."

Dr. Hill's conclusions regarding the social, political and economic places of Negroes in America of the future are keenly interesting. He reasons, for example, that the Negro temperament forecasts affiliation in increasing numbers with the Episcopal and Catholic denominations, saying: "The Episcopalian service and the High Mass of the Roman Catholic church render complete satisfaction to the natural demands of the Negro's mental and artistic being, and that there is not enough force in adverse conditions and circumstances to always keep separated a people, and systems and forms of worship, as naturally adapted and as completely conforming to each other as are the colored people and the two above mentioned churches."

In politics, the author finds that by the great migratory movement to the northern and border states, the Negro has become "a mighty minority of tremendous political significance and power. In the last national election they could have elected the Democratic nominee. So far as the Republican party is concerned, if it holds the Negro vote, it must return both in word and deed to the principles of Lincoln. As for the Democratic party, if it ever wins Negro support, it must become democratic in spirit and attitude. The Negro in national politics is a factor they cannot disregard without fatal consequences."

Dr. Hill sketches three "separate and distinct" stages by which his present attitude to the Negro race was attained. The first stage was the typical attitude of the Southerner, born and reared, a kindly attitude while "enduring" them and making the most of them as a "necessary evil.' In the second stage he "came to regard them as real human beings and found them to be worthy and useful citizens of the nation and state." Then, he relates, "I had great sympathy for the Negro. I desired to help him." Of the third stage, the writer says:

"The third theory of interracial relationship on my part does not recognize race at all, save in the scientific regard of its biological and sociological phases. Therefore, my present attitude is that of regarding Negroes solely as men and women—no better and no worse than men and women of other races limited by the same opportunities, and laboring under the same handicaps."

Some of Dr. Hill's observations and conclusions doubtless will cause hot protest, but in the main his work should do much to temper prejudice against, and hostility to, human beings not essentially inferior but whom environment, conquest and racial antipathy placed in a status of inferiority.

HILL PREDICTS DEATH OF COLOR LINE PROBLEM

Recorder
1-31-31

Southern White Writer In New York Evening Post Says Climate Of North Will Change Negro's Pigmentation — Likely To Take Centuries.

Indianapolis
Indiana

NEW YORK, Jan. 30.—The final solution of the racial problem of the colored American's place in this country will be reached not by legislative means but by natural laws of human proximity and climatic conditions, which will "eventually obliterate the line of demarcation between the so-called white and black races in the United States," according to Dr. John Louis Hill, whose book, "Negro—National Asset or Liability?" will be published within a fort night.

Dr. Hill, a Southerner and former clergyman, who has devoted many years of study to interracial problems, bases this conclusion on what he says is the "generally accepted theory that climatic conditions and environment in Africa during the past centuries account for the color of the race.'

The great migration northward in the United States has reversed the process, in Dr. Hill's opinion, and "it is only a question of some more generations through some more centuries, when nature, thru its inevitable-laws, will solve any race problems growing out of the question of color by the simple expedient of eradicating the color.

Until that time arrives, the colored American whom Dr. Hill believes to be "the most vital and most essential element of the nation," will be segregated "in the sense that they will voluntarily choose to live in racial groups," and will do so "for social and economic reasons which will contribute to their happiness."

Dr. Hill finds that the colored Americans have been untouched by Communism and racketeering. In discussing the tremendous political significance and power" of the colored man, he points out that in the last election their votes could have swung the election to the Democratic nominee, and says that to retain the colored man's vote the Republicans "must return in both word and deed to the principles of Lincoln."

Kelly Miller Writes On "Brown America"

By DEAN KELLY MILLER

"Brown America" by Edwin R. Embree, executive head of the Rosenwald Foundation, is a significant contribution to the literature of the race problem. The book is significant, not as a learned or profound treatise on the subject but by reason of its subtle implications. The "Apology" tells just why the book was written, not to establish a theory, but to stir up interest." Mr. Embree both by virtue of his personal background and positional authority is well calculated to accomplish that purpose. He is grandson of John G. Fee, a most ardent and insistent abolitionist and philanthropist of a bygone type, and is executive head of the great Rosenwald Foundation, which approaches the race problem from the altered standpoint of the present day. Mr. Embree expresses surprise at the amazing ignorance of the ordinary people with whom he contacts on this question. He would therefore prepare a simple manual setting forth representative facts and opinions for their enlightenment. The burden of the book is devoted to this task. Much of this boasted ignorance is sophisticated and purposive. Assumption of ignorance is but an assertion of supercilious aloofness from an unpleasant problem which falls beneath the level of the boaster's exalted consideration. This volume will fulfil its declared purpose only in cases where the alleged ignorance is genuine, and not spurious or conceived in conceit.

The first chapter — "The New Race"—is not merely a curious description of "Brown America," but a serious attempt to set forth the obvious physical destiny of the Negro population, which will condition its future relation to the body politic and the body social. It is the same thesis which I set forth in The Atlantic Monthly 20 years ago, and more recently in the South Atlantic Quarterly, under the caption "Is the American Negro to Remain Black or Become Bleached?" Melvin J. Herskovits has devoted much research to the same thesis.

Here we have a group of American citizens rapidly gravitating to an ethnical unity, neither black nor white, within any calculable time. Religion and philanthropy are no longer shaping their regimes on the equality of races in the sense of identity, but equality, as far as feasible, with dissimilarity. Booker T. Washington's hand and fingers furnishes the accepted motto of practical procedure. Such is the trend of facts, whatever may be one's cherished theory. Mr. Embree does not eengage to ride the fiery steed of his grandsire whose fiery temper recked of nothing short of equality with "I" dotted and "T" crossed, but he finds a still milder mount with more cautious and hesitant temper. There be some few of intrepidity of spirit who sit astride the old abolition steed and enjoy poking spurs in to his side, seemingly unmindful of the fact that the "critter" is dead.

The old basis of philanthropy insisted on rights; the new foundations require the observance of duty The one demanded equality of privilege, the other specific performance The stubborn spirit of the old Atlanta University would not yield, and was starved. The newer Atlanta capitulated and thrives as a tree planted by the river. Howard, Fisk, Atlanta and New Orleans have been selected by present-day philanthropy and educational statesmanship as the great centers of opportunity and culture for Brown America.

If one reads these pages subtly, he discerns a noticeable shift in the leadership of Negro philanthropy from the North to the South. The grand sons of the Boston abolitionists have forgotten the beneficiaries of their grandsires. Mr. Embree is a Kentuckian who holds steadily to the purpose though not to the passion of his grandfather. It may not be without deep seated significance that John G. Fee, Abraham Lincoln, and Justice Harlan were bred and born in the Southland. As the Northern sentiment is growing cold and indifferent, the Southern sentiment, especially among the young men and women of the intelligentia class, is growing more considerate and sympathetic. The educational statesmanship of the North is beginning to recognize this fact. The great Negro University projected for New Orleans bears the name of one devoted and revered Southerner and will b headed by another. Where is the Negro or Northerner who would have it otherwise? Where can you find three names that mean more in genuine understanding, sympathy, appreciation and sincere devotion to the cause of Brown than James H. Dillard, William Alevander and Edwin R. Embree, Southerners all?

Race Problem - 1931

United States,—Book Reviews.

LOOKING AND LISTENING

BY SAM W. SMALL.

The Meanest Book That Has Been Issued Among Us in Sixty Years.

A book of nearly 500 pages has been published recently that reads much like a "hark from the tombs."

It was written by Lucy Shelton Stewart, whoever the lady may be, for she does not figure in the just issued new volume of "Who's Who in America" and we have no biography of her handed in with the blurb about the book.

The volume is titled "The Reward of Patriotism" and the explanation given of that is that the book is "A refutation of the present-day defamations of the defenders and preservers of the Union in the Civil War and an exposition of the cause which they overcame."

Isn't that something to make your back teeth jump out of their sockets? If mine had not long ago been yanked out and dropped into a dentist's cuspidor, I would be right now tapping them down securely with a shoemaker's hammer!

Firebrand or a Fish-hook.

Since most people acquainted with American history will wonder at the obvious anachronism of publishing, after 65 years, a defense of the objectives of the Union armies in the Civil War, I am at a cross whether this book is intended for a firebrand thrown by a "bloody shirt" survivor, or only a shrewd fish-hook thrown out to catch some of the pension money of the old G. A. R. survivors.

I suspect very much it is the latter, and if any lingering old Union veteran feels that he needs 85 worth of belated defense he may be wheedled into buying the book.

It well may be that in the time since Lee's surrender I have heard a thousand speeches and read half a hundred books on the Civil War. I have heard the Union cause and armies lavishly lauded, but not until now have I learned that they needed "refutations" or defense.

* * * *

A Ridiculous Reason Given.

The justification claimed for this book is that—

"The rewards of patriotism (to the Union soldiers) so far have been abusiveness, unparalleled villification heaped unceasingly upon the defenders of the Union by the Confederates and their sympathizers.

Now if I have seen a grosser and more dispicable lie than that printed or heard it spoken, I cannot recall it

It is true that some flagrant unnecessary acts of Union commanders and soldiers have been caustically criticized as they admittedly deserved but in no book published by any southern leader—Davis, Stephens, Longstreet, or others—or in any speech of such that can be cited, has there appeared abuse or villification of the Union's defenders and preservers.

* * * *

Big Indictment of a Bogey.

We are aroused to tremendous curiosity by this indictment carried in the book:

"After 70 years, this abusiveness continues to be poured forth, increasingly, by the press throughout the world, and is being published in daily newspapers, in monthly magazines; it is heard without protest in both houses of congress, unrefuted by a single member, and is spread through the pages of the Congressional Record."

If all that isn't the latest news from the planet Pluto, what is it?

Though I have been an active journalist for nearly 60 years, none of those horrendous things have come to my attention. I have reported in congress, and of congress for this newspaper many years, and none of those "abusives" hurled at Union defenders has ever been heard or read by me.

* * * *

Who Got the Glory and Goods?

The writer of this grotesque book asserts that "the highest officials of the United Staates government vied with one another in honoring the former civil and military leaders of the Confederacy, conferring upon them honors not accorded to those who gave their lives that this union might endure."

However, the country at large has not observed anything of the sort.

In 62 years five Union soldiers—Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Harrison and McKinley, (not to include Arthur who succeeded Garfield)—have been presidents of the nation and together served over 25 years.

Cabinet ministers in great number were Union soldiers and congress was, for 30 years, crowded with them—the last, Senator Warren, dying in office just two years ago.

* * * *

Who Honored the Confederates?

It is true that after being re-admitted to the union the southern people sent many Confederate veterans to the congress. But who else did any rational persons expect us to send—some shirkers and conscript-dodgers?

We sent the finest, most honorable men we had. They were Confederates in the Civil War, of course, and in congress they served the nation nobly. In fact, they supported and voted for every honor and benefit asked for by the Union veterans.

Those Confederate veterans are on record to establish many homes and hospitals for Union veterans only, and for pensions to those veterans which now have reached a total of many billions of dollars, with more billions yet to be paid.

Certainly the record travels wholly the other way from the claims in this book.

* * * *

What the Record Really Is.

Let's see; it was General Grant, a Union veteran, who, as president, took a Confederate veteran, Colonel Amos T. Akerman, of Georgia, into his cabinet as attorney-general. Is Grant, therefore, among the "abusers" of the men "who defended and preserved the union?"

And it was Hayes, a Union general, who, as president, appointed a Confederate colonel, David M. Key, of Tennessee, to be postmaster-general in his cabinet.

It was McKinley, typical Union veteran, who, as president, appointed ex-Confederate Generals Joe Wheeler and Fitzhugh Lee to be brigadier-generals in the regular army of the United States.

So, in the light of history, this book on its every page looks like a bat out of the cave where hate and falsehood make their home. Let who will read and grovel in it.

A Review of Black No More

By H. W. Baumgardner

Last week the Macaulay Publishing Company, of New York City announced the appearance of George Samuel Schuyler's first novel, which bears the somewhat unique title "Black No More." It was our pleasure to receive a reviewer's copy some days previous to the book's publication and we are prepared to make the prediction that "Black No More" will be translated into every language where the users appreciate first rate intelligence, unexcelled imagery, and a vigorous and sophisticated style. Schuyler has produced a masterpiece. His work is worthy of being ranked with those of such satirists as Voltaire, Anatole France, Swift and Rabelais.

The situations that occur in the book are such that only the keenest of minds could image. The author wrote us in answer to our telegram of congratulations and appreciation after reading his book: "So glad you like Black No More . . . We Negroes have sighed and moaned for so long that it is about time we had a good laugh at America's color complex. The same goes for our Nordic friends. If we can just get Americans laughing at the race problem its solution will not be far off. Nothing can withstand a few gusty guffaws."

With the idea in mind of laughing the race problem out of existence Mr. Schuyler proceeded to "wield the pen that runs and laughs." The person who reads Black No More and fails to find mirth provoking situations in abundance must have a very poor sense of humor.

The author projects his mind into the future. The events that take place in Black No More transpire between the years 1933 and 1940. Dr. Junius Crookman, a Negro, discovers during his medical course in Germany a serum that will change a Negro to a white person within three days time. Dr. Crookman because of this knowledge becomes very affluent and influential. He establishes his sanitariums throughout America and gradually America's dark skinned populace disappears. Among the most amusing situations in the book is the metamorphosis of Max Disher who on being rebuffed by a pale faced damsel from Atlanta when he asked her for a dance at a cabaret decided to take advantage of Dr. Crookman's scientific skill. Max was recreated. After becoming white he sold his story to a daily newspaper for one thousand dollars, and entrained for Atlanta where he hoped to find his idol of the Harlem cabaret.

Throughout the country opposition to Black No More Incorported, as Dr. Crookman's establishment was called, was rife. Newspaper articles and editorials attacked it on the ground of interference with race purity. In Atlanta one Rev. Givens, an erstwhile evangelist had organized the Knights of Nordica, an organization designed to supplant the defunct Ku Klux Klan. Disher who had changed his name, when he changed his color, to Fisher played upon the prejudice of the Rev. Givens by representing himself as an anthropologist who believed implicitly in the superiority of the Caucasian race and the evils of miscegenation. He put his case so strongly that Rev. Givens urged him to remain with him as his guiding genius.

So successful was our quondam Negro at preaching white supremacy that the membership of the Knights of Nordica jumped from a few hundred to millions. Needless to say Givens and Fisher had become millionaires. Early during Fisher's stay in Atlanta he had discovered that the girl of his dreams was Given's daughter. He had paid ardent court to her and in consequence they became man and wife. Matters ran along rather smoothly until it was discovered that Mrs. Fisher was to become a mother. Max was worried to death for Dr. Crookman's system made no provisions for changing the germ cells. He knew that any offspring of his was bound to show traces of darkness. Mr. Schuyler's genius shows itself in the manner this situation is taken care of. A keener bit of satire was never perpetrated.

Givens was a democratic aspirant for the presidency of the United States. His running-mate, one Snobbcraft was of the First Families of Virginia. He had employed a geneaologist to look into the family histories of his republican adversaries. The researches made by this geneaologist revealed that both Givens and Snobbcraft had a great deal of Negro blood in them. On discovering this Snobbcraft intended having all the evidence destroyed but before this could be accomplished the republicans obtained the information and made the best use of it.

After Mrs. Fisher had had her baby in Atlanta, Max was called to the home. The doctor told him that the child showed unmistakably Negroid features, but only he and the nurse kenw it and assured him that he could put the infant away for a consideration. Fisher was in a quandary as to whether he should forfeit his power and prestige for the joy of paternity or vice versa. While he deliberated a news boy was heard in the streets bellowing the uews about Given's Negro blood having been discovered. Shortly afterwards Givens rushed into his daughter's room and showed her what the papers said. She called her husband and expressed her deep regret that she had married him under the impression that she was pure Nordic. She cursed her fate for having caused her such ignominy. Fisher then assured her that he was the cause of their child's swarthiness and not she. He told her how she had rebuffed him in New York and how he had become white on her account. All of them were then agreed that color isn't such an important thing in life after all. The mob wanted to lynch Givens so the whole family boarded their plane and fled to Mexico.

Snobbcraft experienced a similar fate in Virginia. He was compelled to fly away by airplane. He and a companion were forced down in Mississippi on account of the lack of fuel. On being identified as Snobbcraft and companion they were lynched for daring to run for public office on the democratic ticket, being of Negro lineage.

In an interview Dr. Crookman gave out the information that those persons who had become white under his treatment were much whiter than those who had been born white. After this interview had been published it became the vogue for him who would escape the charge of being a metamorphosed white, to appear as dark as possible. Beauty Culturists then grew rich by inventing such stains and lotions as would produce a swarthy complexion. Mr. Schuyler

has done a remarkable piece of work. The book is published by The Macaulay Company, New York City. It contains 250 pages and is priced at $2.00.

It is jacketed in a cover that is an original idea of Mr. Schuyler's. A five story building is shown with a stream of black people entering many dark forms are shown in the windows; and a large procession of whites emerge from the opposite side. To appreciate Black No More t othe fullest one must read it.

The make up of the book is good. In the proof reading the letter O appears in two places where A should be used. The word quondam is misspelled quondom, and Caucasian is rendered as Caucasion. These however are minor faults and in spite of them a book that will live beyond its author's life has been wrought.

Dr. Hill Predicts End Of 'Color Line'

Southern Writer Says Climate Of North Will Change Negro's Pigmentation.

NEW YORK, Jan. 22—The final solution of the racial problem of the Negro's place in this country will be reached not by legislative means but by natural laws of human proximity and climatic conditions, which will "eventually obliterate the line of demarcation between the so-called white and black races in the United States," according to Dr. John Louis Hill, whose book, "Negro—National Asset or Liability?" will be published within a fortnight.

Dr. Hill, a southerner and former clergyman, who has devoted many years of study to inter-racial problems, bases this conclusion on what he says is the "generally accepted theory that climatic conditions and environment in Africa during the past centuries account for the color of the Negro."

The great migration northward in the United States has reversed the process, in Dr. Hill's opinion, and "it is only a question of some more generations through some more centuries" when nature, through its inevitable laws, will solve any race problems growing out of the question of color by the ...ple expedient of eradicating the color.

Until that time arrives, the Negroes whom Dr. Hill believes to be "the most vital and most essential element of the nation," will be segregated "in the sense that they will voluntarily choose to live in racial groups," and will do so "for social and economic reasons which will contribute to their happiness."

Dr. Hill finds that the Negroes have been untouched by Communism and racketeering. In discussing the tremendous political significance and power" of the Negro, he points out that in the last election their votes could hav swung the election to the Democratic nominee, and says that to retain the N... o vote the Republicans "must return in both word and deed to the principles of Lincoln."

BLACK NO MORE

Philadelphia Tribune.

George S. Schuyler has written a book. It is at least interesting reading. A scientist discovers a method which will turn Negroes into Nordics. By 1936 practically the entire Negro population has taken the "white" treatment. The Negro problem takes on a new form.

Leaders of Negro advancement associations frantically attempt to stop the solution of the problem which they have been trying to solve. When they see the end of the "problem" they realize that their $6,000 salaries will be stopped. Of all men they are most miserable.

Mr. Schuyler uses his book to ridicule adversely every Negro association and all Negro leaders. He misses nobody who is supposed to be anybody. He ridicules white superiority with biting "reverse English." He points out how Negroes, who have been turned white, use their knowledge of Nordic psychology to prey on the illiterate and underfed Southern "crackers."

The book shows how futile, foolish and stupid it is for one to place too much emphasis on a white complexion.

The style of the book is modern. Undoubtedly it will receive adverse criticism from both sides of the color line. It will be pronounced as so much junk by certain Negroes because Mr. Schuyler does not belong to the charmed inner-circle of Negro writers. But when one looks beyond the crude and salacious expressions, Schuyler has written a powerful book, which should make Negroes laugh at the importance which white folk attach to their complexions, and show the underpaid and starving white workers that they are foolish to let employers and politicians keep them in slavery by appealing to their prejudices against the Negro.

ECHOES FROM A BOOK.

Countee P. Cullen said apropos of "Black No More" by George Schuyler: "The ablest, in fact, the only Negro satirist has done a remarkably good piece of work." Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, distinguished editor, author, and one whom we think might with some success dispute the claim that Schuyler is the only Negro satirist has expressed himself as liking the book very much and has promised for it a favorable review. Now Dr. DuBois is among several prominent individuals who are supposed to be caricatured in "Black No More." Because it was thought that such persons as were prominent enough to be portrayed as gargoyles should be fighting mad because of an author's temerity in using his imagination as he saw fit, some forces have been at work trying to stir up uncalled for opposition to a masterly production from the pen of a Negro.

Whether Dr. DuBois is portrayed or not; he has shown himself to be a big man and one who has a sense of humor. He has sense enough to realize that he has small chance of exerting much influence over a mind that would project itself into the future and fashion whatever characters it desires. This Mr. Schuyler has certainly done with consummate skill. It must be admitted that our satirist has drawn some ludicrous pictures; but would it be satire otherwise. Walter White another of those caricatured even read the book in manuscript.

More attention has been paid by the sable critics of the book to mere incidentals than to the main currents of thought that run throughout the work. The book is more than an attack upon some of the Negro's idiosyncrasies; it is an intelligent thrust at all the abacadabra and the inanities that are attendant upon the color problem in our country. Because we are so thin skinned we are unable to have a hearty laugh at our own expense, but what delights us more than to give the other fellow the merry ha! ha!

We have been told by some of our news gatherers that it was thought that Mr. Schuyler's trip to Europe is for the purpose of evading his critics. Could anything be more absurd! Schuyler who has written "Our Greatest Gift To America;" "Our White Folks;" "Travelling Jim Crow," etc; etc; running away to Europe because he has written a book, saying the same things he has been saying to a vast audience of readers for years and years. He doubtless has his own reasons for going abroad which he will divulge in his own good time. It is our guess that something of benefit to the down trodden minority group will be the result of his trans-Atlantic hop. "Black No More" certainly has its echoes alright.

Race Problem—1931

West Indies

Mrs. Bethune Is Guest Speaker

Journal and Guide
1-3-31

NEW YORK. —(ANP) Observations made during her recent trip to Cuba formed the topic for an address which Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, president of Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Fla., made before guests of the Foreign Study Club here recently.

Color is not a cause of prejudice in Cuba, Mrs. Bethune told her audience. There are dark-skinned and light-skinned persons in the Rejublic, but no difference in treatment of them is made among Cubans. Persons of the same color marry most often, because it is felt that the most beautiful children result from such unions. In business, politics, education, and other public affairs, no exceptions are made.

The Virgin Islanders Are Nearly All Negroes

Argus

The natives of the Virgin Islands, off the west end of the major group of West Indian Islands, are almost wholly Negro, the descendants of freed slaves. They obtained American citizenship in 1927 and are governed by two councils elected by direct vote. Since the islands were acquired by the United States in 1917 many of the inhabitants have come to this country because of the greater economic opportunities. The three principal islands in the group are St. Thomas, St. Croix and St. John. There are also about fifty smaller islands all of which Columbus included under the patronage of the eleven thousand martyred virgins of St. Ursula because he did not have enough saints' names to go around.

HOOVER NAMES NEW VIRGIN ISLANDS HEAD

Chicago Defender
2-7-31

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 6.—Civilian government for the Virgin islands came unexpectedly when President Hoover last Friday announced transfer of their administration from the navy to the interior department and his decision to appoint Dr. Paul M. Pearson of Pennsylvania as the new governor.

The announcement of the president was as follows:

"We have undertaken to reorganize the government of the Virgin Islands. The Navy Department has asked to be relieved of the administration, and I am assigning it to the Department of the Interior.

"I am proposing to forward to Congress the name of Dr. Paul M. Pearson of Pennsylvania for governor. Other civilian officials will be appointed in replacement of naval officers.

"Congress recently made special appropriations for reorganization and developmental work in the islands, and the new organization is intended to make these provisions more effective.

"Mr. Herbert Brown of the Bureau of Efficiency and Colonel Roop, Director of the Budget, have drafted plans for new administration which are being carried into action."

Captain Waldo Evans, retired, is now governor of the islands, which were purchased from Denmark at a cost of $25,000,000.

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President Hoover Ends Naval Rule In Virgin Islands; Appoints Civilian

Amsterdam News
2-4-31

Name of Dr. Paul M. Pearson of Pennsylvania to Be Sent to Congress for Governor of Possession Under Uniformed Yoke

New York, N. Y.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2.—The Virgin Islands, which since their acquisition by the United States in 1917 have been under naval administration, will soon have a civilian government.

In a statement Monday, the American Civil Liberties Union, 100 Fifth avenue, commended the action of President Hoover in appointing a civil governor for the Virgin Islands.

President Hoover made this announcement this afternoon:

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The Virgin islands were purchased in 1917 from Denmark for $25,000,000. Capt. Waldo Evans, retired, is now governor of the islands.

VIRGIN ISLANDERS PROTEST.

Times
2-14-31

St. Thomas Residents Plead to Congress on Naval Withdrawal.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 13.—Secretary of the Navy Adams has been notified by residents of St. Thomas that they are forwarding to Congress through him a memorial protest against the withdrawal of forces from the naval base in the Virgin Islands consequent upon the transfer of the administration from the Navy to the Interior Department.

Members of the commission from the Virgin Islands who are now in Washington said today they were acquainted with the terms, and predicted it would fall upon deaf ears. They said it represented citizens, several of whom have been employed in work connected with the naval base, and was largely dictated by personal considerations. There was no substantial objections in the islands, they contended, to the reduction of the naval base to virtually laid-up status.

An Orator to the Rescue

Afro-American
2-7-31

Dr. Paul M. Pearson, white, professor of public speaking at Swarthmore (Pa.) College, was named last week by President Hoover as governor of the Virgin Islands.

The Virgin Islands were purchased from Denmark thirteen years ago, and Uncle Sam, after ruining the sugar and rum trade of the natives by his dry laws has had to spend $5,000,000 keeping Virgin Islanders out of the poor house.

Uncle Sam has maintained an expensive naval station at St. Thomas along with a naval officer as governor. Professor Pearson, the first civil governor, will end the naval regime, as the natives, tired of military rule, had requested.

Economically sick Virgin Islanders in need of a cure are sent an orator and lecturer by Mr. Hoover, who has a knack of putting illy-prepared square pegs, selected from the white race, into the round holes of administrative posts in Haiti and elsewhere.

VIRGIN ISLANDS' WOES AIRED IN U. S. CONGRESS

Unheralded Delegation Arrives in Washington to Appeal For Help in the Island.

Argus

INVOLVES COLORED VOTERS

With 95 Per Cent of Population Negroes, Removal of Naval Officials Will Give Chance.

2-13-31

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 11.—An unheralded delegation from the Virginia Islands, the United States colored possession in the West Indies purchased from Denmark over a decade ago, arrived in Washington Monday to confer with Herbert D. Brown, chief of the Bureau of Efficiency, and tell Congress of their troubles, in which misrule by the naval officials at the base there is believed to figure prominently. There were two colored representatives and one white in the group, the former being Dr. D. C. Cangeata, leading attorney and the Colonial Council, and Hamilton Jackson, leading attorney and the latter, Joseph Alexander, prominent merchant and secretary of the St. Croix Colonial Council.

Presented Improvement Plan

Mr. Brown made an exhaustive report into the economic, social and political conditions of the possessions, and while he admitted that improvements had been noted since 1917, he stated that the islands were in a deplorable economic condition and were getting deeper and deeper in the hole.

A personal feud between Captain Waldo Evans, present naval governor general and Mr. Brown, which developed during the latter's inquiry, now appears to have moved to Washington, with the Navy Department in the role of the disgruntled figure.

Dr. Paul M. Pearson, a kindly professor of elocution at Swarthmore College, had been appointed successor to Capt. Evans, they were told, and the naval authority that has held sway in the possesions since they were purchased was to be displaced by a civil regime.

Island Is Bad Way

Politicians and naval officials now have their eyes on Dr. Pearson, with the expectation of finding an explanation as to why the Navy Department was so rudely kicked out. Speculative gossip is that the move was made as another coup d' etat to insure a strong colored vote for the Republican party in 1932.

The evacuation of the Virgin Islands by the Navy will leave a goodly number of fair appointments open to colored appointees. It is pointed out, chiefly because the population of about 23,000 is 95 per cent Negro.

What the navy chiefs seem to object to more than anything else, though, is the implied criticism of the navy administration of the Virgin Islands.

St. Louis, Mo

Legislation Hurt

Recalling that "on November 23, 1921, Congress adopted a measure extending the blessings of the national prohibition act to Hawaii and the Virgin Islands," he said:

"No question but that that legislation laid a blighting hand on the islands' three main industries—the shipping that comes into the harbor at St. Thomas, the sugar crop raised on estates of St. Croix, the bay rum manufactured from the bay leaves of St. John."

New Virgin Islands Governor Will Talk

Dr. Paul M. Pearson, white, new civil governor of the Virgin Islands, will be the speaker at a meeting to be held for discussion of problems of the islands at St. Mark's Hall, 57 West 138th street, next Wednesday evening, Ashley L. Totten, secretary-treasurer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, has announced.

Pearson will tell of his plans for improving the economic conditions of the working classes in the islands through encouraging native effort. Officials of the organization of Virgin Islanders in New York have been invited by Mr. Totten to assist in the reception of the new governor when he visits Harlem.

Hulbert Finlay and his concert band will be on hand to greet the governor along with members of Virgin Islands' religious and benevolent societies. Mr. and Mrs. P. O. Nicholson, musical directors from St. Thomas, will offer a program of Virgin Island music.

DOCTOR DILLARD VISITS JAMAICA

Four days were spent on the island. The Director of Education gave him help in studying the schools. The elementary schools are largely denominational, receiving grants from the government for teachers' salaries. The Secondary Schools correspond to our High Schools, though the work he found to be more complete and thorough. The Students have fewer subjects at a time, and give more time to a subject. The schools of the Island do very little in the industrial line. They miss the encouragement that the Jeanes fund has given to our schools.

Dr. Dillard was induced to make this trip because of needed change for his health and returned feeling quite well. He reports a very busy season in making arrangements regarding aid for the improvement of Ministers and Theological Schools. By a special fund donated by the Slater Board eleven fellowships have ben awarded in Theology beside paying the salaries of two regular professors in Theological Departments.

Thousands Boo, Hiss Hoover In Slave Colony of Porto Rico

West Indies Demand Educational Reform

By Dr. CARTER G. WOODSON

The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.

Hoover has arrived in Porto Rico, where the Governor-General, Roosevelt, admits more than 60 per cent of the workers and peasants are unemployed, where the majority of the people are suffering from starvation and where more than half of the people are diseased—thanks to American imperialist domination.

In reporting the arrival of Hoover on the American battleship at San Juan, and his "parade" through the streets, nearly all of the capitalist newspapers deliberately cut out the fact that a large portion of the people hissed the representative of Wall Street. Only one New York boss sheet mentioned this, in a guarded way, and that was the New York Evening Post, a supporter of the Hoover regime.

The greeting to Hoover was deliberately staged. The thin and peaked school children, most of whom have tuberculosis or hookworm, who never get enough to eat, were drilled to greet "their President." The streets were lined with troops and the lackeys of imperialism in Porto Rico scraped the floor with their bellies cow-towing to the imperialist president. But despite all this thousands booed and hissed Hoover.

Hoover has an army of secret service men following him, and the Porto Rican petty-bourgeoisie see that no "discontented" elements are allowed to demonstrate against the Wall Street president. Hoover was greeted by Iglesias, the socialist and trade union faker in the island.

His next stop will be the Virgin Islands, the strongest fort of Wall Street in the Caribbean Islands. Here Hoover will inspect the Negro workers who are forced to work under contract for the imperialists, where discrimination against Negroes was imported with American rule. The real object of the imperialist president is to get away from the demands of the great mass of workers and farmers in the United States for farm and unemployment relief, and to look over the possessions of Wall Street in preparation for the coming war.

LETTERS now coming to my office indicate that the Negroes in the West Indies are much more stirred up over the need for educational reform than we are. They are askin for a course of study based upon books developed from the life and history of the natives. The reason for such an advance is that most of these people were emancipated in 1833, almost two generations before we were, and have risen to higher positions in the industrial and economic life of those parts than we occupy here. They have, therefore, less of the slave psychology than we have in this country. A Negro native of the United States would not have the courage to undertake what Marcus Garvey did. It requires time and realistic education to emancipate people. We have not had sufficient of either.

A friend in La Trinidad says: "We want more literature concerning ourselves. We have learned too little about our people while studying others."

Another from Cuba says: "The Americans have stimulated race distinctions here by teaching that the blacks have not achieved great things and we must have the facts to combat this idea."

More significant than these expressions is the work of the Forum Club in Barbados, an organization to develop the art of self-expression among Negroes, to foster a study of racial literature and a love and appreciation of the contribution of the Negro to culture.

The reasons for this movement are set forth in a letter from J. Hope, the moving spirit of the undertaking. He says with respect to the results from the service of West Indians in Egypt and Palestine during the World War, "We have been touched with the young Egypt spirit of nationalism and have rubbed shoulders with some of the 'Fuzzy-Wuzzies' of Kipling fame, who as primitives and with primitive weapons at their command broke a British square. We have learned not without concern of the woes of the Cape Boys, mixed descendants of the Zulus, who accomplished a feat similar to that of the Sudanese. One of our members as a student in England with a seeing eye and a hearing ear understood the young students' movement and came in contact with West African students and American wanderers, all striving after self-expression."

Yet these people are not raising "a racial issue" in the strict sense of the word, but they are suggesting as strongly as possible that things of beauty typical of the darker races be included in the readers used in the schools.

"The West Indian readers by white authors," says Mr. Hope, "do not go half way towards our needs." He says further, "We in the West Indies have not suffered with the same intensity, our souls have not been stirred to the same depths, there are not the same glaring restrictions, segregations and confinements; hence our lives do not flow in those deep rushing channels, but our goal is the same as that of our brothers in the United States. Ours are the lives of rivers mingling and commingling and moving more leisurely to the open sea. Ours is an atmosphere breathing subtle hints and suggestions of inferiority and delusive dogmas of equality of opportunity. But it is high time we rouse ourselves from our long capture. There is little field for literary work owing in a measure to our economic bondage."

Much is expected from the commission appointed by the British Colonial Office which will visit these islands in June. The attention of these gentlemen will be drawn especially to the curricula in the elementary schools. These natives specifically request that in the school readers shall be embodied "folk tales, stories of valor, steadfastness, honor and patience, and prose and poetry of recognized Negro authors as typical of things of beauty." In the furtherance of this work these people of the West Indies earnestly request the cooperation and assistance of their brethren in the United States.

It has required time, however, for the West Indian Negro to reach this point. I remember distinctly how a Jamaican once addressed a school which I taught. He expressed with pride the thought that England, the mother country, controlled such a large part of the world and pointed to the Bible as the guiding hand in the affairs of the British Empire. Not long ago I talked with another native of that island and he had the same insane ideas. I have always thought that the secret to the success of the British has been their policy of afflicting the weak with death and destruction.

Now, however, I am in touch with West Indian Negroes who detest the very idea of royalty and do not enjoy much more than I do the singing of "God Save the King." They are beginning to feel as I did when I was in London and saw and heard this so often that I wanted to substitute a familiar verb to change this to an imprecation, for the ills of the peoples of color will never come to an end until the British Empire is destroyed Race prejudice elsewhere is due in a large measure to the fact that England set the example of race distinctions. The Negroes in the West Indies are beginning to understand this situation.

It will hardly seem out of place to remark that while the "highly educated Negroes" of this country oppose the teaching of Negro culture, these leaders of the West Indies are boldly demanding it. The opposition of Negroes to the movement, however, is not without "reason" from their point of view. They say that their own race has no history to compare with that of the Hebrews, the Greeks, the Latins and the Teuton. Our children, then, should not waste time with insignificant affairs of Negroes and their backward culture. The Negro, then, must spend his days admiring others and thereby he may accidentally become something himself.

Some of the "highly educated Negroes" tell me that I am doing wrong to invite attention especially to the race. They say that we are not Negroes. We are Americans: and men like you who go around talking about the Negro keep the race in the foreground in such a way as to cause a reaction of other races against us. A Harvard Negro friend tells me that we should become silent on this thing and the world will, then, forget that we are Negroes and will accept us in the great body of citizens without regard to race or color.

West Indies.

THE EXUMA ELECTION ANALYSED

The Tribune

In this issue of *The Tribune* we are able to give some interesting facts about Negro enterprise in the United States. We admittedly publish these figures with a large degree of pride and satisfaction in the hope that they may inspire young men and women in this community—in the words of Booker T. Washington—to "et down your bucket where you are," and work for the greater glory and development of the Bahama Islands. 4-22-31

What will perhaps surprise many of our readers will be to learn that, in a short space of eleven days, we have acquired a better understanding of Southern mentality. We are convinced from our observations that it is in the South and not in the North, where conditions generally are made easier for the Negro, not in the West Indies as we had hoped, that a solution for the mixed race problem will eventually be evolved, but in the Southern States. The South is a hard school—it has been and is still, to a degree, a cruel school. But it is a furnace from which the Negro is emerging as highly tempered steel, fully equipped to meet and overcome the difficulties which still lie ahead. The American people have always been an enigma to us. Individuals are splendid, but as a people they have always appeared to be ruthless in their dealings with the mass of Negroes, but we think we understand them better now, and while we cannot endorse their methods, nevertheless, we are forced to realize that the segregation as practiced on Negroes in the South, instead of dispiriting and defeating the aspirations of this group, has produced a finer and a stronger article—full of self-reliance and determination to look the future squarely in the face.

Segregation is hard to tolerate, but ithas been a boon to the people of the South, for, where they have been barred from enjoyment of certain public places and privileges they have created their own and in this way they have learnt to master enterprises which ordinarily they would not have ventured into. In spite of all the injustices and oppressive measures, which, by the way, are being overcome daily, of which we read as happening in the States, the Negro today is given a greater measure of public recognition in the United States and in France than in, perhaps, any other country in the world, and at their present rate of development and progress we can see a new day dawning for the Negro in this part of the world. The Negro in the South has been forced to humble himself in the dust, but he is now emerging a conqueror, and a recent survey shows that he is outstripping his brother in the North where he has been pampered and sheltered. Indeed it has been pointed out that even that progress which has been made by Negroes in the North is traceable to men from the South and to West Indians who have migrated to that section of the country.

We have always felt that in the same degree as the Negro is oppressed he will be forced to unite for a common purpose, and whenever the race has united they have not only overcome what appear to be insuperable obstacles, but they have in consequence also progressed intellectually and economically. In this theory we see the explanation of the recent Exuma election. Frankly, we were surprised at the outcome of this struggle; for a time afterwards we thought it was only a freak election which would not—could not—be repeated in another century, but our visit to the Southern States has made us realize that it is "the handwriting on the wall," the danger signal to people in this community to stop and think. With the advent of prosperity to this Colony, the gulf which divided the two races in these islands became ever wider until certain people in this community threw aside all diplomacy in their dealings with the coloured people. Slowly but surely—almost invisibly — the barrier has been raised against the full realization by the coloured people of their natural and legitimate aspirations. Sometimes we think that only the coloured people themselves have sensed this trend, so slow has been its development. The Exuma Election is the answer to this growing movement, and it is going to take a great deal of diplomacy among the thinking people in both races to prevent surprising changes from being made on the future political map of the Colony. This new spirit has been a slow growth—it has been an imperceptible growth, one that no one actually perceived or could measure before the Exuma Election, and many even now cannot measure its full significance. It is a situation which cannot be handled by the old methods of intimidation. Some people who are annoyed by the outcome of this election are attempting retaliatory measures on individuals. This worked years ago. Today it will not. It has the tendency rather to aggravate than to allay the great mass of people. This is the situation as we see it, and we put it bluntly in the hope that responsible men in the City will take an inventory of their conduct and attitude generally on race relationships.

Already there is talk of candidates for various other districts. In such an eventuality, it has been pointed out, this Colony would soon be a Crown Colony. We have no doubt of this development, but when one realizes that it is in Colonies such as Bermuda and the Bahamas, which enjoy representative government, that these handicaps are experienced, and not in Crown Colonies in the West Indies, it is not a development which this group feel that they should contemplate with any degree of trepidation.

We, therefore, entreat the thinking people of this community to come together in an effort to understand each other better and thereby obviate a greater widening of the breach which has been brought about by thoughtlessness and lack of discretion in high places.

THE EXUMA ELECTION ANALYSED

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Studying Governments

Defender

IN almost every university now the world of governments is in the course of study. Students, particularly those who lean to public questions, are taken through the story of nations. The international crowd holds down the professorships and the view now is that nations are local conveniences for the world state. 5-30-31

The relationship of nation to nation is also foremost topic for the free platforms of the liberals and a process of education in angles and attit des is at work everywhere. The place of the United States as a leader nation in the new dictum is more often spoken of than the place or condition of any other nation. At work in America is every element of thought. Whereas it was held years ago that we had emerged a distinct people, it now appears that we are still in the making.

The attitude of the United States towards both South and Central America and the island countries within the radius of its influence is under scrutiny. How to be all powerful and yet just is puzzling to the government that wishes to be all things to all men. A few days ago a distinguished western college gave a day to a public relations class that considered the question of the United States and the Antilles.

In the universities around Chicago plenty material has been at hand to sustain the philanthropy of the United States but little to support the protest of countries that think they have a grievance. But our governmental agencies are well organized. One day it is announced that the Filipinos have given up the hope or desire of freedom. The next day a two line denial that they have is buried in the news. Chicago, Ill.

Mr. Hoover returned from Porto Rico with the glad tidings that Porto Rico was satisfied as she is. A month later a dispatch informs us that the independence party is up and doing. A day or two later still Gov. Theodore Roosevelt flies home.

Neither the Philippines, Porto Rico, Cuba nor any Central American country that resists the power of the United States and is driven to apprehension, is intelligent in remonstrance. Only Haiti seems to be the diplomatic equal of Washington. It is doubtful if a cause was ever more clearly stated than that of Haiti by Chauvet, brilliant Haitian editor, who spoke for it a few days ago. Students interested in the historic importance of these times, and a practical world interested only in what is, will find in Chauvet the model statement.

In part he said:

"Haiti is pro-American but anti-occupationist. Haitians feel that the American jobholders, the so-called American experts who have become an object of derision throughout the country, are, by their blunders injuring the economic life of the nation.

"Not only are Americans holding most of the important offices, but they do not even speak the language, and gross inefficiency is the rule. With the end of the mailed fist military rule of Haiti by marines the civil occupation has broken down in the face of the government and economic problems of the country.

"Haitians understand clearly that it is not the American nation but a gang of racketeer jobholders who are deceiving the American people, who are creating the present serious situation. For example, a mere American typist, without any qualifications, is giver the highly technical position of road engineer.

"An instance of the gross maladministration of Haiti is furnished by the service d'hygiene, where marine corporals with no medical training are made officers, although Haitians with five years of standard medical training are kept waiting and jobless. The marines have even to be told the instruments they are to use.

"We hope the American government will take prompt action to Haitianize the country by restoring control of all government services to the well qualified Haitian citizens who are ready and waiting for the task. Haiti is eager to solve its problems in a spirit of friendly co-operation with the United States."

So "Haiti is pro-American." Howbeit, Chauvet here gives a lesson to other smaller people who find their hand in the lion's mouth. The trouble with Porto Rico, for example, is that it lacks directness of determination. It wants to be free, but doesn't know why. The Philippines know why they wish to be free, but seem hopelessly lost in the desert of generalities.

As the world was with us before the World war it will be no more. The earnestness with which young men, in preparation for duties of state, are studying all peoples and their affairs, indicates that we are facing a new day. After the next war, which is now in the making, maps and philosophies of government both will be newly marked.

West Indies.

Panamanians Seek to Drive Out of Republic West Indians Discharged By U. S. From Canal

Prominent Leaders Join In Demand to Exile Islanders Who Hold Needed Jobs and Are Burden—Many Insane.

PANAMA, R. P., July 20.—Citizens here including politicians, professional and businessmen, in a memorial sent to President Ricardo J. Alfaro last Thursday asked for immediate action in preventing West Indians who may be discharged from their employment on the Canal Zone, from remaining in Panamanian territory and to repatriate all those who are at present unemployed and have no visible means of support. The memorial was also printed on a fly sheet and distributed in the city with the heading in bold type: "The fatherland is in danger, 3,700 more West Indians in Panama means 3,700 more Isthmian families in grave difficulties."

The memorial and fly sheet created consternation among the West Indian population as well as concern among the native element.

Ask U. S. Support.

The movement followed the publication of a resolution adopted by the Panama Canal Post of the American Legion, at a convention held in the Cristobal last Sunday. The Legion went on record as opposing the employment of "aliens" on the Panama Canal, and only 3,000 citizens of the United States. and that aliens held 3,700 skilled and semi-skilled positions which should be held by Americans. The Legion voted for 100 per cent employment of Americans on the Panama Canal and directed that the resolution be forwarded to the Legion headquarters in the United States and that every effort be made to win over the Congressmen of the United States to vote in favor of the measure and oust all aliens from the Canal Zone.

In a later newspaper report it is said that Gov. Burgess was in sympathy with the resolution of the Legion, but pointed out the impossibility of making any wholesale change in the personnel of the Canal force at the present time to make way for American citizens. This was explained to the Metal Trades Council, by Assistant Secretary of War Payne, it was said.

The memorial cites further reasons for the eviction of West Indians in that a large sum of money is being spent in the upkeep of Insane West Indians at Corozal.

Many prominent West Indians leaving here for a visit home have been denied re-entrance into this Republic. The Panama Canal Zone is owned by the United States and the discharge of hundreds of workers there has dumped them on the Republic and premeditated the present crisis.

Wants Them Exiled

The Panama Tribune published by Panamanian, formerly a West Indian says:

President Alfaro was asked to adopt several measures, some of which are: to "oppose the entrance to Panamanian territory of Jamaicans and West Indians of the Negro race who may be discharged from the Canal Zone." To, "decree the expulsion from Panamanian territory of all West Indians who have no visible means of support." To "formulate and present to the Claims commission a plan for the injuries caused to the Republic through the refusal of the Panama Canal to send back to their countries the Jamaicans and West Indians of the Negro race brought here to work on the canal and whose work has been completed these many years." That if the Panama Canal government does not tolerate unemployed West Indians on the Canal Zone, Panama should not be forced to harbor them." That "Panama does not desire the mixture of black West Indians with the Natives." That Negroes are of an inferior and detested race and are not desired in any country, being expelled from Honduras, Cuba and even from the United States."

Many Islanders Insane.

The memorial presents further reasons for the eviction of West Indians and call upon the President to act at once as Panama is spending a large sum in the upkeep of insane West Indians at Corozal and in the prisons of the destitute native families.

Too Loyal to Britain.

On Wednesday morning, the Spanish section of the Panama American carried a lengthy editorial to the same effect, and pointed out that the West Indians maintain allegiance to the British crown, while taking bread from the mouths of hungry Panamarians, and that when distinguished Britishers, like the Prince of Wales and Baden Powell arrive, these West Indians flock to pay them honor, but when in trouble these same West Indians claim that they are Panamanians. The paper urged President Alfaro to act and to settle this matter of dual nationality at once. All Panama labor organizations have enrolled in the fight to oust the West Indians, and recently a new practice was adopted by the National Lottery, not to allow West Indian vendors to sell tickets.

Panama Decrees West Indian Aliens Barred From Citizenship

President of Colon U. N. I. A. Will Make Test Case Before Supreme Court of Vicious Ruling.

PANAMA, P. R., Aug. 24.—Following the recent agitation to bar 3,700 West Indians discharged by the United States in the Canal Zone and the banning of a West Indian Merchant from returning to his business here, the Color U. N. I. A. has begun to fight back. The Panama Tribune says:

Declaring that he had not yet made application to become a naturalized citizen of Panama, but that he intended to do so within a month, and if refused would take the matter to the Supreme Court as a test case, Hector Connor, president of the Colon Bakeries and Groceries Corporation, is now seeking legal advice on the reply of Secretary of Government and Justice F. Arias P., issued last Wednesday.

All Colored Races Barred

The Secretary of Government passed the ruling that "Aliens of restricted immigration cannot obtain citizenship papers whatever be the time of their residence in Panama." His ruling was made in reply to a request from Mr. Connor as to whether "foreigners of the colored race, to-day undesirables and considered of restricted immigration, with more than 10 years residence in the territory of the Republic and who own real estate or practice a profession" have lost the right to citizenship.

In the original Immigration Law 13 of 1926, a distinction was made in favor of "aliens of restricted immigration," who had "married to a Panamanian, owned property was engaged in business, or resided in the country for more than 10 years." These were not to be restricted in any manner, and it is upon this provision that Hector Connor sought a ruling and under Article 6 of the Constitution, which says that "all foreigners and natives are equal before the law."

The Naturalization Laws of 1930 changed the provisions of Law 13 of 1926, and Connor argued that the law could not be retroactive and could not be made to affect an acquired right. In his ruling Secretary Arias P., said that "foreigners residing in the country, whatever be the time of their residence, who belong to such races had not acquired any rights, but there were faculties and authorities which make them prospects to exercise the rights necessary to secure the standing of Panamanian citizens."

Justice Comes to United States

An effort was made by The Tribune, to obtain in amplification of the ruling from Secretary Arias, but due to his departure on Saturday for the United States, this was not possible. Mr. Arias P., is running for the candidacy of his party for the presidential elections of 1932.

Haitians Rejoice, Celebrate As U. S. Turns Over Reins

PORT - AU - PRINCE, Haiti, Oct. 8—Haiti celebrated a national holiday Thursday when the native government took over three additional departments from American officials under the agreement signed last August whereby Haitians will replace Americans in the government service as rapidly as possible, in line with President Hoover's program for Haitianization of the government.

President Stenio Vincent personally installed the newly-appointed Haitian heads of departments, in the Agriculture Service Technique section, and elaborate ceremonies marked the turning over of the offices to native officials.

Meanwhile Americans who had been employed there sailed for [illegible]

HAYTI CELEBRATES AS U. S. OFFICIALS QUIT MOST POSTS

Port-Au-Prince, Hayti, Oct. 1— Hayti celebrated a national holiday today when the government took over three additional departments from American officials under the agreement signed last August whereby Haytians will replace Americans in the goverament service as rapidly as possible, in line with President Hoover's program for Haytianization of the government.

The changes were made largely in the department originally called the Agriculture Service Technique, and which now is divided into two departments, agriculture and education. Several of the Americans who had been employed in Haytian government work, in conformity with the Haytian-American treaty, sailed for home today on the steamship Kittery. Twenty left yesterday on the Ancon, and the last of them are scheduled to sail on Saturday aboard the Stuyvesant.

Only three departments remain in the charge of Americans: the office of the financial adviser; the general receiver, which includes the customs collectors, and the Haytian constabulary, which still contains many officers from the American Army.

President Stenio Vincent personally installed the newly-appointed Haytian heads of departments and elaborate ceremonies marked the turning over of the offices to native officials.

U. S. GOV'T QUITS HAITI

10-10-31

Natives Replace Americans In Agriculture Service — Two Departments Unchanged.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 8—The administration and control of Haitian affairs, with the exception of two services, was turned over to the Haitian government last Thursday, when an agreement, signed by Dana G. Munro, the American Minister, and A. N. Legel, the Haitian Minister for Foreign Affairs, at Port-au-Prince, August 5, became effective.

The services which were turned over to the Haitian government included the public works, technical agriculture and industrial education and the public health services with the exception of the sanitation of Port-au-Prince and Cape Haitien.

American control was retained of the services of the financial adviser-receiver general and the gendarmerie force of Haiti.

The State Department in announcing the transfer of authority stated that the Haitianization of the services had been more rapidly effected than suggested in the recommendations of the Forbes commission and even than proposed by the Haitian government.

The State Department said:

"In the late winter of 1930 the President's Commission for the Study and Review of Conditions in Haiti visited the Haitian Republic and made important recommendations looking to a gradual and orderly return to Haitian control of the activities then supervised by American officials in accordance with the terms of the treaty of September 15, 1915, between the United States and the Republic of Haiti.

"On August 5 an accord was signed at Port-au-Prince by the American Minister and the Haitian Minister for Foreign Affairs, turning over to the control of the Haitian government the service of the public works, the technical service of agriculture and industrial education and the national public health service of Haiti, with the exception of those activities related to the sanitation of Port-au-Prince and Cape Haitian, effective October 1.

"The above represents a complete transfer to Haitian authority of all services, excepting the office of the financial adviser-general receiver and the Garde d'Haiti (the gendarmerie force of Haiti), both of which services require especially careful attention and safeguards on account of the obligations assumed by this government jointly with that of Haiti in connection with the bond issue made under the provisions of the treaty of 1915, the additional act of 1917 and the protocol of October 3 1919."

I

Haiti

Race Problem - 1931

West Indies

OUR "DISOCCUPATION" OF HAITI FRAUGHT WITH MANY PROBLEMS

Times 3-29-31 New York, N.Y.

Distrust and Depression Cause Islanders to Demand More Speed In the Withdrawal of American Officials

By ERNEST GRUENING.

THE "disoccupation" is the all-consuming problem in Haiti. How rapidly within the next five years evacuation of that Caribbean State by the forces of the United States will take place is the great concern of some hundred thousands of Haitians and of several hundred American officials, civil and military.

A new chapter in the glamourous history of Haiti began in December, 1929, when a strike of students in an agricultural school, culminating in bloodshed, spread into a nation-wide demonstration against the American occupation. President Hoover, stating in a message to Congress that he had "inherited" the problem, sent a commission to investigate "when and how we are to withdraw."

Confronting an acute condition in Haiti, the commission unanimously demanded and received by wireless amplified powers and within a few days had arranged for a "free" election of a Congress and President. No Legislature had been permitted to convene in Haiti since that body was dissolved in 1917 by Generals Cole and Butler "with the help of a few marines" for refusing to vote a Constitution made in the United States.

Objectors Elected.

The elections were held. They resulted in a virtually clean sweep for the Haitians who had uncompromisingly objected to United States overlordship and had refused to accept office under the "occupation."

The new Congress balloted for President. The choice narrowed down to Stenio Vincent and Seymour Pradel, both lawyers. Vincent won by five votes and took office in November. No man in Haiti is more universally respected and more genuinely beloved. With his election, the office of American High Commissioner established in 1922 by President Harding was abolished, and its incumbent for eight years, Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, left the island. Official and regular diplomatic relations were resumed with the arrivals at Port-au-Prince of Dana Munro as United States Minister, and at Washington of Dantès Bellegarde, formerly Haiti's delegate to the League of Nations and probably the nation's most distinguished literary figure.

Outwardly Haiti is peaceful. Yet beneath the surface is a strange tenseness. It comes to light in every conversation with cultured Haitians. Haitian "society" is a miniature of the French—transplanted to the tropics and appropriately bronzed by heritage and sunlight. It is now greatly concerned over the complete recapture of Haitian autonomy. It is likewise profoundly distressed by Haiti's economic plight.

A Legacy of Distrust.

Given the political progress made since President Hoover's Forbes Commission departed in March, 1930, one would expect the Haitians to be optimistic and jubilant. But the execution of the withdrawal program and the substitution of Americans by Haitians in the so-called "treaty services" are impeded by a fifteen-year legacy of antagonism and distrust.

The Forbes Commission reported that "the acts and attitude of the treaty officials gave * * * the impression that they had been based upon the assumption that the occupation would continue indefinitely." It further expressed regret that in the various projects and plans undertaken by the American officials no account was taken of the fact that the occupation would terminate under the treaty in 1936, and that an insufficient number of Haitians had been trained for posts of authority and responsibility in the technical and other services.

The questions involved in the "Haitianization" program form the chief bone of contention between American and Haitian officials at present. The Americans contend—the Forbes report to the contrary notwithstanding—that Haitianization has been a part of their integral policy, has been going on for some time and at least as fast as the capabilities of the Haitians have permitted.

There is, to be sure, a wide difference in the respective services in the matter of Haitianization. The poorest showing is made in the Garde d'Haiti, which, after fifteen years, has not a single Haitian above the grade of Captain. At the time of the Forbes Commission report only two Captains out of twenty-eight were Haitians; in the year that has elapsed two more have been commissioned, but the nine Majors, five Colonels, the Brigadier General and Major General are Americans.

Addressing representatives of the committee on cultural relations with Latin America on Feb. 26, last, President Vincent charged that the Garde had not, since the beginning, been organized in the spirit of the treaty. Haitians of standing persistently express fear that a definite desire exists among certain members of the occupation to leave the Garde constituted so that it may be a force for revolution rather than for maintenance of order. While so grave an accusation must of necessity be wholly presumptive, the slowness with which Haitians have been commissioned, the failure to entrust any of the higher ranks to Haitians, many of whom are well qualified, and the closing of the Military School—now reopened—have not unnaturally nourished Haitian suspicions.

On the other hand, the National Public Health Service—the outstanding achievement of the occupation, organized originally by United States naval medical officers—was largely Haitianized even before the Hoover pronouncement. Of a total personnel of 2,225, only thirty-eight are Americans. Nearly half the Haitian physicians in the country are employed in this government service; and a splendid service it is in every way.

Principal Officials American.

Numerically, the Financial Service makes a good showing with 96 per cent Haitians. The principal officials are, however, Americans. The highest office held by a Haitian in this service is chief of the legal section. In the Controller's department Haitians head the four sections on bank audit, bookkeeping, payroll and vouchers. In the fifteen customs ports five of the collectors in charge are Americans; in ten less important ports they are Haitians.

The storm centre is the Service Technique, against which the strike of December, 1929, took place. The pupils' strike continues. The superb and costly college at Damien, the centrepiece of the entire system of vocational training, the normal schools for the teachers, is empty. Nearly 300 students have remained out for a year and a quarter. Their original protest was directed against the former director of the service, Dr. Freeman, who was charged with being arbitrary, with disregarding suggestions from Haitian sources, and with general incompatibility. Actually there was profound dissatisfaction with the Service Technique.

In itself excellently conceived, this service was the occupation's educational pet child. To it funds were increasingly diverted at the expense of the other government schools, to which the Haitians, reared in the French traditions, were accustomed. Furthermore the Service Technique was conceived on a grand scale wholly disproportionate to Haiti's slender resources. The Haitians' charges were in a measure substantiated by the Moton Commission dispatched by President Hoover to study education in Haiti. Listing some sixteen objections made by Haitians against the Service Technique, the commission reached the conclusion that:

"The fear expressed by the Haitian people that the purpose of the Service Technique has been to supplant their educational system by another complete system appears to be justified." The commission likewise admitted "some sympathy with the Haitian viewpoint that the service is overstaffed and extravagant," and criticized "the failure of the Service Technique to secure in America a trained personnel who speak the French language." To this last the occupation officials reply, in effect: "Try and find them!"

Cause of Friction.

The issue is now acute concerning Dr. Freeman's successor. In consequence of the major row which had developed with Dr. Freeman as the target, he resigned and left Haiti. Carl Colvin, next in line, was named last July for the position. The Haitians declared him "the man behind" the unpopular Freeman policies, and maintain that, since it is after all their education and their funds, no official distinctly persona non grata should be forced upon them.

"We have the implied obligation," President Hoover instructed the Forbes Commission, "of assisting in building up a stable self-government." The difficulty in Haiti just now is that the United States considers itself, by virtue of the treaty, the final arbiter of just how that assistance shall be rendered. The Haitians counter, unofficially, with the declaration that the treaty was imposed by force and that the United State has neither legal nor moral right in Haiti.

Government Under Stress.

Between these two fires the Haitian Government of Sténio Vincent finds itself. On the one hand is the graciously presented but firm determination of Mr. Munro to permit no transfer of authority until in his judgment the right moment arrives and the proper personnel is adequately trained. On the other hand is the seething and united sentiment of the Haitians who believe that Haitianization can be performed very quickly—two years at the outside is President Vincent's view—and are, moreover, largely skeptical of the superior expertness and capacity of the Americans on the payroll.

Moreover there is the darkening cloud of depression.

World conditions are chiefly responsible. Haiti's principal products and exports are coffee, cotton, sugar and cacao, the prices of which have sunk to new bottoms. Moreover, 80 per cent of the nation's revenues are derived from customs duties. With the purchasing power clipped, the imports, and hence the government income, have suffered a corresponding diminution. The fiscal year ending Sept. 30, 1930, showed both imports and exports lower than in any year since 1921-22—the post-war deflation year—and the last six months show further declines. Already there is talk of not being able to maintain the existing program of education, health work, construction and the rest.

For this the occupation, in complete control of and solely responsible for Haitian finances for fifteen years, gets the full onus. And there is enough which may legitimately be criticized in its fiscal policy—the needless anticipation of debt amortization, excessive expenditure on edifices and disproportionately elaborate public works, the failure to an-

Haiti Marches Toward Freedom

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By ERNEST GRUENING

TEN and a half years ago, in the early fall of 1920, three Haitians came to the United States to plead their country's cause. It was their first opportunity after five years of military rule and still-continuing martial law. For the first time word of what had happened had passed the strict naval censorship, and *The Nation,* with the articles of Herbert J. Seligmann and James Weldon Johnson, had in the preceding summer made the facts concerning our crudest imperialistic venture known to the world. Presidential Candidate Warren G. Harding, whose attention had been called to *The Nation's* articles and to Major General Barnett's criticism of "indiscriminate killings" in Haiti, made the matter a campaign issue and denounced the "jamming" of a constitution made in the United States "down the throats . . . of helpless neighbors in the West Indies . . . at the points of bayonets borne by the United States marines." A Senatorial inquiry was pending. It was the psychological moment to present the Haitian case.

The three representatives of the Union Patriotique d'Haïti delegated with this important mission came to the offices of *The Nation* filled with the cumulative injustices, brutalities, and killings of the military occupation. Scarcely a year before, the uprising brought about by the ruthless application of the *corvée*—the forced road labor—had been bloodily put down by marine airplanes and machine-guns, with the death of some 2,500 Haitians, including women and children. "Bandits," the Occupation called them.

The three Haitian delegates were Sténio Vincent, Pauléus Sannon, and Perceval Thoby. Sannon was one of the two Cabinet members immortalized, though anonymously, in Admiral Caperton's famous message of September 8, 1915:

> Successful negotiation of treaty is predominant part of present mission. After encountering many difficulties, treaty situation at present looks more favorable than usual. This has been effected by the exercising of military pressure at propitious moments in negotiations. Yesterday two members of Cabinet who had blocked negotiations resigned. . . .

Sannon was one of the two who refused to assent to the signing away of their country's independence. Since his resignation fifteen years ago, he has steadfastly declined to countenance by word or deed the invasion and conquest of his country or to cooperate with the invaders—in consequence suffering personal privation and hardship which only an unflinching devotion to principle and a rare patriotism would have endured.

Last spring, given the first opportunity to register their will—in the first free and honest election in fifteen years—the Haitians elected Sténio Vincent President of Haiti. Pauléus Sannon is Secretary of Foreign Relations, back in the post which he so honorably quit fifteen years ago, and now charged with the pleasant, important, and delicate task of negotiating with United States Minister Dana Munro the "disoccupation" of Haiti by the Americans. Perceval Thoby is likewise in the Cabinet—as Secretary of Finance. The Congressional elections were a clean sweep for those who had never ceased to protest against the illicit imposition of a treaty and constitution on their country by *force majeure.* In the new Senate are Price-Mars, the distinguished littérateur; David Jeannot and Léon Nau of the executive committee of the Union Patriotique; Fouchard Martineau, who as a senator in 1915 steadfastly voted against the "pressure treaty"; Antoine Telemaque, imprisoned for his convictions; and Pierre Hudicourt, who, following the return of the Union Patriotique delegates, came to the United States, addressed public meetings, told Haiti's story to Senators like Borah, Norris, King, and the elder La Follette, and in 1923 journeyed to Santiago de Chile to the Fifth Pan-American Conference, where with Manuel Morillo of the Dominican Republic he called aloud for justice for those two small countries—an unscheduled interruption in the smoothly functioning palaver of official Pan-Americanism.

Finally, the president of the Chamber of Deputies is none other than Joseph Jolibois, fils, most-imprisoned of Haitian journalists—and indeed of all Haitians—whose unceasing protests have netted him seventeen jail terms totaling four years and seven months. Like William Lloyd Garrison, he would not compromise, he would not equivocate, and he would be heard. When I saw Jolibois ten years ago in Haiti, it was through iron bars. My fellow-journalist wore stripes. In a few weeks he will preside, gavel in hand, in the lower house, when the Congress of Haiti reconvenes for the first time in thirteen years since it was dissolved by General Cole for refusing to vote a constitution which gave foreigners the right to own land and placed the courts martial of the U. S. M. C. above the Haitian courts. It has been said that republics are ungrateful, but no such ingratitude has been in evidence since the Hoover Commission put an end to the collusive dictatorship of Russell and Borno.

I had expected to find universal satisfaction among the Haitians that the evacuation had been definitely set for 1936, and that the realization of the "Haiti joyeuse" of which Dantes Bellegarde has written so eloquently was not far off. But I found public sentiment among the elite curiously apprehensive and tense. Would the Occupation really get out? Could American promises be trusted after so many betrayals? And suppose Mr. Hoover should not be reelected in 1932, might not his successor reverse his policy? To which it seemed obvious to reply, as a personal conviction firmly held, that the United States had publicly promised to retire from Haiti in the course of the next five years, and that likewise the trend of present United States policy, as shown by events in Mexico, the announcement of withdrawal of the marines from Nicaragua, and recent declarations by Secretary Stimson, was all away from coercion and toward friendliness and arbitration.

ticipate the possible lean years during the seven of plenty—to justify in a measure these recriminations. The fruit of fifteen years of compulsory "expert economic supervision," the Haitians assert bitterly, is misery without precedent in their country.

The situation is full of tragic irony. Just at a time when the United States might conceivably render some genuine assistance to the Haitians, the cumulative errors of the past render the possibility of cooperation difficult. The Haitians are impatient to have us go. And they assert, unofficially, that the only way in which assistance from the United States could be acceptable would be on a wholly new basis, the wiping out of the existing treaty—which they cannot forget was imposed "by military pressure"—and the negotiation of a new one by mutual consent.

Meanwhile, in a situation loaded with psychological factors and weighty imponderables and shadowed by shrinking revenues, a major diplomatic task confronts Minister Dana Munro and the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Pauléus Sannon, representing their respective governments. "Conversations" between them are in process. It is to be hoped that the mutual good-will which is so obviously present, intelligence and a large vision will triumph over mistakes and rancors of the past.

Race Problem - 1931 I

West Indies

Haiti.

Why, then, it was asked, did "Haitianization"—the turning over of the so-called treaty services to a Haitian personnel—not proceed more rapidly? Mr. Dana Munro, the American Minister, had been there three months, and nothing had happened. Moreover, why, if the Hoover Administration really wished to change things, had it not removed some of the objectionable (to the Haitians) officials and substituted others with a new outlook? Why had Washington sent Mr. Munro, "un nourrisson du département d'état"—a nursling of the State Department—a former assistant chief of the Latin American Division, an official brought up and steeped in the ways of Caribbean imperialism? As was to be expected, he was getting his viewpoint from the Occupation officials. Why had President Hoover not sent Monsieur William Allen White, for instance, who had so rapidly won the Haitians' affection and esteem, and seemed to understand their point of view?

To which the obvious answer was to repeat that the "disoccupation" policy had been pledged; that the Forbes Commission might easily have been loaded with members favorable to continued occupation; that, finally, President Hoover would not have needed to accept its recommendations. Likewise, that three months was too short a time to expect material progress in turning over a complicated administrative structure that for fifteen years had been directed by Americans. Why not be a little patient? Nation

The fact is that a state of psychic tension exists among the Haitians. It is easily understandable after what they have endured for fifteen years. The bloodshed of a year ago last December, arising from the students' strike in the vocational schools, was an ominous warning that the repression could not be endured much longer. The Forbes Commission found a highly inflamed state of public mind. Had it not acted with promptness and effectiveness there would unquestionably have been a widespread uprising with a reckless disregard of fatal consequences. And despite the break in that intolerable tension and the great relief brought about by the elimination of the "puppet President," Borno, the abolition of the High Commissionership with the withdrawal of General Russell, and the restoration of Haitian self-government to the extent of a free election of legislature and president, the tension continues. The passage from Rostand's "L'Aiglon" in which Dietrichstein, the preceptor of Napoleon's son at the Austrian court, declares "Le prince n'est pas prisonnier, mais . . ." is bandied about as descriptive of Haiti's plight today. "Haiti is free—but . . ." And indeed the Haitian state of mind resembles that of a man long imprisoned who a few weeks before the end of his term risks all by making a break for liberty. 4-31.

The official American point of view is that the United States has an obligation to the people of Haiti which it must discharge, that the continuation of "efficient and stable government" must be insured before withdrawal in 1936. In the words of one important United States official: "We want to be sure once we go out that we don't have to come back." From this follows logically the assumption that the United States through its representatives in Haiti shall determine when and how—within the next five years—the "Haitianization" of the treaty services shall take place. There, precisely, lies the arena of existing tension and disagreement.

The Haitians are unanimous in their desire to have the "Haitianization" completed at the earliest moment. Addressing the members of the "First Seminar in the Caribbean," President Vincent declared his belief that the Haitians who during the last fifteen years had been employed in the treaty services had sufficiently mastered their routine and were prepared to assume full responsibilities. In the opinion of his government the Department of Public Works and the Collector Receiver General's department ought to be turned over in not less than a year, and the Public Health Service and agricultural schools in not less than two years, while various services not formally comprehended in the treaty should be transferred at once. (These had been gradually taken over by the Americans with the connivance of Borno.) A counter-proposal which fixes limits less definitely and is apparently dependent on the speed with which Haitians qualify—in the opinion of the American authorities—embodies the official United States attitude.

Unofficially Haitians express the view that with the whole Occupation based on a treaty and constitution imposed by force and fraud, the treaty should be annulled and, if necessary, a new treaty negotiated. Indeed, from the American standpoint, such would seem to be the proper and honorable course. It will be recalled, and is pertinent, that in 1922 twenty-four eminent American lawyers, including the late Moorfield Storey, Louis Marshall, and Adelbert Moot, as well as Charles C. Burlingham, Raymond B. Fosdick, Charles P. Howland, George W. Kirchwey, Tyrrell Williams, and Zechariah Chafee, Jr., issued a brief which, after reviewing the circumstances of the United States' entry into Haiti, came to the following conclusion:

> We declare without qualification that the honor and good name of the United States, the preservation of the sovereignty and the cherished liberty of Haiti and her right to fair dealing on the part of the United States, as well as the possibility of assuring the continuance in the future of honorable and amicable relations between our country and Latin America based on trust and confidence, all require:
>
> (a) The immediate abrogation by the United States of the treaty of 1915, unconditionally and without qualification.
>
> (b) The holding of elections of representatives to the legislative bodies of Haiti and of a president by the free will of the people at an early day.
>
> (c) The negotiation of a new treaty with a new Haitian administration for friendly cooperation between the United States and Haiti upon such terms as shall be mutually satisfactory to both countries and by the methods that obtain between free and independent sovereign states.

The second of these three recommendations has been carried out. Whether it is possible for a government virtually to confess error, as abrogation of the treaty would implicitly do, is another question. Governments, unfortunately, seldom act that way. In my judgment the recommendations of the twenty-four lawyers are as valid today as nine years ago. It is probable that the very tension and misunderstanding in Haiti might be relieved by negotiating with the Haitians from this day forward as with a sovereign and equal nation. Certainly Haiti now has a truly representative and popular government with which we could deal. And it is possible that once it was freely "up to" the Haitians to decide in what manner and how fast their public services should be "Haitianized," their tempo would be a little slower than that which they now seem to require. In thus reaffirming an attitude which unbiased and disinterested Americans of standing have publicly proclaimed, I desire, first, to disclaim any desire to cast any monkey-wrench into the somewhat delicate processes of adjustment now under way in Haiti, for which certainly everyone, American or Haitian, of every shade of opinion should earnestly desire success; and, second, I wish to reemphasize the fact that I am viewing such abrogation of the treaty exclusively from the standpoint of the United States—the standpoint of our honor, repute, and good name. As far as Haiti is concerned, the question is, I believe, now largely academic, since we are on our way out, since five years is a very short time in the history of a country, since with their own President and Congress the Occupation will weigh less heavily henceforth, and since, moreover, whatever may be the convictions of Haitians of their ability to take over all the "treaty" services in short order, the process is not quite so simple.

The present differences between official Haiti and official United States derive from a divergent psychological approach. We have the tutelary complex. The Haitians resent it. Privately Americans will tell you that "Haiti is bound to relapse the minute we take our hands off." To which the Haitians reply in substance: (a) Nothing of the kind; or (b) well, if things go wrong it's because the Americans don't want us to succeed and will sabotage on the way out; or (c) that's our own lookout; it's our country.

The suspicion of a lack of sincerity in the carrying out of the evacuation is an unfortunate and inevitable product of the past. The Americans assert, on the other hand, that as soon as they get out the Haitian government will discharge all trained Haitians—on the spoils theory that these will have had good jobs for years and that it is time for others who have been "out" for a corresponding period to connect with the pay roll. Both these suspicions I hope and firmly believe are unfounded.

Typical of the absence of understanding, and the chief bone of contention just now, is "l'affaire Colvin." Carl Colvin was nominated by President Hoover last July to head the Service Technique, the system of vocational schools which the Haitians have objected to so bitterly. Their opposition has been due not so much to lack of appreciation of the need of agricultural and vocational training as to the Occupation's overemphasis and overexpenditure upon this service at the expense of the school system on the French model to which the Haitians had been accustomed. It was, from the Haitian standpoint, an importation, an imposition.

Personally, I think it has much to commend it. But dictatorship makes inevitably for lack of understanding and lack of cooperation from those dictated to. The strike of December, 1929, broke out as a cumulative protest against certain changes in the school program and against the director, Dr. Freeman. After the riot and bloodshed the Collège de Damien, the normal school of the Service Technique, remained without pupils. Dr. Freeman resigned and left the island. Colvin, his immediate subordinate, was appointed to take his place. From the American standpoint the appointment was excellent. Colvin had been in Haiti eight years. He had acquired complete familiarity with his work and with the needs of vocational and agricultural education there. But the Haitians declared him to be the man "behind" the unpopular Freeman policies. The pupils have remained on strike. Actually Mr. Colvin supported his superior's policies as any subordinate should. He differed with Dr. Freeman on some important issues, particularly those which offended the Haitians. But the situation had become psychological. Nearly three hundred prospective teachers have received no training for over a year. The school stands empty. The American government insists that it would be a gross personal injustice to Mr. Colvin to withdraw him, and the impasse continues. How much better to have sounded out Haitian opinion before making the appointment! And how absurd to hold up the education of a people because of a single individual! It *is* unfair and unfortunate for Mr. Colvin. He is the victim not so much of Haitian misunderstanding, as of a state of mind which the Occupation created fifteen years ago and for which he, vicariously, suffers.

Considerable philosophic implications underlie the struggle to insure "efficiency" before we leave. The Haitians may not—undoubtedly will not—be quite so "efficient" in the conduct of certain of the services. "Efficiency," "mass production," and various other technological improvements are our specialties. It remains to be seen whether they make the world or ourselves any happier. Assuming, for the sake of argument, that they make *us* happier, which is disputable, it is even more dubious whether they would make the Haitians happier. It is highly pertinent that the highways built by the Occupation, invariably pointed to as an achievement and the justification of our invasion, have ruined the small Haitian cane grower and the small Haitian distiller. Both these represented a considerable industry, indigenous, responsive to the Haitians' needs. The cane was brought by the small growers on the backs of donkeys following long-existing trails to local distilleries scattered throughout the country. Highways have enabled the three great sugar- and rum-producing companies, the largest of which is the American-owned Haitian-American Sugar Company, by the use of automobiles, to put the little fellows—natives—out of business. It was not so intended. But it happened.

And so—apart from the fundamental fact that we never had right in Haiti except that which might confers—possibly the strongest argument against our whole Haitian venture from start to finish, including our now really well-intentioned efforts to "do it for their good," is, I believe, to be found in the assurance of the most convinced interventionists that the Haitians will "relapse after we get out."

To which I am tempted to ask in reply: What do you mean by "relapse"? If they are happier with us out, it won't be a relapse.

I am sure they will be happier.

Likewise, fifteen years of American occupation support convincingly the truth uttered a generation ago, when American imperialism was in its infancy, by Thomas Brackett Reed: "The best government of which a people is capable is a government which they establish for themselves. With all its imperfections, with all its shortcomings, it is always better adapted to them than any other government, even though invented by wiser men."

And are we even "wiser men"? We might have thought so—in 1928. But today! Seven million unemployed with no effective measures for relief; crime rampant—our larger cities helpless before the violence and corruption of gangster and racketeer; our "justice" exemplified on the Atlantic coast by the Tammany magistracy, on the Pacific by the California Supreme Court . . . and the rest. How capable are we in the management of even our own affairs?

NEW YORK TELEGRAM

APR 27 1931

DANGER IN HAITI.

THE row between Minister Bellegarde, of Haiti, and General Smedley Butler reveals bad judgment on both sides.

The Haitian Minister is one of the most brilliant and distinguished members of the Negro race. He hates the marine occupation of his country. That is understandable. But a man of his intelligence should know that the United States government is responsible, and not the marines.

The duty of a soldier is to take orders, and not to reason why. When Bellegarde attempts to blame or belittle the soldier he injures the very strong case which he and his people have against the United States government.

As for General Butler, we have admired him more often than we've disagreed with him. But his record as a great soldier is so well established that it is surprising to find him defending it against the unfounded insinuations of Bellegarde.

Presenting the Secretary of the Navy with a parody of the latter's charges in the recent Mussolini episode no doubt was fun for a moment, but the General would now do well to drop the matter.

For there is a real issue between Haiti and the United States, one that is rapidly coming to a head, and it should not be obscured or confused by further Bellegarde-Butler exchanges.

Haitian-American relations are strained. The Hoover reform program is lagging. Haiti bitterly resents the plan to keep the United States marines there five years longer.

Saturday Ernest G. Chauvet, a leading editor of Port au Prince and close friend of the President of Haiti, warned a New York audience that unless there are reforms in American rule in Haiti, "possibly serious consequences" will result. He said:—

"Not only are Americans holding most of the important offices, but they do not even speak the language, and gross inefficiency is the rule. With the end of the mailed-fist military rule of Haiti by marines the civil occupation has broken down in the face of the governmental and economic problems of the country.

"Haitians understand clearly that it is not the American nation but a gang of racketeer jobholders who are deceiving the American people, who are creating the present serious situation."

Here again—as in the case of Nicaragua and Honduras—is proof that the Hoover good will policy is not in itself enough. We should get out of Haiti and get out at once. President Hoover wants to get out, but in Haiti, as in Nicaragua, he thinks the people are not yet strong enough to go on without Yankee tutelage.

What is needed, obviously, is a representative organization of all the American republics to guard international rights in this hemisphere and to protect the weak nations from the others.

New Haitian Minister

Dantes Bellegarde (left), newly appointed minister of Haiti, with F. Lemont Berlin of the state department, pictured at the White House when the former was presented to President Herbert Hoover. The new minister after presenting his letters of credence was well received.
—Photo by International Newsreel.

Race Problem - 1931

Haiti

West Indies.

HAITIANS STRIKE TO PROTEST ACTS OF U. S. ENGINEER

Courier 2-7-31

PORT-au-PRINCE, Haiti, Feb. 5—(CNS)—A general strike of all employes in the departments supervised by the American officials under the terms of the treaty between Haiti and the United States was feared last Tuesday.

The threat was precipitated by the refusal of Commander George A. Duncan, United States Navy, director general of public works, to acknowledge three promotions of members of his department, signed by President Stenio Vincent.

Protesting Commander Duncan's attitude, sixty clerical drafting and engineering employes walked out. The American officer maintained that promotions in his department were made on merit and not by presidential order.

Stenio Vincent, chosen on Nov. 18 as the first president elected regularly in Haiti since the American occupation began in 1916, has been regarded as a stern foe of American occupation, but the present incident is the first to indicate he might seek to interfere.

RACE PRIDE ON WANE IN HAITI

Courier 6-19-31

Find Countrymen Are Not So Ready To Give Recognition To The American Negro

St. Louis, Mo.

WASHINGTON, June 18.—(ANP)—It is easy to predict that the relations between colored Americans and Haitians are going to be much closer and friendlier because of the presence in this country as Haiti's minister of Dantes Bellegarde. M. Bellegarde has already indicted that he is an ambassador of good will as well as a diplomatic emissary.

Experience Coolness

In the not far distant past, it might have been possible for colored Americans to wonder whether Haitians were exactly colored.

The story got abroad that the Haitian minister feared that they would lose caste in diplomatic circles if they let it be known that they fraternized with the spised tenth." So they preferred to let us alone and to, supposedly, operate on the theory that they were a different sort of "colored folks".

Only last year when the Forbes commission to Haiti was appointed by President Hoover, without a single colored appointee, the report was broadcast that the Haitians themselves did not wish colored Americans looking into their affairs, not them, a free and sovereign nation.

Shows His Friendliness

But Monsieur Bellegarde, one of the smartest of Haitians, is not like that. He has shown not merely a willingness, but a desire as well to know colored America better. Not long ago he went to Baltimore to speak at a dinner given in honor of a colored school principal. Later, he was in New York at the testimonial to James Weldon Johnson. On both occasions he spoke and emphasized his desire for the growth of goodwill between colored America and Haiti.

Not alone in these formal ways, however, has this new spirit been manifest. The Haitian minister's family is becoming known. His wife and his children are showing the friendly attitude. They are going to church and to other affairs with the members of their race accepting invitations to parties, joining guests at dinner. The entire group is on the road to being well liked, popular

THE TREATY WITH HAITI.

It Is Held That Document of 1916 Was Not Renewed.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

THE TIMES'S staff correspondent, Mr. Denny, in a dispatch published in today's issue, commenting on the resolution introduced in the Haitian Chamber of Deputies, demanding that "America quit Haiti at once, as the treaty under which the Americans are acting is null and void," wrote: "The original treaty, which went into effect in 1916, was for ten years, with a provision that it could be renewed for another term of ten years if for specific reasons presented by either of the high contracting parties the purpose of this treaty has not been fully accomplished."

There exists an interpretative act by which it was "further agreed that a discussion, should the case occur, will be entered at the end of the tenth year, between the two governments, in order to examine if for specific reasons presented by either of the high contracting parties the purpose of the treaty has not been fully accomplished."

Your correspondent's assertion that "this extension was not placed before the American Senate for ratification, on the ground that it was unnecessary," might be good political expediency, but is not an emblem of high morality hoisted before the Haitian people. Neither was this so-called additional act ratified by the Haitian Council of State.

This document was never brought to light until 1922, after L. Borno assumed the Presidency. To give it a legal dress, this act was promulgated, regardless of the fact that on Oct. 3, 1919, a protocol for the loan of $40,000,000 had been signed between Constantin Benoit, Haiti's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Bailly Blanchard, the American Minister.

The final paragraph of the first article reads: "It is clearly understood that this protocol does not in fact or by implication extend the provision of the treaty of Sept. 16, 1916, hereinbefore mentioned." Article VIII of the protocol further stipulates: "It is further agreed that the control of an officer or officers duly appointed by the President of Haiti, upon nomination by the President of the United States, of the collection and allocation of the hypothecated revenues, will be provided for during the life of the loan, after the expiration of the aforesaid treaty."

Furthermore, in a letter published in the Nouvelliste of Port au Prince on July 18, 1922, President Dartiguenave formally denied that while he was President any renewal of the Haitian-American convention ever took place. JEAN G. LAMOTHE.

New York, June 17, 1931.

U. S. MADE IRON RULE FOR HAITI IT IS HINTED

Courier 7-3-31

Rumor Out That High Commissioner Blamed Washington For Acts That Resulted In Rebuke

REPORT WAS SUPPRESSED

St. Louis, Mo.

Declined To Give It Out Although It Answered The Charges That Were Publicly Aired

By HAROLD N. DENNY

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, June 27—From reliable sources here it is learned that the suppressed report of General John H. Russell, then American High Commissioner in Haiti, before the Forbes Commission investigating the American occupation in March, 1930, consisted in part of detailed proof that most if not all of the actions for which he was criticized either were directed by the Washington Administration or were approved by it. Accordnig to these sources, and according to other persons who were in close touch with the situation here both before and during the commission's visit to Haiti, General Russell was offered up as a sacrifice for the errors of American policy. As one result of the commission's visit, the office of High Commissioner was abolished and General Russell was relieved after eight years' service. There is still resentment among many Americans here at what they call his being made "the goat", although the commission, in its report to President Hoover, commended General Russell and President Hoover praised his services.

Kept Facts Concealed

General Russell's statement to the commission was not made public at the time it was presented, and it never has been made public since. It is believed that there are few copies in existence. The copy presented to the commission is understood to be in the State Department files, and one person of standing here who knew at least part of its contents said he did not believe it would be made public before there was a change of administration in Washington.

To understand its significance it is necessary to review past history. The commission sent by President Hoover last year was headed by W. Cameron Forbes, former Governor General of the Philippines and now Ambassador to Japan. Its other members were Henry P. Fletcher, James Kerney, William Allen White and Elie Vezina.

Accused as Oppressor

Before the commission's arrival there had been much criticism of the American occupation as directed by General Russell. The commission immediately began holding hearings which were open to the public and were largely attended by Haitians. The hearings were conducted much like a trial, with Haitian opponents vigorously and sometimes bitterly attacking both the occupation and General Russell. These witnesses charged again and again that General Russell was a dictator, ruling Haiti through President Borno, and some of them appealed for his removal.

These charges were fully reported by the American newspaper correspondents who accompanied the commission and were published broadcast in the United States. When it came turn for the American officials of the occupation to put in their defense, most of them replied in the form of prepared statements and lent themselves also to private hearings, to which members of the press were admitted. The big event of the occupation's side was of course the statement of General Russell. It was a bulky document, accompanied by exhibits, and, according to those close to General Russell at the time, it included a point-by-point refutation of all the charges made both against him and the occupation. General Russell did not appear personally before the commission at that time, but sent his statement by an aide. His statement is understood to have been accompanied by a letter to the commission asking that the statement be made accessible to the public. Newspaper correspondents expected that it would be made available to them, as everything else in the hearing had been, but when they asked for it they were told that it could be given out only by the authority of Mr. Forbes himself.

The Report Suppressed

Late in the day Mr. Forbes was reached. He immediately declined to make the report public. He was

pressed for it on the grounds that not only was it legitimate news, but that in justice to General Russell it should be given to the public, since all the charges against his administration had received ample publicity. Mr. Forbes still refused, explaining in substance that the situation in Haiti then was so delicate and full of danger that the publication of General Russell's statement might make trouble. The inference drawn from this was that its publication might increase the high tension that then existed among the Haitians. Persons close to the General described it as "loaded with dynamite".

General Russell himself would not give out copies with out the commission's authorization, and because of his diplomatic status he could not submit to an interview. The correspondents had to content themselves in their effort to present General Russell's side to reporting what they believed General Russell's position to be, as a result of conversations with his associates.

That incident has not been forgotten here, and now it is asserted that the real reason for the suppression of the statement was that it would have been politically disturbing in the United States. Its answers according to reliable report, were accompanied by copies of instructions from Washington which put on Washington the onus for decisions to which the Haitians objected. General Russell is said to have revealed himself as a soldier carrying out orders

And as a further indication of this they point out that while the hearings of the McCormick Commission which had made an earlier investigation of Haiti were published as a State Department document, the hearings of the Forbes Commission have not yet been made available Of the Forbes Commission's work only its actual report, with its recommendations for future procedure in Haiti, have been officially published

HAITI IS HARD HIT BY WORLD SLUMP

Year's Coffee Exports Decrease 927,000 Kilos, Valued at $712,800.

New York Times

HER IMPORTS ALSO DECLINE

New York, N. Y.

Heavy Spring Rains Did Severe Damage, but Little Is Being Done in Public Works.

7-5-31

By HAROLD N. DENNY,

Staff Correspondent of The New York Times.

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, June 25. —The present unrest in Haiti [dealt with by Mr. Denny in a series of articles in the daily issues of THE NEW YORK TIMES last week] growing out of her own political problems and the failure thus far of an agreement with the United States to end the occupation, is complicated by economic difficulties more serious than those of most countries even in these lean days.

Haiti's distress, of course, is a part of the world-wide depression, but it is made more severe by special local circumstances. The countries fringing the Caribbean seem in general to have been harder hit than most others in the world because their exports are less diversified than those of other regions. Cuba, for instance, is suffering because her one great export commodity, sugar, is selling in the world market at a price below the cost of production. Haiti's chief commodity is coffee, and that commodity also is in a slump which may last for years of low prices until the world surplus finally has been used up.

"The record for the first five months of the fiscal year, the months of greatest activity in foreign commerce, leave no doubt that the present year will rank as one of the poorest years in Haitian business history," said an analysis of the situation issued last Spring from the office of the financial adviser, S. De La Rue. "The combination of low commodity prices and a poor coffee crop is producing a condition which will, from present indications, resemble the record left by the year 1920-1921 which, during a similar period of world business depression, was the poorest of any peace-time year during the perod of the receivership."

Decrease in Exports.

Subsequent events have confirmed that prediction only too fully. With prices low, many peasants found it not worth while even to gather their crops. The chief exports of Haiti are coffee, cotton, logwood, cocoa, sugar and corn. Corn and sugar are the only commodities which have been exported in greater quantities this year than last. Coffee exports were 2,507,000 kilos in April of this year compared with 3,434,000 kilos in April, 1930. The decrease in value was even more striking. The value of coffee exports in April, 1931, was only $678,200, as compared with $1,391,000 in April, 1930, a decline of 33.09 per cent. The value of the cotton exports for the first seven months of this year has been cut in half. Logwood has dropped a third and cocoa exports have declined 81 per cent.

The whole picture of the slump in Haiti's foreign trade is summed up in the fact that total exports in the period from October to April declined 38.53 per cent and imports declined 22.43 per cent. Haiti's entire foreign trade in April of this year was 59.82 per cent below what it was in April, 1930.

The decline in imports is of more importance commercially to the United States than it is to any other country, for the United States sells Haiti 70 per cent of the things she buys from the outside world, in spite of the fact that the United States is one of Haiti's poorest customers and that half Haiti's exports go to France.

But statistics of declining business do not tell the story of Haiti's economic plight as well as do the actual evidences of poverty both here in the capital and out in the rural districts. Internal commerce as well as international, is at a standstill.

Heavy Damage by Rain.

Misfortune is to blame for part of Haiti's plight. This Spring witnessed a series of torrential downpours unequaled in many years Roads and bridges were washed out and communication between the country districts and the cities, and between various parts of the republic, only now is being restored. Peasants could not get their goods to market, and their always small incomes were reduced, while city dwellers had to pay higher prices for such produce as they could get.

There have been other special factors. The new Congress contained a large proportion of ultra-liberal, if not radical, members, and considerable social legislation has been introduced, which, however beneficial such legislation might be in the long run, or in better times, has acted as a brake on commerce. There are proposals for limiting the hours of work and for fixing minimum wage scales and introducing profit-sharing systems. Drastic restrictions on foreigners doing business here also are proposed and these have caused real alarm because virtually all the retail business and most of the wholesale is carried on by foreigners, notably Syrians.

Foreign Capital Withheld.

The effect of these proposals, according to both American treaty officials and prominent Haitians, has been to alarm business. The credit of merchants has been impaired by the fear of those who supply them that they will be forced out of business. Merchants are letting their stocks go down. The proposals also are keeping foreign capital from coming in.

A Haitian lawyer who is attorney for most of the American interests here asserts that nervousness over what the Haitian Congress will do has held up an American project to invest $1,000,000 in a cotton factory here, which would utilize Haitian cotton and employ Haitian labor, and is standing in the way of other enterprises.

The majority of the Haitians always have been poor and unusually severe unemployment has accentuated this poverty. Little is being done in public works, which used to employ many men. Unemployment extends to the educated classes in the city also, because of the stagnation in business.

"Poverty extends throughout the country," said Archbishop Joseph Le Gouaze, who keeps in touch with conditions by means of personal inspections as well as reports from his priests. "In the rural districts the people are eating, but, since they have no money to buy anything with, business in the towns and villages is at a standstill. But in the cities there is real suffering. Every Saturday we are feeding 200 persons who otherwise would go hungry."

Ordinarily considerable money is brought into Haiti each year by laborers who go to Cuba and Santo Domingo. Thousands of Haitians thus used to go each year to work in the Cuban cane fields and returned with $200 each on the average. This was an important item in the country's economy. The depression in Cuba's sugar industry has cut down opportunities for such labor, and this importation of money has ceased almost entirely.

Evidence that the economic depression here is causing people to go on short rations is afforded by drastic reductions in food imports, such as meats, flour and rice, to one-third their normal amount. Little of this is accounted for by increased local production.

American officials who have studied the economic problem with a view to devising remedies believe that the building of roads and trails, the construction of a much-needed irrigation system and the development of a coordinated agricultural program would be of permanent benefit, besides giving employment, but believe that the government has not sufficient funds available, and that a loan would be necessary. There is no indication that such a loan is definitely contemplated.

Haiti Dissolves Union Agitating Against U. S.

New York Sun

Port Au Prince, Hayti—The Union Patriotique, a political organization bitterly opposed to continued American participation in the administration of Hayti, was ordered dissolved by the prefect of Port au Prince on November 2[illegible]

New York

The union recently started a campaign against the government of President Stenio Vincent, charging that the administration was not firm enough in insisting that all American treaty departments be turned over to Hayti immediately.

NEW YORK TIMES

DEC 14 1931

PROTEST OUR SWAY IN HAITI

Nine Groups Here, in Memorial to Hoover, Ask End of "Dictatorship."

A memorial asking an end of the alleged "financial dictatorship" of the United States in Haiti, signed by nine organizations and submitted to President Hoover, was made public yesterday by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at 69 Fifth Avenue. The other signers are:

American Civil Liberties Union, by Roger Baldwin.
The Central Conference of American Rabbis, by Rabbi Edward L. Israel.
The Fellowship of Reconciliation, by J. B. Matthews.
The League for Industrial Democracy, by Harry W. Laidler.
The Methodist Federation for Social Service, by Winifred Chappell.
The National Association of Colored Women, by Mrs. Sallie W. Stewart.
The National Urban League, by L. Hollingsworth Wood.
The People's Lobby, by John Dewey.

The memorial, after commending the steps thus far taken to restore Haitian sovereignty, says that "at present the Haitian Government cannot appropriate a dollar for any purpose without the consent of our (the American) financial adviser."

The arrangement under which Haitian finances are to be supervised until the loan expires in 1952 "was forced upon Haiti" by the American military occupation, the memorial declares.

Race Problem-1931

West Indies.

MORE than a year ago, the Forbes Commission recommended, and President Hoover accepted, a plan for ending the occupation of Haiti. New elections were to be held, the government restored to the Haitian people, Americans in the public service replaced by natives, and the Marines were finally to leave. The elections were held in due course, M. Stenio Vincent was chosen as President, and he appointed a coalition Cabinet representing all important political factions. In other words, the Haitians did everything they could to carry out the new policy; but nothing else has happened. The American civilians remain in office and no steps have been taken toward the departure of the Marines. It is hard to resist the conclusion that the Forbes report, which was from the beginning so obnoxious to the American residents of Haiti, is being subjected to sabotage. Naturally, the population of the island is becoming restless because of the delay; and this increased nervous tension may react disastrously, not upon the American but upon the Stenio Vincent government. The Haitian settlement was hailed at the time, and quite properly, as a fine achievement of the Hoover administration. Must it be wiped off the slate because of the failure to carry out the good intentions which the Forbes report expressed?

Vol. LXVI, no. 857

SPEAKING of Haiti reminds us that General Butler, The Marine Who Tells It, is in again. His feelings are hurt because the Haitian Minister to the United States professed never to have heard of Fort Rivière, which was held by Haitians and was taken by American Marines, commanded by General Butler (then a major) in 1915. As a matter of fact, no Haitian can do anything more courteous to Americans than forgetting (or professing to forget) about the taking of Fort Rivière and similar incidents of the campaign of "pacification" in the Negro republic. The capture of this fort may have represented all in the way of bravery that General Butler so delicately suggests it did; but it remains true that, as in so many other engagements in that year, only one American was wounded, while all the Haitian defenders, bottled up in the fort, were either killed or wounded. The slaughter of the Haitians during this campaign was so appalling that Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, telegraphed asking that it be ended "except in the case of urgent necessity." For our own sake, perhaps the best thing we can do is to follow M. Bellegarde's example, and forget.

Haiti

POST
BALTIMORE, MD.

APR 28 1931

Danger in Haiti

THE ROW between Minister Bellegarde, of Haiti, and Gen. Smedley Butler reveals bad judgment on both sides.

The Haitian minister is one of the most brilliant and distinguished members of the Negro race. He hates the marine occupation of his country. But a man of his intelligence should know that the U. S. government is responsible, and not the marines. When Bellegarde attempts to blame or belittle the soldier, he injures the very strong case which he and his people have against the U. S. government.

As for Butler, we have admired him more often than we've disagreed with him. But his record as a soldier is so well established that it is surprising to find him defending it against the unfounded insinuations of Bellegarde. Presenting the Secretary of the Navy with a parody of the latter's charges in the Mussolini episode no doubt was fun for a moment, but the General would now do well to drop the matter.

For there is a real issue between Haiti and the United States, one that is rapidly coming to a head. It should not be obscured or confused by further Bellegarde-Butler exchanges.

Haitian-American relations are strained. The Hoover reform program is lagging. Haiti bitterly resents the plan to keep the U. S. Marines there five years longer.

Saturday Ernest G. Chauvet, a leading editor of Port-au-Prince and close friend of the President of Haiti, warned a New York audience that unless there are reforms in American rule in Haiti, "possibly serious consequences" will result. He said:

"Not only are Americans holding most of the important offices but they do not even speak the language, and gross inefficiency is the rule. With the end of the mailed-fist military rule of Haiti by marines, the civil occupation has broken down in the face of the governmental and economic problems of the country.

"Haitians understand clearly that it is not the American nation but a gang of racketeer jobholders, deceiving the American people, who are creating the present serious situation."

Here again—as in the case of Nicaragua and Honduras—is proof that the Hoover good-will policy is not in itself enough. We should get out of Haiti, and get out at once. Hoover wants to get out, but in Haiti, as in Nicaragua, he thinks the people are not yet strong enough to go on without Yankee tutelage.

What is needed, obviously, is a representative organization of all the American republics to guard international rights in this hemisphere and to protect the weak nations from the strong.

MARINE COLONEL AND ROOSEVELT BACK UP BUTLER

Constitution

4-26-31

Attacks

U. S. Investigator' Says Natives Were Wantonly Slain and Never Had Chance Against Machine Guns and Planes.

DISPUTE CREATES ANOTHER 'INCIDENT'

Crawled Through Tunnel in Face of Fire Behind Enlisted Men, General Explains.

WASHINGTON, April 25.—(UP) Controversy and investigation centered again today around Major General Smedley D. Butler—as they have many times before during his career in the United States marine corps—but this time he was the accuser rather than the accused.

Butler wrote Secretary of Navy Adams asking him to investigate a purported aspersion by Haitian Minister Dantes Bellegarde on the marine general's capture of Fort Riviere in Haiti. The letter was sent to the state department today. Secretary of State Stimson promised an investigation, beginning Monday.

Meanwhile, Bellegarde—a diplomat and writer of international renown—gave his version of the alleged affront to Butler, who himself was excused but lately by the navy department for calling Premier Mussolini "a hit-and-run driver."

Bellegarde was quoted in a Washington newspaper as saying Fort Riviere—which naval records say Butler captured, earning the congressional medal—did not exist. The minister, talking to newspapermen today, modified the original quotation.

Modifies Statement.

"I said no person in Haiti knewed of the existence of Fort Riviere," he explained. "I did not say that the fort did not exist, but that no one in Haiti knew about the fort and no one knew where to find it.

"General Butler said that after it was captured it was completely destroyed."

Then M. Numa Rigaud, secretary of the Haitian legation, added:

"In Haiti we think General Butler is a very imaginative man. He says he took a fort which so far as is known in Haiti never existed—Fort Riviere. He says he blew it up afterwards and that is why we cannot find it today. He says he took it by crawling through a hole. It is very amusing."

The records at marine corps headquarters, consulted today, said Butler did capture the fort on November 17, 1915, while he was chief of the gendarmiere in Haiti. He led troops made up from the fifth, thirteenth and twenty-third companies of the gendarmiere and a detachment of sailors from the United States ship Connecticut. The navy department has unofficial eye-witness accounts of the capture of the fort and photographs of marines in action against it. Reports said 51 men in the fort were killed. Bellegarde said today the Haitians were armed only with machetes.

Haitian Citation.

Marine corps records also show that Butler was decorated by the president of Haiti as well as this government for the capture of Fort Riviere. The Haitian citation, dated September 6, 1920, read:

Constitution

"Former chief of the gendarmiere, organizer of that corps. For the service he has rendered to this country, in pacifying the north, particularly for the capture of Fort Riviere, the last stronghold of the Cacos."

Butler, a tall, slender fighting man who has seen service in all continents and climes, has acquired an international reputation as a storm center of "incidents." Half a decade ago he made his debut in the headlines by trying to clean up crime in Philadelphia. Then he went to California. Duty demanded, so Butler said, that he court-martial an officer whose cocktail party he attended.

Attacks

After a tour of duty commanding marines in China, he came to Washington and was placed in command of the Quantico marine base, his present post.

He went to Pittsburgh to speak and created another "incident" by saying in effect United States marines arranged Central American elections to the advantage of the United States. The navy department made a cursory inquiry but took no action after Butler explained he thought he was addressing a private gathering.

Mussolini Incident.

Last winter Butler spoke in Philadelphia and was reported by papers there as saying Premier Mussolini, after running over a child, had continued on, saying lightly:

"What is one life in the affairs of a state."

Italian Ambassador Giacomo de Martino demanded an apology from Stimson—and got it. The navy ordered Butler court-martialed but changed its decision after the general apologized.

Although the state department will investigate the minister's alleged remark, informed officials thought it very unlikely that Haiti will be asked to recall Bellegarde, who has been here only two months.

The investigation probably will be informal. It is expected that either

Assistant Secretary of State Francis White or Walter Thurston, chief of the department's Latin-American division, will ask Bellegarde Monday if he said what was attributed to him. Then Stimson will take Butler's letter and the minister's statement, weigh them, and decide what, if anything, is to be done.

Stimson would not comment at all today, save to say the matter would be investigated to determine whether it was serious enough to warrant diplomatic action.

Bellegarde's wide reputation is expected to weigh heavily. He has been in the forefront of Haitian life for years. When President Hoover's special mission held hearings at Port Au Prince last year, Bellegarde's clear and forceful presentation of the Haitian case went far toward converting that mission to the restoration of legislative government in the island. He has served in many another high post before coming here — minister to France, Haitian delegate to the League of Nations, member of the permanent court of arbitration at The Hague and delegate to the League of Nations.

Honor Legionnaire.

Tall, with a grey mustache, a prominent gold tooth, Bellegarde, because of his dignity, reminds some of the famous King Cristophe, Haitian ruler after the revolution against France. In his coat lapel, he wears the red rosette of the French legion of honor.

In view of Bellegarde's reputation and the fact that United States-Haitian relations have but lately been rescued from a decade of bickering, officials admit that Bellegarde's recall would seriously hurt friendship between the two countries. But they doubt such drastic action will be taken.

So far as state department officials can remember, only two heads of missions have been recalled in all American history, except in war developments. The first was Citizen Genet, who came here shortly after the Revolution. He persisted in outfitting French privateers in United States ports and ignored requests to stop. The United States asked France to recall him.

The other incident occurred in 1888. Lord Sackville-West, the British minister, was found to be interferring in domestic politics. Secretary of State Bayard wrote him a letter, asking that he return to Great Britain and —as a final gesture—inclosed a passport.

LOUISVILLE, KY.
COURIER JOURNAL

APR 25 1931

MARKING TIME IN HAITI

With Nicaragua hastening the end of American occupation and Honduras keeping the United States at arms' length, Haiti, according to recent reports, is showing restiveness over the slowness of the Hoover Administration to fulfill the glowing promises it made a year ago. The Government at Washington is attempting to get out of the first named republic. It is discreetly avoiding any interference in the affairs of the second. It is marking time in the third.

It started out well, however. With the date for American evacuation set in the treaty between the two countries to end in 1935, President Hoover a year ago sent to the Negro republic a commission to settle existing troubles and to pave the way for Haitian sovereignty. Louis Borno, Washington's puppet, was ousted from the Presidential chair. The Marine commander in the island was supplanted by a civilian Minister. The National Assembly, prohibited by Borno and the American forces, was restored. Peaceful elections were held and a constitutional regime was set up. But American troops remain in power. American officers fill important positions. The revenues of the country are collected and disbursed by American officials. The United States continues to maintain a military and financial overlordship over the so-called republic and the process of "Haitiazation," promised by the Forbes Commission, is making little or no headway.

The delay, according to Ernest Chauvet, Port au Prince editor, is causing unrest and fear throughout the country. The President of the republic, he declares, has offered a complete and definite plan for the return of Haitian sovereignty, but his proposals have met with repeated failures. "This plan," according to Chauvet, "provides that some of the services now held by Americans be placed under Haitian management one year and that others be completely effected in two years. Under this plan the Garde d'Haiti, the national army and police force, now commanded by American Marines would be placed under complete Haitian command in four years, but it would have the advice and assistance of an American military mission. The plan provides for the reduction of the functions of the American financial adviser to receiver general, whose only duties will be to administer the payment of Haiti's debt."

This in effect is what the Forbes Commission recommended, a way for gradual transition from American occupation and rule to national sovereignty, and since the United States has legally only four years more to stay in the republic it behooves the Government to get out peacefully instead of maintaining its position by force. The Hoover Administration has learned in Nicaragua that evacuation under compulsion is ungraceful, to say the least. Nevertheless it marks time in Haiti.

STIMSON CLOSES BUTLER INCIDENT

Secretary Accepts Denial by Haitian Minister of Reflection on General.

BUTLER SPEECH IGNORED

Marine Officer, by Inference, Had Criticized Administration's Policy in Nicaragua.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 7.—Secretary Stimson announced today that he had studied the recent letter of Dantes Bellegarde, the Minister of Haiti, explaining his alleged criticism of the Medal of Honor award to Major Gen. Smedley D. Butler of the Marine Corps for capturing Fort Riviere in Haiti in 1915, and that he considered the explanation satisfactory and the incident terminated. He has so notified the Navy Department, which transmitted to the State Department General Butler's letter of protest.

General Butler complained of an interview in which Minister Bellegarde was reported to have said that Fort Riviere never existed. The Minister explained, informally, that he was not aware he had given any interview on General Butler, had merely stated in response to questions that he and many others in Haiti had not known until recently of the fort or its capture and that he intended no slur on General Butler or the Marine Corps. He added that he would make this explanation to the State Department if called upon.

The Haitian Minister wrote to Secretary Stimson in response to an inquiry concerning the incident, after Secretary Adams had transmitted General Butler's complaint to the State Department.

The official reply of the Minister was not made public and has not been sent to the Navy Department.

The State Department is ignoring General Butler's speech at Philadelphia last night in which he described spy activities in Mexico in 1914 and was considered to have criticized the administration's Nicaraguan policy.

General Butler referred to American lives being protected by the Wilson Administration, presumably in contrast to the recent warning by Secretary Stimson to Americans in the interior of Nicaragua to seek safety at coastal points, and he apparently linked Nelson O'Shaughnessy, the American Chargé d'Affaires in Mexico City during the Huerta régime, with efforts to obtain military information.

The State Department said today it knew nothing of these alleged activities of Mr. O'Shaughnessy and would take no notice of General Butler's statements.

FREEDOM FOR HAITI is to come sooner than was expected if the plans of the State Department, as reported by the Washington correspondent of the Baltimore *Sun*, meet with the necessary cooperation in Haiti. According to this authority, the American marines are to be withdrawn within two years instead of waiting until 1936, the date recommended by the Forbes Commission, provided the Haitian government gives its approval and the replacement of American officials by Haitians goes on with satisfactory speed and efficiency. The customs service will still be administered by an American receiver, however, in order to guarantee the interest payments on the balance of a loan of $16,000,000 made by the National City Bank of New York some $11,000,000 of which remains to be discharged by 1952, and it is expected that American sanitary officials will remain. With the withdrawal of the last of the American marines from Nicaragua set for January 1, 1933, it is possible that the close of Mr. Hoover's term two months later may see American forces out of all Caribbean countries. It is certainly to be hoped that Haiti may do its part in the matter, and that American domination, hateful to the Haitian people and discreditable to the United States, may soon end.

May Cut Haitian U. S. Rule Short

Stimson Negotiating for Withdrawal in Two Years Instead of Five

GRADUAL TURNOVER

In Order Not to Demoralize Situation by Sudden Changes

BALTIMORE.—A Washington despatch to the Baltimore Sun says that as a further step in the Hoover-Stimson program of withdrawing United States forces from the Caribbean. The State Department is negotiating with the Haitian government for the withdrawal of the United States from Haiti probably within two years.

This means a speeding up of the Haitianization program by three years, the Forbes Commission, appointed by President Hoover, having recommended the withdrawal of the Marines by 1936.

Dr. Dana G. Munro, the United States Minister to Haiti, is negotiating with the Haitian government in order to obtain its approval of the new program. Dr. Munro flew to Washington about three weeks ago and obtained the State Department's approval of the plan, so that the only thing remaining is Haitian approval.

The plan leaves the collection of Haitian customs in the hands of an American receiver in order to guarantee interest payments on Haiti's debt to the National City Bank. It also is probable that United States sanitary officers will remain. However, all other offices now filled by Americans will be taken over by Haitians, according to the plan.

While the United States does not definitely pledge withdrawal of the Marines within two years or within any other fixed period, the State Department's plan is to effect it within that time provided the replacement of American officials by Haitians goes forward with the speed and efficiency now contemplated.

There at present are only 800 Marines in Haitia, and they are concentrated in two cities—Port au Prince and Cap Haitien. With the Haitian goernment turned over to Haitian officials, the State Department believes there will be no risk to American lives.

Haitian resentment, it is recognized here, has not been directed against the Marines except as they are a symbol of United States occupation. The resentment has been directed to a much greater extent against American officials holding high positions in the Haitian government.

Under its new plan the State Department is eager to turn over these offices to Haitians as soon as is practicable, the assumption being that it would be demoralizing to bring about a sudden shift. The Haitian government, according to information received here, also realizes this and is anxious to cooperate in a gradual turnover.

West Indies.

Haiti Advances Another Step Toward Self-Government

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, Oct. 9. — Although two United States commissions visited here last year and in October the first free election was held since the American marines were landed in 1915, it was only this week that Haitian leaders began to feel that they were making progress in their program for regaining sovereignty for the republic. The new feeling was occasioned Tuesday when the agreement between the United States and Haiti, in which the United States relinquishes control over several departments of the Haitian government, went into effect.

The Haitians now control everything except the army, so-called, and their finances. The gendarmes of Haiti, which constitute the army and the nation's police force, are still under the direction of the United States marine corps, the excuse being that the Haitians are not well enough trained yet to be left without Uncle Sam as an overseer. American control of the country's finances is said to be determined by obligations assumed by Haiti in making loans.

The departments over which Haiti gained complete control, beginning Oct. 1, are: The department of public works, hitherto administered by men from the engineering corps of the United States navy; the department of education, which prior to now has included the American-controlled service technique de l'agriculture, and the service d'hygiene, or health department. The Haitian secretary of the interior now takes charge of public works and the secretary of education will supervise the schools built by Americans.

U.S. HOLDS PURSE STRINGS, ARMY IN HAITI

Public Works, Education and Health Services Turned Over.

FOLLOWS PLAN

Complete Control is Promised by 1936.

WASHINGTON—The administration and control of Haitian affairs with the exception of two services was turned over to the Haitian government last Thursday when an agreement, signed by Dana G. Munro, the American Minister, and A. N. Leger, the Haitian Minister for Foreign Affairs, at Port-au-Prince, August 5, became effective.

The services which were turned over to the Haitian government included the public works, technical agriculture and industrial education and the public health services with the exception of the sanitation of Port-au-Prince and Cape Haitien.

Holds Purse Strings

American control was retained of the services of the financial adviser-receiver general and the gendarmerie force of Haiti.

The State Department in announcing the transfer of authority stated [illegible] Haitianization of the service [illegible] more rapidly effected [illegible] in the recommendations [illegible] commission and [illegible] by the Haitian [illegible]id:

"In the late winter of 1930, the President's Commission for the study and Review of Conditions in Haiti visited the Haitian Republic and made important recommendations looking to a gradual and orderly return to Haitian control of the activities then supervised by American officials in accordance with the terms of the treaty of September 15, 1915, between the United States and the Republic of Haiti.

"On August 5, an accord was signed at Port-au-Prince by the American Minister and the Haitian Minister for Foreign Affairs, turning over to the control of the Haitian Government the Service of the Public Works, the Technical Service of Agriculture and Industrial Education and the National Public Health Service of Haiti, with the exception of those activities related to the sanitation of Port-au-Prince and Cape Haitien, effective October 1.

"The above represents a complete transfer to Haitian authority of all services, excepting the office of the Financial Adviser-General Receiver and the Garde d'Haiti (the gendamerie force of Haiti), both of which services require especially careful attention and safeguards on account of the obligations assumed by this Government jointly with that of Haiti in connection with the bond issue made under the provisions of the treaty of 1915, the additional act of 1917 and the protocol of October 3, 1919.

"In the case of the Garde d'Haiti, it is not practicable to withdraw American officers immediately because of the necessity for first training Haitian officers to replace them. This fact was recognized by the Forbes Commission, which published in its report a table setting forth a suggested schedule for the replacement of the American officers.

"Since the commission's visit, the process of training and promoting Haitian officers has proceeded at an even more rapid rate than that contemplated in this table, so that there is every indication that trained and experienced Haitian officers will be available to replace all American officers in the Garde before the expiration of the treaty in May, 1936."

HAITI WINS CONTROL OF CIVIL SERVICES

American Minister Signs Pact for Release of Departments, Effective Oct. 1.

MARINES' FORCE TO STAY

Sanitary Mission Also Will Remain —Martial Law Is Abolished by Chief of Military Occupation.

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Aug. 5 (AP).—The first important step leading toward the withdrawal of the American occupation of Haiti occurred at noon today when Dr. Dana G. Munro, American Minister, and Abel Leger, Haitian Foreign Minister, signed an agreement transferring the treaty departments of the Haitian Government, now operated by Americans, to Haitian control.

The transfer is to become effective Oct. 1, at the beginning of the fiscal year.

The departments affected, according to a statement by the American Minister, are the Department of Public Works, the principal officers of which are civil engineers of the United States Navy; the Technical Service of Agriculture and Industrial Education, the principal officials of which are American civilians, and the public health service in which are officers and enlisted men of the Medical Department of the United States Navy.

The sanitary mission will remain on duty in Port-au-Prince, Cape Haitien and Petitionville, the mission to consist of three American medical officers nominated by the United States Government and appointed by the President of Haiti, and not to exceed six navy hospital corps men.

All other Americans in the Treaty Department are to be withdrawn by Sept. 30.

Accords to Be Abbrogated.

The agreement provides for the abrogation of the accord of Aug. 24, 1918, which obligated the government of Haiti to communicate all proposed laws bearing upon objects of the treaty of 1915 to the representative of the United States before presenting them to the Legislature, and also the accord of Dec. 3, 1918, requiring the visa of the Financial Adviser on orders of payment issued by the Haitian Finance Minister.

Service payments hereafter are to be governed by arrangements made between the Haitian Finance Minister and the Financial Adviser. The agreement provides that the Haitian Government will keep its expenditures within the limits of appropriations made with the approval of the Financial Adviser and will reach agreements with the Financial Adviser regarding measures affecting sources of revenue.

The Land Title Registry Office is transferred from the office of the Financial Adviser to the Ministry of Finance.

The government of Haiti agrees to pay salaries of American civilian officials and employes of the technical service who are retained under contract. The two governments agree to continue their discussions regarding other problems arising from the treaty and they agree that existing laws and agreements are to be maintained and respected pending settlements of controversial questions.

Colonel L. McCarthy Little, commanding the First Brigade of United States Marines, issued a proclamation today repealing the state of martial law which has been in effect since the early days of American occupation but which has been dormant in recent years, except when it was called into effect during the strike of December, 1929.

Marines to Stay for Years.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 5.—Negotiations between Dana G. Munro, American Minister at Port au Prince, and Haitian officials for the Hatianization of the civil service of the island republic in accordance with recommendations of the Forbes commission are proceeding so successfully that hope is held here that the United States may be able to withdraw completely from civil activities by Oct. 1.

The progress made thus far places the accomplishment of the program in point of time ahead of that contemplated in the report of the Forbes commission.

No thought is being given at present to withdrawal of American marines as that is contingent upon financial matters involving the collection of customs and bond issues. There is no indication of withdrawal of the marines for a few years.

We Almost Quit Haiti

After sixteen years of unwelcome meddling, the United States last week relinquished to the Haitian people all control of three branches of the government; namely, the Ministry of Public Works, the National Public Service and the Service Technique (Department of Education).

So Haiti has control of her own country again except in two matters; these are the office of the Financial Adviser-General Receiver, who is continued in office because of the Haitian-American loan, and the Garde d'Haiti, which is the combined police and military force of the country, composed of Haitians and officered by U.S. Marines.

Uncle Sam's reason for holding on to the control of the Haitian Army is unique. Says the U.S. State Department:

"It is not practicable to withdraw American officers immediately because of the necessity of first training Haitian officers to replace them."

Haitians will read that paragraph with a bitter smile. Recalling the Haitian-French expedition of 800 men who helped George Washington capture Cornwallis and the English at Yorktown, Va., during the Revolution; recalling Toussaint, Dessalines, Christophe and a dozen military geniuses who compare favorably with any in our history, Haitians will grin and bear another insult.

Americans who look into the situation more clearly will ask, what have our marines been doing for the past sixteen years, if they haven't been training Haitian officers for the army?

They will ask how it happens that physicians, nurses, educators, and technical engineers have been prepared to take over the other three services and still the Haitian army officer is unprepared?

Does it take more training to make a chief of police or a general in the army than it does to make a superintendent of schools, an engineer in charge of public works, or the chief of the Haitian public health?

Certainly there is a joker in the U.S. State Department's announcement. Hidden behind its camouflage of words is the determination not to relinquish U.S. financial control of Haiti until 1936: and our financial adviser would have a tough time in Haiti without the support of a U.S.-officered Garde.

This is the reason for the lame excuse about training Haitian officers.

SIDENT'S SALARY CUT WHILE AMERICAN SOLDIERS PAY IS UP

Courier 11-7-31
Pittsburgh, Pa.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 5—(By ANP)—Within the last two years two United States commissions have visited the Republic of Haiti, a free election of legislative officials has been held in the republic, a new president chosen, and the Americans have relinquished control of Haitian education, public health and public works. All of these things have been pointed to indicating that Uncle Sam was loosening his hold on the Caribbean republic.

There was considerable talk to the above effect six weeks ago when announcement was made that the United States government had agreed to a hands-off policy in respect to education, health and public works.

But, as pointed out in some quarters at that time, this surrender of authority meant very little in relation to actual American control of Haitian public affairs. The American financial advisor still remains in Haiti and the Garde d'Haiti, the republic's army and police force, is still taking orders from American marines.

The position of the United States in Haiti became apparent over the week end with the announcement that officers of the Haitian government were objecting to a three per cent cut in their salaries. This is not a cut demanded by the Haitian legislature, or any other Haitian body. It is a reduction ordered by the American financial advisor, Sidney La Rue. Mr. LaRue has said to President Stenio Vincent of Haiti and the other public officers of the republic, in effect:

"I have under my control just so much money collected in taxes and customs from Haitians and their customers. In order to work out the financial program as I see fit, it is necessary that I reduce your salaries."

Of course, it would not be difficult to trace a sympathetic understanding between Mr. La Rue and the personnel of the National City Bank of New York. But here comes the rub. The Haitians plead:

"We have no doubt that a depression is on and that some retrenchments are necessary, but would it not be better, inasmuch as this is real Haitian money (gourds) that there is so much concern about, that the saving be effected by reducing the extra pay given to American marines who serve as bosses to the Haitian gendarmerie?"

"Oh, no, the Americans reply. We have to offer these fine marines extra money to engage in the arduous Haitian service. We cannot break our agreement with them. It is better to cut President Vincent's salary."

What the Haitians have in mind is the following condition: The Haitian gendarmerie is largely officered by United States marines. Marine corporals and sergeants are made lieutenants, captains and whatnots in the Haitian military forces. When they are put into the Haitian service they are paid, not merely the salary they would receive from the United States government, but a bonus for becoming part of the armed force of another country. The use of the marines in the army of Haiti is against United States laws. In order to get around the law, the marine is asked if he is willing to go into the Haitian army as an officer and offered the inducement of extra pay and higher rank to do so. If he is willing, which is usually the case, he signs a written agreement to that effect. In that way our government protects itself from attack and nullifies the law.

The Haitian is aware of the trickery and is therefore now insisting that such reduction of expenditures as is necessary be made in the direction of these bonuses to American marines, who are thus induced to flout the law of their country in order that they may personally profit at the expense of another country and become "The White King" in a foreign land.

STATE DEPARTMENT BACKS DOWN

On Unprecedented Ultimatum to Haiti

New York, Nov. 13—Placed in a highly uncomfortable position by a strong protest to President Hoover by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People against the ultimatum delivered by the American Minister in Haiti, Dana Munro, holding up all Haitian salaries, the U. S. Department of State has "agreed to" a budget of $6,400,000 and given up insistence on a $8,100,000 budget which Minister Munro had tried to force on the Haitian Government.

Announcement of the new "agreement" came in an Associated Press despatch from Washington announcing that the "detailed budget was nearly completed" according to advices from Minister Munro in Haiti.

It is no secret in the State Department that the N. A. A. C. P. protest caused acute discomfort there, and that the N. A. A. C. P. protest was transmitted to the Department by President Hoover accompanied by a strongly worded memorandum from the President.

The incident has served to reveal that far from regarding Haiti as an independent republic, the agents of the U. S. Department of State are seeking to force the Haitian government to its will by controlling in detail every item of expenditure over which, theoretically, the Haitian legislature has control.

It is pointed out by those intimately acquainted with Haitian affairs that the primary aim of the American officials in control of Haiti, despite all talk of "restoration of sovereignty," are more interested in the payment of interest and amortisation of loans held by American bankers than in the appropriation of the sums necessary to relieve the economic depression in that country and to promote the technical services recently returned to Haitian jurisdiction.

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PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE SHOWS ON THE WAY TOWARD INDEPENDENCE

Journal and Guide
12-26-31 Norfolk, Va.

Public Works, Agriculture And Industrial Education, And Public Health Service, Among Projects Controlled By Haitians

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Substantial progress in the program for the return to Haitian control of activities in Haiti, which were supervised by American officials, was reported by President Hoover in his special message to Congress on foreign affairs.

He informed Congress that the Haitian Government has assumed control of the public works service, the technical service of agriculture and industrial education and the national public health service of Haiti, with the exception of activities related to the sanitation of Port au Prince and Cape Haitian.

The President stated that the office of the financial adviser and general receiver and the gendarmerie force of Haiti are the only services remaining under American control. In the case of the gendarmerie, it is necessary to train Haitian officers to replace the Americans. American administration of Haitian finances is continued because of the obligations this Government assumed in connection with the bond issue made under treaty provisions.

A memorial was recently submitted to President Hoover asking an end to U. S. financial dictatorship in Haiti, and the complete restoration of self-government in that country by nine national organizations. The memorial recommended that the following three steps be promptly adopted:

"1. Complete restoration of financial and political autonomy to Haiti; 2. Withdrawal of the U. S. Marines now stationed in Haiti; 3. Negotiation of a new treaty constitutionally negotiated with the consent of the legislature of both naions."

The signers of the memorial are: American Civil Liberties Union, by Roger Baldwin; the Central Conference of American Rabbis, by Rabbi Edward L. Israel, chairman of the Social Justice Commission; the Fellowship of Reconciliation, by J. B. Matthews, secretary; the League for Industrial Democracy, by Harry W. Laidler, executive director; the Methodist Federation of Social Service, by Winifred Chappell, secretary; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, by Walter White, secretary; the National Association of Colored Women, by Mrs. Sallie W. Stewart, president; the National Urban League, by L. Hollingsworth Wood, president; the People's Lobby, by John Dewey, president.

The part of the President's message dealing with Haiti is as follows:

President's Message

"Substantial progress has been made in carrying out the program for the withdrawal of our activities in Haiti recommended by the Commission which, with the support of Congress, made an investigation of affairs in 1930, and by its good offices laid the foundation for the present popularly elected Government of that Republic.

After protracted negotiations an accord was reached with the Haitian Government on Aug. 5 providing for the return to Haitian control of important Government service heretofore carried on under American supervision by virtue of general obligations arising through the provisions of our treaty with Haiti.

"In accordance with this agreement the Haitian Government on Oct. 1, assumed definitely the administration and control of the Department of Public Works, the Sanitary Service and the Technical Service of Agriculture, which includes the industrial educational system. All American personnel was withdrawn from these services.

American Scientific Mission

"To minimize the possibility of epidemics and in order that the health of the American troops and officials still stationed in Haiti might be adequately protected, the accord provided that an American scientific mission consisting of three American naval officers and six hospital corps men should be charged with the control of sanitation in the cities of Port au Prince and Cape Haitian.

"The accord makes appropriate provision for the continuance of adequate financial control and assistance on the part of our Government. The liberty of action, both of the Government of Haiti with respect to questions of financial administration, is, of course, limited. In this connection it must be borne in mind that investors have supplied capital desired by Haiti and that securities have been issued to them on the faith and credit of the provisions of that treaty and the American financial control which it provided during the life of the bonds."

Race Problem-1931

Haiti.

West Indies.

Haitians Ignore Council of State Appointed by U.S.

Chicago Def.

[Chicago Defender Foreign News Service]

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, July 16.—Declaring that the presidentially appointed council of state was merely a temporary arrangement to meet the needs of the country in a crisis, the first meeting of the Haitian legislature in 13 years went on record as ignoring this body as the rightful legislative group. The legislators passed a motion declaring this session to be the 30th congress, notwithstanding the fact that the 29th congress met in 1917, when the council of state was established. 7-18-31

Although the council failed to secure recognition, its laws are still in force.

The two factions in the legislature during the passage of the motion not to recognize the council were led by former members of the council. The group headed by Senator Charles F. Gonaives moved that the meetings of the council be numbered on a two-year basis. Senators Denis St. Aude and Pierre Hudicourt submitted the suggestion of nonrecognition.

HAITIANS TAKE OVER ISLAND GOVERNMENT

Times

State Department Puts Accord Into Effect Earlier Than Had Been Expected.

10-2-31

FORBES'S PLAN FOLLOWED

New York, N.Y.

Authority Over All Services Is Transferred Except Financial Adviser and Police.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 1.—The administration of Haitian affairs was turned over largely to the native government today, when the accord of Aug. 5, signed by Dana G. Munro, the American Minister at Port au Prince, and the Haitian Minister for Foreign Affairs went into

...vided for native ...works, techni... ...dustrial educa... ...alth service with the exception of the sanitation of Port au Prince and Cape Haitien.

The transfer of authority was recommended by the commission appointed by President Hoover early last year headed by W. Cameron Forbes, present Ambassador to Japan, to study conditions in Haiti.

In announcing the change of authority today, the State Department said:

"It represents a complete transfer to Haitian authority of all services, excepting the office of the Financial Adviser-General Receiver and the Garde d'Haiti (the gendarmerie force of Haiti), both of which services require especially careful attention and safeguards on account of the obligations assumed by this government jointly with that of Haiti in connection with the bond issue made under the provisions of the treaty of 1915, the additional act of 1917 and the protocol of Oct. 3, 1919."

"In the services returned to Haitian authority, speedier Haitianization has been effected than the recommendations of the Forbes commission and even than that at first proposed by the Haitian Government itself.

"In the case of the Garde d'Haiti, it is not practicable to withdraw American officers immediately because of the necessity for first training Haitian officers to replace them. This fact was recognized by the Forbes commission, which published in its report a table setting forth a suggested schedule for the replacement of the American officers. Since the commission's visit the process of training and promoting Haitian officers has proceeded at an even more rapid rate than that contemplated in this table, so that there is every indication that trained and experienced Haitian officers will be available to replace all American officers in the Garde before the expiration of the treaty in May. 1936."

The transfer is to become effective October 1, at the beginning of the fiscal year.

The departments affected, according to a statement by the American minister, are the department of public works, the principal officers are civil engineers of the United States navy; the technical service of agriculture and industrial education, the principal officials of which are American civilians, and the public health service in which are officers and enlisted men of the medical department of the United States navy.

The sanitary mission will remain on duty in Port-Au-Prince, Cape Haitian and Petionville, the mission to consist of three American medical officers nominated by the United States government and appointed by the president of Haiti, and not to exceed six navy hospital corps men.

All other Americans in the treaty department are to be withdrawn by September 30 of this year.

The agreement provides for the abrogation of the accord of August 24, 1918, which obligated the government of Haiti to communicate all proposed laws bearing upon objects of the treaty of 1915 to the representative of the United States before presenting them to the legislature, and also the accord of December 3, 1918, requiring the visa of the financial adviser on orders of payment issued by the Haitia secretary of state for finance.

U. S. TAKES STEPS TO FREE HAITIANS

Consolidated

America Moves To Withdraw Troops From Island Country.

Atlanta, Ga.

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Aug. 5. (AP)—The first important step toward the withdrawal of American occupation of Haiti occurred at noon today when Dr. Dana G. Munro, American minister, and Abel Leger, Haitian foreign minister, signed an agreement transferring the treaty departments of the Haitian government, now operated by Americans, to Haitian control.

U. S. OFFICIALS LEAVE HAITI FOR HOME

Herald-Comm.

10-10-31

ISLAND REPUBLIC MAKES NEARER APPROACH TO INDEPENDENCE AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

PORT AU-PRINE, Haiti—(CNS)—American officials who have been in Haiti supervising several of the government bureaus returned home aboard three steamships last week, as the accord signed August 5 between the Unitel State and Haiti for the virtual taking over of her own administrative branches of government by the island republic took effect.

As result of the change a national holiday was declared and many festivities accompanied the induction by President Stenio Vincent of native Haytian officials into offices just vacated by white Americans.

The tranfer of authority which has taken place was first recommend ed to President Hoover by the commission he appointed to investigate conditions on the island and which was headed by W. Cameron Forbes, present Ambassdaor to Japan. The report of the Forbes Commission was followed by Accord, already mentioned, which was finally negotiated by Dana . Muro, American Minister here and the Haytian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Current Comment

U. S. States Department Comments

A complete statement concerning the effect of the transfer was issued last Thursday by the United States Department of State, which outlined the results of the transfer immediately accrueing and intimated that complete independence of the Haytian Republic would result in 1936 at the expiration of the present treaty between the United States and tha country. The statement of the Department of State was as follows:

10-10-31

"It represents a complete transfer to Haytian authority of all services, excepting the office of FFinancial Adviser—General Receiver and the Garde d'Haiti (the gendarmerio force of Hayti), both of which services require especially careful attention and safeguards on account of the obligations assumed by this Haiti n connection with the bond issue made under the provisions of the treaty of 1915, the additional act of 1917 and the protocol of Ost. 3, ,1919.

"In the services returned to Haitian authority, speedier Haytianization has been effected than the recommendations of the Forbes Commission anl even than that at first proposed by the Haytian overnment itself.

"In the case of the Garde d'Haiti, it is not practicable to withdraw American officers immediately because of the necessity for first training Haytian officers to replace them. This fact was recognized by the Forbes Commission, which published in its report a table setaing forth a suggested schedule for the replacement of the American officers. Since the commission's visit the process o ftraining and promoting Haytian officers has proceeded at an even more rapid rate than that contemplated in this table, so that there is every indication that trained and experienced Haytian officers will be available to replace all American officers in the Garde before the expiration of the treaty in May, 1936.

"Haitianizing" of His Country Is One of Principal Elements in the Program of Pres. Vincent of Haiti

Age 8-29-31

Story of Development of Country Under Present Regime Told to The Age by Jean Joseph Adam, A Delegate to League of Nations

New York, N.Y.

To "Haitizing" his people as against their being "Americanized" under the Marine Occupation, is one of the main elements in the program of progress laid down by President Stenio Vincent during his first year of administration of the affairs of the little Negro Republic of the Caribbean, Haiti, according to statements made to The New York Age by Jean Joseph Adam of Port au Prince, Haiti, who has been attending summer school in New York City this summer.

From 1921 to 1925, Mr. Adam was the Haitian delegate to the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva, Switzerland.

President Vincent's program has been productive so far, to the extent that Americans in charge of governmental departments have been supplanted in all save the Department of Hygiene, which is engaged in remedying health conditions on the little island, and which is still in charge of white American medical men.

Mr. Adam declared that the people of Haiti had looked with utmost favor upon both Commissions named by President, the one headed by Chairman Forbes, the other by Dr. Moton ,and that there had been only the most satisfactory reaactions from their visits. He paid a particular tribute to Dr. Moton. and said that despite Tuskegee's head being handicapped to some extent by physical ill-health, he had given every possible consideration to the various phases of the conditions he was sent to investigate.

He said that Dr. Moton gained particular favor by awarding scholarships at Tuskegeee Institute to as many Haitian boys and girls as could take advantage of the opportunity.

With refeernce to the Forbes' Commission, Mr. Adam said that President Borno had put up stiff opposition to the scheduled investigation, declaring himself still President of Haiti, and that there was nothing to be investigated. Chairman Forbes, said Mr. Adam, was quoted as having sternly informed the Haitian President that the investigation would be made, adding, "I have come to put an end to tyranny.'"

How Borno Was Elected

He tells an interesting story as to how Borno, with the active collusion of High Commissioner Gen. Russell. was elected to his high office. He said the Council of State, meeting at its regular time, had deadlocked over two other candidates, Borno receiving but a few scattering votes. Finally, the Council adjourned to meet next day.

But next day, at the appointed time, a torrential tropical storm arose, and members of the Council made no effort to reach the assembly hall, believing no meeting could be held. In the meantime, Borno got to High Commissioner Russell, and the two concocted the plan of sending cabs for certain of the members who could be controlled and when less than half were assembled, they were declared a quorum. The election was then held and Borno was declared chosen.

When this was made public, as was immediately done through cablegrams to the United States and other sections of the world, and by bulletins to the people of Haiti, everybody was astounded, none more so than the absentee members of the Council.

And the charge is further made that going into office a poor man, Borno, through his connection with Russell. came out of office a moneyed magnate, owning large hotels, commercial buildings and vast areas of land. The former President is now living in Paris in luxury, having had to leave Haiti by airplane to Miami, Fla., to escape the wrath of his countrymen. His income from Haitian holdings is said to be most ample, notwithstanding large payments alleged to have been paid to those who aided in his selfish plans for filling his coffers.

Borno is charged with having bought up tracts which were to be used as school sites and for other public buildings, paying the low current prices, and then selling them to the government at enormously increased rates. Particular reference is made to the site at Damiana on which the largest school in the Republic has been erected by the American Occupation, for which he is alleged to have received $100.000 in American gold, a stupendous price as compared with ordinary land values.

"Americanizing" the Schools

An interesting phase of the American plan of controlling Haito was discussed by Mr. Adam in connection with the educational system. Haitian schools had operated upon the French manner, largely through private schools. In this system, the teacher's duty was confined to instructing the pupil. At stated intervals, there would come an inspector, who would preside over all examinations.

Without definite knowledge of conditions, the Americans proceeded to erect large, modern school buildings, bringing white Americans in as teachers, classing them as "experts." at salaries of from $300 to $400 per month, paid in gold. But the native teachers weer paid salaries of about 100 gourde a month, and they were paid in paper, which had a real value of 20 cents on the dolar, making their actual salaries only $20 monthy. In addition, the white American teachers were always paid before the native teachers received their salaries.

At the Damiana school, the director is a white man from Ohio, and his princely salary, as well as the salaries of his "experts," comes from the Haitian treasury, constituting a drain that is sucking the country's life blood.

And the vital matter is that the natives are remaining loyal to their own private schools, while the new American-built schools, with numerous teachers and large salary lists, are virtually empty of scholars.

Mr. Adam says that Haiti regards the Forbes Commission as responsible for the removal of High Commissioner Russell, whose rule was that of an arbitrary martinet, and the substituting of an American Minister, Dana Monroe, who is in supreme control of all American offiicals remaining on the island, including the Marines.

A "Military Caste"

Contrary to the usual thought, Haiti, said Mr. Adam, is not a country which has been ruler by a "Social Aristocracy." Rather its control that of a "Military Caste," in which the leaders of the army and their descendants constitute oligarchy, controlling by a system of self-perpetuation. As a result, only those in the good graces of the "Miltary Caste" had any chance of recognition or advancement. This control, however, was destroyed by the American Occupation, said Mr. Adam, characterizing it as one good act.

But a double standard which obtains in the Dep ment of Education with regar salares, obtains also with ion rines, who not only draw sa en; from the U. S. Government in ha accord with their service ranking , but draw another salary from the Haitian terasury according to the advanced ratings given them in the Haitian Constabulary. For instance, a Marine sergeant will be paid a sergeant's wage by the United States and will draw also a captain's pay in the Constabulary.

While the educated Haitian uses the French language, the masses speak the creole patois. similar to that used in Louisiana, the two peoples being related in racial characterisaics. And the Marines, finding the French language difficult, have taken up the Creole, thus establishing a direct contact with the native masses, by which they can win the confidence of the people and undermine the influence of the educated classes.

This is most effectively used by attaches of the Department of Hygiene, who have access into the homes by reason of their health programs, thus building up confidential and trusting relations.

The Marines, of course, are all white Americans, both officers and enlisted men. On the other hand. the Constabulary is composed of natives in the ranks, with white officers in command. The understanding that Haitians would be made officers in the Constabulary, while carried out to some small degree, is slowed down by reason of the fact that all promotion examinations are in English, an unfamiliar language.

Mr. Adam said that former resident Borno is a man of keen mentality, measuring, in this respect, equally with President Vincent, and well fitted for the office of President. But, said he, Borno was as unpatriotic as President Vincent is patriotic. That Vincent is absolutely unselfish in his service to and for the people. while Borno's administration was the acme of selfishness, looking only to the aggrandizement of himself and High Commissioner Russell.

Mr. Adam served for three years, following his return from Geneva, as tutor and coach in French and Spanish in New York City, and then for there years as professor of French at Allen University, Columbia, S. C., returning each summer to Haiti. This summer was spent in New York, and he is leaving about September 7 to take up new duties as professor of Romance Languages, French and Spanish, at the Johnson C. Smith University. Charlotte, N. C.

While in New York, he has been the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Harry Austin, 237 West 139th street.

Race Problem - 1931

West Indies.

Haiti.

DIPLOMATIC APPOINTMENTS TO HAITI REVEAL IGNORING OF NEGRO BY FOREIGN SERVICE

Age 3-14-31 New York, N.Y.

Personnel of U. S. Representatives to Black Republic Shows Entire White Setup in All Positions

(Staff Correspondence.)

Washington, D. C.—The present Haitian situation serves to draw acute attention to the condition of affairs in the foreign service of the United States as it relates to diplomatic representation in countries having a 90 per cent, or more, Negro. black or negroid population.

In the case of Haiti, it has been definitely learned, through official Haitian sources, that the Haitians would have no objection to the appointment of an American Negro as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the post at Port au Prince, but as a matter of fact there is not even one race representative among this country's diplomats to Haiti.

The Congressional Directory for January, 1931, lists the following all-white diplomatic personnel in Haiti:

At Port au Prince

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Dana G. Munroe.

First Secretary, Joseph F. McGurk.

Second Secretary, (also Consul at Jeremie), Donald R. Heath.

Third Secretary, Gerald A. Drew.

Vice-Consul, Warren H. Kelchner.

At Cape Haitien

Vice-Consul, Corey F. Wood.

No Naval or Army Attache

Another angle of the situation is seen in the fact that although Haiti is supposed to be still under United States naval control, there is neither a naval or military attache included among the administrative officials.

Minister to Abyssinia

In Ethiopia, (which is now "stretching for its hand" for a loan of several millions of dollars), the all-white set-up (not including "The Black Flying Cloud of Harlem") consists of Addison E. Southard as Minister Resident and Consul General, who has James L. Park as his Vice-Consul and Secretary. These gentlemen are located at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

The Virgin Islands

The most recent white set-up in a black country is in the Virgin Islands of the United States, with a total population of only 22,012, 90 per cent of whom are Negroes. It is authoritatively reported that Recorder of Deeds Jefferson S. Coage, through the Republican National Committee, strongly urged mixed representation in the major positions in the islands, but this request was evidently ignored for the list of appoints as published does not include the name of even one of the faithful colored followers of the G. O. P.

In this connection, it is learned from private sources, that the change from naval to civilian rule in the islands brought up a vexing question with regard to the navy band stationed at St. Thomas, composed entirely of a Negro personnel, under direction of Chief Petty Officer Alton A. Adams, a native Virgin Islander. As a solution to the problem of what to do with the band, the members were offered a chance to resign from the service, but this they declined to do, as it would entail loss of pension rights to which they would be entitled at end of their enlistment

Sends Band to Cuba

Accordingly, the Navy Department ordered the entire outfit to Guantanimo Bay, Cuba, where they are now stationed. Mr. Adams is the only Negro bandmaster in the United States Navy, and his band was heard in the States some years ago when it made a concert tour of the principal eastern cities.

Seventeen officials sailed from New York on March 5 to take over the civil government on March 11. The officers were governor; lieutenant governor for St. Croix (population 11,014); commissioner of public works; commissioner of finance; commissioner of agriculture, commerce and labor; commissioner of adult education; home economic extension agent; enforcement officer; Secretary to the governor; supervisor of musical groups; director of handicraft for adults; public health nurse; two assistants to the commissioner of public works; a secretary to the commissioner of public works.

Many Complaints Heard

Although this is a very imposing and doubtless efficient organization of experts, and while members of the race generally appreciate the helpful attitude of the administration in this particular instance, there are many complaints by those who believe that a sufficient number of capable colored men could have been found for at least half of these major positions in the black populated Virgin Islands.

And it is probably unfortunate that those who claim to be "Race Leaders" are being so roundly cussed out because of their failure to deliver anything but the same old line of talk, and the same old brand of promises that have been handed out in such liberal doses during the past ten years.

Evidently there is something wrong, SOMEWHERE.

RACE CITIZENS "LAUGH UP THEIR SLEEVES" AT PLIGHT OF GEN. BUTLER

Treatment of Haitians Recalled As Marine Corps Commander Faces Court Martial For Alleged Remarks Against Mussolini.

Courier

WASHINGTON, Feb. 5.—(ANP)—Little sympathy will be expressed among colored Americans and Haitians for the plight which Maj. Gen. Smedley D. Butler of the United States Marine Corps now finds himself in.

2-7-31

General Butler was ordered arrested and held for court-martial last Thursday by Secretary of the Navy Charles Francis Adams.

The act came after General Butler had admitted that in a speech at Philadelphia he had quoted a friend to the effect that Premier Benito Mussolini of Italy had run over a child without stopping his automobile, expressing the thought that the life of a child was not to be worried about when affairs of state were in the balance.

Butler said that a friend of his who had visited with Mussolini in Italy had told him the story.

The duce denied that the story was true.

The United States government, through Secretary of State Stimson, was compelled to offer an apology to Italy through the Italian ambassador, for the accusations made by Butler, a general officer.

This is not the first time that Butler has come to public notice because of his swashbuckling manner and talk, but hitherto he has played upon parties too weak to have him brought to task and has thus assumed a heroic role.

Haitians remember the presence of Butler in their republic with great bitterness. For several years he represented the iron hand of the United States in that country, and blame is placed upon him not only for the severity of our government's official acts in respect to that republic, but also for the attitude of the marines there.

He is best remembered there for his high-handed behavior in connection with the present Haitian constitution, which was forced upon that nation. Ever since the independence of the country was established by Dessalines in 1891 the Haitian constitution had contained a provision forbidding any white person to own land in Haiti. The United States was eager to destroy that provision and rewrote the constitution. Haitians were unwilling to accept the document written for them by the United States, and the Haitian legislature stubbornly held out against ratifying it.

Finally it became necessary to use force to put it over. An American major, leading a detachment of marines, raided the Haitian legislative chambers, pistol in hand, and chased the deputies and senators out. A council of state was then appointed, which was forced to ratify the constitution which Haitians did not and do not want. From that time until last October, Haiti had no legislature or congress. The American major who played this conquering role is reported to have been Smedley D. Butler.

Butler also was socially unpopular with the Haitians. It is reported that the Bellevue Club, leading social organization in Haiti, entertained with a formal ball. Haitians were incensed when Butler appeared at the dance clad in his uniform and later, as it is recounted, when he was observed indifferently leaning on a chair in which a Haitian lady sat, with his foot resting upon the round of the chair. He was asked to leave the dance.

HAITI'S CONGRESS SITS FOR FIRST TIME AFTER 14 YR

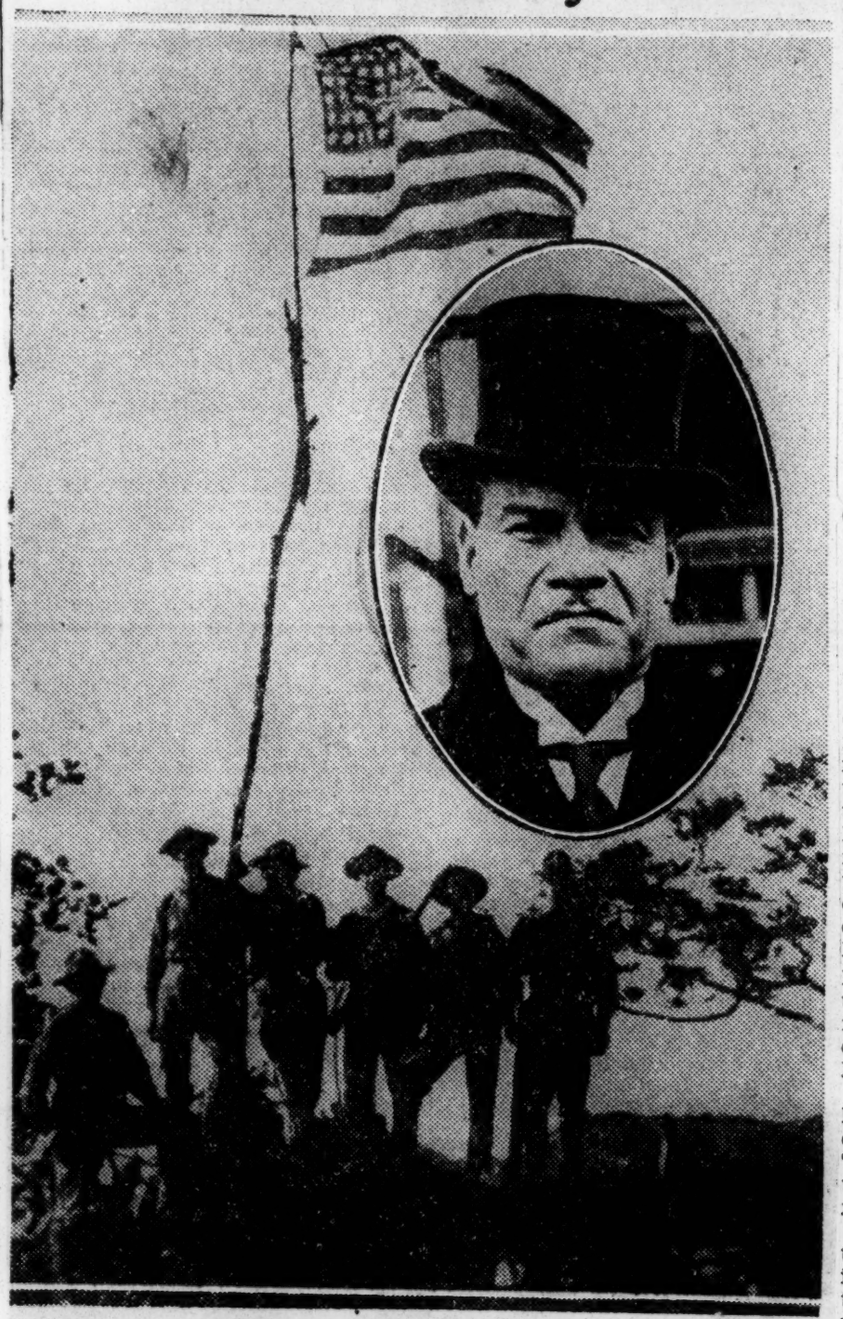
PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti (CNS) —Haiti's first popularly elected legislature in fourteen years met Monday for the first regular business meeting of that body since 1917.

For the last fourteen years, the legislature body has bee composed of twenty-one men selected by the President, who also was invested with the power to dismiss them at will. This body was called the Coun cil of State. 4-18-31

Demonstrations against the distatorship of President Luis Borno brot about disorder and riots which, during the latter part of 1929, spread rapidly throughout the republic, finally resulting in twelve deaths and culminating in the appointment by the President Hoover of a commission of inquiry, headed by W. Cameron Forbes, now American Ambassador to Japan. The findings of the commission were reseponsible for legislative elections on October 14, 1930. On that day 200,000 voters went to the polls without disorder.

The new legislative body consisting of fifteen Senators and thirty-six Deputies, convened on November 18, 1930, and elected Stenic Vincent, a Nationalist, as President for a six-year term. President Vincent actually will serve five and a half years, as he will forfeit the period of six months during which Eugene T. Roy, Fort-au-Prince banker, was temporary president.

Probe Into Butler 'Slur' Is Launched by Stimson



The above photograph of Old Glory flying over Fort Riviere, Haiti for the capture of which Major General Smedley D. Butler won the congressional medal of honor, is reproduced from the current issue of the Marine Corps Gazette. Butler is now accused by Minister Dantes Bellegarde, of Haiti, of capturing a fort which didn't exist. Minister Bellegarde is shown in the inset. Associated Press photos.

WASHINGTON, April 27.—(AP)—Secretary Stimson today directed that a letter to Minister Bellegarde, of Haiti, be prepared asking an explanation of remarks attributed to him which have been protested by Major General Smedley D. Butler.

This action was taken after the secretary of state had studied the latest controversy centering around the colorful marine officer. 4-28-31

Butler protested a statement attributed to Bellegarde in a copyrighted article in the Washington Herald. The minister was quoted as saying he and the Haitian people generally had been unaware of the existence of Fort Riviere in Haiti, for the capture of which in 1915 General Butler, then a major, was awarded the congressional medal of honor.

Minister Bellegarde has said that if asked for an explanation he would repeat in diplomatic correspondence what he already had told the press, that while he had not intended to deny the existence of Fort Riviere he had meant that he and his people generally had not known of the incident in which General Butler distinguished himself.

At his press conference, Secretary Stimson was asked whether he would consider the Butler-Bellegarde incident seriously. He replied:

"I'll take it just as seriously as it deserves."

Rambling Ruminations

By J. A. ROGERS

PARIS.

M. CONSTANTIN MAYARD, successor to M. Dantes Bellegarde as Haitian Minister, has presented his credentials to M. Doumergue, President of France, at the Elysee Palace. 4-29-31

J. A. Rogers.

The new Minister, who is tall and of distinguished bearing, has had an energetic political career. Beginning as a college professor, he finally entered the cabinet of the Haitian President as a redacteur, then he was elected as a deputy from Port-au-Prince, and later as president of the Chamber of Deputies and Minister of the Interior. In the last election he was a candidate for the Presidency.

After the American intervention he played a leading part in holding out for the rights of his country. The abuses of the military dictatorship finally drove him out of office.

In 1927 M. Mayard was elected to the Senate, but when the free legislative bodies were suspended by the Americans he resorted to the press on behalf of Haitian liberties and was one of those who founded Le Temps, today one of the leading newspapers in the black republic.

M. Maynard has always worked in the interest of unity and peace among the Haitian people. He avoided taking part in any of the revolutions which, finally, are given as the alleged cause of American intervention. "In July, 1915," he said, "I was president of the Chamber of Deputies when an army of marines, under the orders of Admiral Caperton, landed. We had had seven Presidents in four years, with civil war and anarchy. Thank heaven, I was not in the service of any of those Presidents, nor took part in any of the revolutions that overthrew them."

The American dictature, he said, was bound to crumble sooner or later. He was the first to cry "No taxation without representation" against it, and at the last election he had as his slogan "Down with the occupation and freedom for the legislative bodies."

M. Mayard is particularly interested in the economic progress of his country. "Our chief enemies," he said, "are our social instability and our undeveloped conditions. It is against them that we have to bear the weight of our effort for succeeding generations. Above all, we must maintain our national and social independence, always remembering that our culture is essentially Latin. We have all that is necessary in Haiti to make it a Paradise. Today in Haiti the thinking element is bending all its efforts toward bringing about social and administrative reforms that will result in a more rational and intensive economic development."

Race Problem - 1931

Haiti.

West Indies.

Asks State Dept. To Explain Ultimatum Delivered To Haiti

Courier

Pittsburgh

NEW YORK, Nov. 12—The United States Department of State is asked in a letter sent Friday by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to affirm or deny that the American Minister in Haiti delivered an ultimatum to the Haitian Government, holding up all salaries of Haitian officials pending an adjustment of the national budget satisfactory to the United States.

The State Department, in reply to a telegram of protest sent by the N. A. A. C. P. to President Hoover, wrote a four-page letter of explanation, in which the statement is made that the Haitian Government itself informed the American financial adviser that no further payments could be made with its consent under the emergency reduced budget recently adopted.

In its letter of reply and further inquiry, the N. A. A. C. P. says in part: "We have learned both through the public press and through communications from sources which we believe to be responsible ones that an ultimatum was served upon the Haitian government by the American Minister to Haiti, withholding payment of all salaries to Haitian officials pending settlement of certain differences between the American Minister and the American Financial Adviser on the one hand, and the Haitian Government on the other, as to the Haitian budget.

"Careful reading of your letter of Nov. 4th does not reveal confirmation of this method adopted by the American Minister to force acceptance of terms laid down by himself. May we ask if the American Minister did or did not serve this ultimautm? If it is true that he did serve it, is government by ultimatum justified under any circumstances? There is no parallel between nations at peace, save in Haiti, where a foreign power presumed to dictate a budget for another country and to enforce its wishes by withholding salaries of officials, doing this against the wishes of the government."

The N. A. A. C. P. suggests to the State Department that in order to effect proposed economies the salaries of American officials in Haiti be reduced in proportion with the reductions of Haitian salaries and inquires whether the ultimatum reported as having been served upon the Haitian government withholding salaries is still in force.

Race Problem-1931

West Indies.

Haiti.

General Petion Was A Wonderful Leader

WAS HE GREATER THAN TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE?

Journal and Guide

In Some Respects He Was Noted, Author Believes

3-7-31

By J. A. ROGERS

International Correspondent and Author

Norfolk, Va.

General Alexander Petion was Haiti's gentlest and best beloved ruler.

At a time when war, bloodshed, and massacre were the order of the day, Petion distinguished himself by a humanity and a forebearance rare in history. The devastating war between the whites and the blacks grieved him immensely, and the bloody conflicts between the mulattoes and the blacks broke his heart. Yet, as a military commander, he was the equal of every one, white or black, engaged in the great struggle.

At his death it was said of him: "Il n'a pamais fait couler les larmes de personne." (He never caused anyone to shed a tear.)

More Fortunate than Toussaint

Petion was born April 2, 1770, the son of a rich French planter and a free black woman. He had a fair education, being in this respect more fortunate than any of the great black leaders, Toussaint, Christophe, and Dessalines, all of whom were born slaves.

At the time the population of Haiti was divided into three classes: (1) the whites and very near whites; (2) the freedmen, who were chiefly mulattoes; and (3) the slaves, nearly all blacks.

General Alexander Petion, whose leadership in Haiti resulted in cultural, social and economic progress.

The first numbered 40,000; the second, 28,000; and the third, 450,000.

The jealousy and ill-feeling between the three groups were strong; the whites hated the mulattoes and condemned the blacks; the mulattoes despised the blacks. The blacks hated both whites and mulattoes; and if their hate of the mulatto was different, it was, perhaps, fiercer.

The freedmen, while demanding equality, did not wish to see the blacks free. Many of them owned slaves.

This situation is, of course, broadly stated. During the revolution, numbers of each class fought beside the other. Many whites and mulattoes aided the blacks and the blacks, nearly all illiterates, fought in great numbers with the mulattoes.

Captured Port au Prince

When Petion was twenty-one, a double insurrection broke out; that of the slaves under Biassou, Jean Francois, and Toussaint; and that of the freedmen, under Gen. Beauvais. Petion joined the freedmen, and distinguished himself so well that he rose to be a general of artillery. Later, when the mulattoes had won equality (on paper) Petion fought under Toussaint against the English. It was Petion's brilliant capture of La Coupe that forced the English out of Port au Prince.

Petion, from the first, was for wiping out French rule altogether. The island was exceedingly wealthy; the slaves were a source of great profit, and Petion saw that there would be strife as long as this tempting bait existed. Touissaint, on the other hand, now virtual ruler, was patriotically French, or pretended to be. After slavery had been abolished by decree of the French, Toussaint abandoning Spain, had returned feeling that henceforth all would be well.

With the whites subdued the rivalry between the mulatooes and the blacks increased. The former charged that Toussaint, flattered by his exalted position and the advances of his former masters, was depriving them of their rights and was using the ex-slaves for that purpose, all for the benefit of the whites and of himself.

Toussaint, on his side, asserted that the mulattoes objected to him because of color. "Gen. Riguad," he said, "refuses to serve under me because I am black. Mulattoes, I see to the bottom of your souls. You are ready to rise against me. I am leaving Port Republican for the Cape but I leave my eye and my arm: my eye to watch, my arm to strike."

Women and Children Tortured

Civil war broke out—the blacks under Toussaint, the mulattoes under Gen. Andre Riguad. Dessalines, Toussaint's lieutenant, ruthlessly ordered a massacre of all the mulatoes in his power. Women and children were done to death by the most horrible torture. When Toussaint was reproached for this he said: "I told Dessalines to prune the tree, not to uproot it."

Petion feeling that Toussaint was being used as a tool by the whites, left him, and threw his support to Riguad. Later, when Toussaint was treacherously captured by the whites and sent to die in the frozen fortress of Le Joux, Petion explained his reason for deserting Toussaint thus: "I could not," he said, "support Gen. Toussaint against what I considered the best interests of the Haitian people. How could Toussaint ever have counted upon the sincerity of the whites, he, their former slave, when I have not the friendship even of my own father simply because I have African blood in my veins?"

In this civil strife Petion again distinguished himself. He defeated Dessalines at Grand Goave, and captured Port au Prince. His most notable exploit, however, was his entry into Jacmel, in open boats under a heavy shell fire. The city was being closely besieged by Toussaint with 20,000 men.

In Jacmel he held out for a long time, and finally fought his way out to liberty with 11900 survivors through Toussaint's large army.

Not long after Toussaint was victorious, and when Napoleon confirmed him as commander-in-chief, the mulatto leaders fled to France.. Petion, however, was captured by the British, and spent two months in prison.

Studied in France

Arriving in France he devoted himself to the study of military tactics especially artillery. Then came the sailing of Napoleon's expedition for Haiti, under Napoleon's brother-in-law, Gen. Leclerc. Some of the mulatto leaders were given generalships in the white regiments, among them Petion. Petion had consented to serve only after Napoleon had assured him that the expedition was going to protect Haiti and establish a government of the highest equity for its citizens. Napoleon, however, had given orders to Leclerc to restore slavery, and a year later Napoleon, himself, issued a proclamation to that effect.

The expedition arrived, and Toussaint was beaten. Thanks largely to the efforts of Petion a sort of peace was made under which all the great leaders, black and mulatto, were given high commands. To Petion was given the task of putting down all the insurgents who had not yielded.

Petion had accepted the word of Napoleon against his better judgment. Now he saw his error. Leclerc, firmly established, as he thought, decided to restore slavery and renew the discriminations against the mulattoes. As a first step, he shipped Rigaud, leader of the mulattoes, to France where he was thrown into a dungeon in the fortress of Le Joux in the Alps, then he kidnapped Toussaint in a treacherous manner and sent him to join his former rival. It was then that both mulatoes and blacks awoke to what Petion had been preaching to them in his earlier days; the folly of their rivalry.

But Leclerc had taken a step that was to bring about his utter defeat. When Petion heard the news, he swore a great oath that he would not rest until Haiti was free. He sought out Dessalines, now leader of the blacks.

Was Great Logician

That great and impetous chief, recalling his defeat at the hands of Petion won him over by the logic of his argument.

Long the two leaders talked, Petion revealing all that he had learned while serving with the French, the plans he had laid for Haitian independence, and urging Dessalines to strike at once. But Dessalines, fearful lest the other black and mulatto leaders might remain loyal to France, counselled patience.

Petion, however, had decided that the time was now, and calling his officers, he revealed his plans.

Soon after, an incident occured that Petion seized to a good advantage. A French officer, passing Petion's camp, attempted to exchange his tired horse for another belonging to one of Petion's officers. The latter objected, whereupon the French officer promised to have him punished. Petion who had overheard all, retorted: "So you mean to have all of us drowned." (This was a favorite way of getting rid of offenders; it saved powder and burial.)

Departing, the French officer arrived at his camp and reported the affair. The commander, Gen. Clausel, deciding to arrest Petion, summoned him to camp. Petion, wishing to learn what he could of the other's plans, went, but not before he had thought out a way of escape.

Arriving there, Petion was invited to dinner and questioned. But suddenly one of his officers rushed in to say that his camp was in an uproar, and urged Petion to return at once. An officer, said the man, had struck another, and the men had taken sides. This, of course, had been Petion's ruse.

Petion Leads Rebellion

At this the general bade him go, but ordered him to return.

Back at his camp, Petion quieted the men, and took advantage of the occasion to urge them to rebel, a proposition that was received with applause.

Petion's first move was to drive the French from Haunt de Cap, an important military post. When Gen. Lavalette heard of this, he sent a messenger to Petion, promising the restoration of his rank, and a promise not to restore slavery, if he would return.

But Petion flatly refused. "It is too late now," he said. "We have resolved to live free and independent or die." A heavy reward was placed on his head.

Christophe and Dessalines soon followed his example. Petion, in spite of his superior military education, offered to serve under Christophe, and did so. But Christophe was not only illiterate but cruel, and Petion, leaving him, went to Dessalines.

The latter offered him supreme command of the army, but Petion, realizing that the blacks were in the vast majority, and that it would be more politic to have one of them leader, took an inferior position.

In this, the final struggle, Petion again distinguished himself. He defeated the French general, Keerverseau, on the plains of Mirebalais, then going to the rescue of two other generals who had been beaten he gathered the debris of their forces, and laid siege to Port au Prince which he captured after a brilliant assault. This was the crowning defeat of the French.

Possessed Greatest Courage

Like Toussaint, Christophe, and Dessalines, Petion set at all times an example of the highest courage. Once while playing a game of draughts (checkers) a loaded shell fell through the roof of the house he was in. All dashed precipitately out, save Petion, who stopped to pick up the "men" his opponent had thrown away.

With the French driven from the island, Dessalines was named president. Petion, whose military genius, had played the leading part, effaced himself for the black chief.

But Dessalines who was a tyrant of the most odious sort, established an absolute monarchy. He ordered a massacre of all the white people on the island, and followed that by a massacre of the mulattoes and their black friends.

He monopolized the wealth of his country for the benefit of himself, his favorites, and his mistresses, and reared on the foundations of the liberty he had helped so ably to establish an abominable tyranny. Finally he was shot dead on the parade field by his own men.

Two figures now loomed for the presidency; Petion, who had reared the standard of liberty against Dessalines; and Christophe, leader of the blacks, a man, valiant and firm, distinguished in bearing, but brutal and illiterate. Again Petion effaced himself and Christophe was chosen.

But Christophe, not content with limited power, wished to be absolute master. He founded a dictatorship and finally set up a monarchy at the other end of the island, with himself as king.

Petion was now named president in another part of the island, and Christophe's people tired of his tyranny, began to desert him. Christophe had instituted a system of labor little short of slavery, and was squandering an enormous amount of money.

Thirteen Years of Bloodshed

In the meantime war was going on between Christophe and Petion with one or the other now in the ascendency. Finally Petion defeated Christophe in two battles, in one of which the cream of Christophe's army deserted to Petion before the battle. Retiring to his end of the island, Christophe disturbed Petion no more, and finally killed himself.

But Petion's troubles were not over. Riguad, the old mulatto leader, a cruel and unscrupulous man, returned from exile. Petion, to preserve the peace, made him his second in command, but Riguad, disdaining service under his former subordinate, revolted. His death, a year later, left Petion in peace.

Petion now devoted his energies to the upbuilding of the nation which had been ruined by thirteen years of bloodshed of the most terrible sort. He founded a government on the liberties of all the people, regardless of color; he placed his army on a respectable footing; encouraged agriculture; established schools; paid off the public debts; filled the treasury; restored the foreign trade; protected the whites; and improved, by his diplomacy, the relations between mulattoes and blacks.

With his wise administration he ushered in the Golden Age of Haiti which lasted for twenty years after his death—the only considerable period of real peace the republic has had before or since.

In Petion there breathed the spirit of perfect liberty and justice for all men. When the great South American patriot, Bolivar, was refused asylum in every country, Petion welcomed him and gave him men and money, twice. In a letter, dated February 8, 1916, Bolivar, victorious, speaks of Petion as "being in fact the author of our liberty." But it was Petion's advice to Bolivar that is most significant. Petion, recalling how liberated America had retained her slaves, advised Bolivar that his first move should be the freeing of the slaves of his native land, for said he: "How can you free a country if you don't free all the people in it?"

Would Not Take Medicine

In 1815, Petion was named president for life by a grateful country. But he was not to enjoy the honor long. Three years later stricken with fever, he died at the age of 48.

In his illness he refused all medicine and nourishment, deliberately choosing to die, it is said, thoroughly disillusioned with life, and sickened by the general selfishness of those about him. Most of all was he tired of that greatest bane of Haiti, the rivalry between mulattoes and blacks, which was always being used by designing leaders.

Petion had striven unceasingly to heal this wound, even to the extent of discouraging the use of the words, Negro and mulatto. In this respect he was a greater patriot than Toussaint. All the black leaders had tried hard, too, but had eventually lost patience.

Dessalines, after the defeat of the French had ripped the white out of the French Haitian flag, leaving the red and blue to represent the black and the mulatto, but later he inserted black and placed it vertically to mark the supremacy of the blacks. Petion took out the black and replaced the red and blue, horizontally, to denote the equalityy of both groups, and so the flag remains to this day.

At times, Petion did appear weak but it was his horror of violence and bloodshed that made him so. For instance, when France, free at last by the caging of Napoleon sent with delegates to demand the submission of the island, Petion received them courteously and offered an indemnity, but Christophe had them shot.

Petion is frequently referred to as "the George Washington" of Haiti. But for the fact that Toussaint's earlier opportunities were far inferior to his, he, and not Toussaint, would have been Haiti's greatest citizen.

In bearing, Petion was reserved and carried himself like one who feels he is born to a great destiny.

THE END

"Haiti Is Race Laboratory" Says Walter White

Urges United States Negroes to Watch Carefully Progress of Black Republic

NEW YORK, Feb. 13.—Just returned from a vacation journey to the Black Republic of Haiti, Walter White, acting secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People hailed its progress as a demonstration of world-wide importance to the future of the colored race, with particular interest for Negroes in the United States.

Mr. White uttered a word of warning, saying that it behooved American Negroes to carefully watch developments in Haiti, inasmuch as many white Americans did not desire the success of an all-Haitian government.

"From the time that the United States landed Marines in the black republic of Haiti, took over the government, rewrote the Constitution, and agrogated rights of assembly and free speech there, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People claimed that self-government should be restored to Haiti at the earliest possible moment.

"The N.A.A.C.P. sponsored the Union Patriotique of Haiti as well as fought for its cause in the press and from the platform in the United States. Self-government has now been restored, with a friend of the N.A.A.C.P., Stenio Vincent, President of the Republic, and other friends, Pauleus Sannon, Perceval Thoby, holding high office.

All Working Together

"What the N.A.A.C.P. fought for through long years is in process of being realized. Haiti is on the way to full recovery and selfhood and the men in charge are taking hold with a keen sense of responsibility and all groups are working together toward the common aim.

"But it should be remembered that the present Haitian government is working under grave handicaps. The finances are in bad shape, due to years of disorder and mismanagement by Americans, there are many white officials sent from the United States who are more interested in holding their jobs than in making Haiti self-sustaining.

"American Negroes would do well to remember that Haiti is the unique and outstanding demonstration in the Western Hemisphere, of the Negro's ability to govern himself and administer his own affairs. And they should not be misled by propaganda emanating from sources hostile to the Negro's legitimate aspirations.

Future Bright

"However, at present, we have good reason for fair hope of the future of the black republic. It is a beautiful country, it has many well educated, charming, cultured citizens, and the mass of the population is peaceable, hard-working, and eager for the welfare of their land.

"As representative of the N.A.C.P. I was received with the utmost warmth and friendliness and I have only the most cordinal memories of what was a fine meeting with our brothers of the black republic of Haiti.

"What American Negroes and their friends must do is to work toward the end of the U. S. Occupation prior to the treaty expiration in 1936. American officials in Haiti, believing President Hoover cannot be reelected, are counting upon Governor Franklin Roosevelt of New York, who rewrote the Haitian Constitution, to be our next President, to delay ending the Occupation. Colored citizens should be vigilant in preventing this delay."

Mr. White is writing a series of articles on Haiti for an important syndicate.

HAITI SEEKS REMOVAL OF AMERICAN SOLDIERS

Legislative Body Declares U. S. Occupation Is "Dangerous and Illegal."

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, June 19.—(UP)—The legislative chamber today demanded that President Stenio Vincent act to end the "dangerous and illegal" occupation of Haiti by the United States.

The chamber's report, adopted by unanimous vote, declared the treaty with the United States permitting occupation has been non-existent since May, 1926.

The presence of the American military force in Haiti is unnecessary vexing and dangerous in view of the fact that a stable government now has been established by election, the report to the president said. The president was asked to take immediate steps through regular channels to end the occupation.

"The convention signed September 16, 1916, expired May 3, 1926," the report said. "The additional act of May 28, 1917, (providing for extension of the occupation) is null and should be considered non-existent.

"The Haitien executive should act diligently in the name of the republic to achieve suspension as soon as possible of the effects of the convention and the American military occupation."

Race Problem - 1931

Haiti.

West Indies.

HAITI LABORING UNDER U. S. MIS-RULE

NEW YORK. — Haiti is still staggering under a heavy financial burden caused by incompetent American engineers drawing princely salaries and draining the treasury of $500,000 yearly despite the recommendation of the Forbes Commission to Haitianize all public forces.

Reluctance has been shown by the United States occupation forces to carry out the provisions of the suggestions, and very recently a competent Haitian engineer, Mr. Doret, was dismissed to make room for an American. The department of public works is full of American experts, who, although little qualified, according to the Haitian Daily La Pressa, earn from $300 to $600 monthly.

Ben Powell, who acted as secretary-stenographer to the financial adviser in Liberia, is now acting in the same capacity in Haiti, and has been elevated to the rank of engineer. His experiments in road construction cost Haiti $20,000. In the United States he was simply a carpenter.

Very few of the offices were authorized by the treaty which has ceased and Haiti since 1916. The Haitian ed to exist between the United States Patriotic Union is seeking to abolish the office of American financial adviser, whois paid $10,000 yearly. The Union charges the office as now conducted is a farce and a travesty.

Haitian Misleaders Dissatisfied With Their Judas Bargain With U. S.

2-10-31 Negro Worker New York, N.Y.

Resent Refusal of American Imperialists to Give Them Greater Share in Loot—Use Threat of Mass Revolt Against U. S. Oppressors

PORT AU PRINCE, Feb. 9.—There are growing signs of an increasing rift in the new accord reached some months ago between the U. S. imperialists and the Haitian bourgeoisie for joint exploitation of the Haitian masses.

The latest sign that the Haitian bourgeoisie do not consider that the U. S. imperialists are making sufficient concessions to the native bourgeois misleaders as the price for their betrayal of the national liberation struggle is seen in the wrath of the native bourgeois press against the refusal of the American bosses of the Haitian Government to acknowledge an order from President Vincen (who succeeded Borneo as the leading native tool of the American occupation) promoting three employee in the Department of Public Work of this city. La Reaction, under the caption, "Un Soufflet" (an insult) declares:

"The insult given to the Haitian people by Mr. Dana Munro, who allying himself to the head engineer of the Department of Public Works, an refusing to accept the Commissions signed by his Excellency, the President of Haiti, has provoked the logical and natural reaction of all the Haitian engineers and employees of the Department of Public Works. Effectively this morning, since ten-thirty, all the services of this department went on strike, as an act of protestation against the rebellion of Mr. Duncan, who refused to obey an act which is a constitutional prerogative of the President of the Republic of Haiti."

La Presse, a Haitian bourgeois daily, takes the lead in an effort to rally the Haitian masses behind the demands of the bourgeoisie for important concessions from their imperialist bosses:

"On this occasion, putting aside all rancour, the whole Haitian people must mass itself behind the government of Mr. Stenio Vincent who must lead the fight against the enemy, until the fatal end: Integral Freedom of the Haitian people of thein enslavement!

"Haitians! Up like a single man, stand erect and face the beast! We have had enough of the degrading humiliation of the white American! There is no justice, there is no independence for the man who is eternally in a state of submission!"

Urges U. S. Negroes To Watch Progress Of Black Republic

2-21-31 Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

NEW YORK, Feb. 19—Just returned from a vacation journey to the Black Republic of Haiti, Walter White, acting secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, hailed its progress as a demonstration of world-wide importance to the future of the colored race, with particular interest for Negroes in the United States.

Mr. White uttered a word of warning, saying that it behooved American Negroes to carefully watch developments in Haiti, inasmuch as many white Americans did not desire the success of an all-Haitian government.

"From the time that the United States landed marines in the black republic of Haiti, took over the government, rewrote the constitution, and abrogated rights of assembly and free speech there, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People claimed that self-government should be restored to Haiti at the earliest possible moment.

"The N. A. A. C. P. sponsored the Union Patriotique of Haiti as well as fought for its cause in the press and from the platform in the United States. Self-government has now been restored, with a friend of the N. A. A. C. P., Stenio Vincent, president of the republic, and other friends, Pauleus Sannon, Perceval Thoby, holding high office.

"What the N. A. A. C. P. fought for through long years is in process of being realized. Haiti is on the way to full recovery and selfhood and the men in charge are taking hold with a keen sense of responsibility and all groups are working together toward the common aim.

"But it should be remembered that the present Haitian government is working under grave handicaps. The finances are in bad shape, due to years of disorder and mismanagement by Americans there are many white officials sent from the United States who are more interested in holding their jobs than in making Haiti self-sustaining.

"American Negroes would do well to remember that Haiti is the unique and outstanding demonstration in the Western Hemisphere of the Negro's ability to govern himself and administer his own affairs. And they should not be misled by propaganda emanating from sources hostile to the Negro's legitimate aspirations.

"However, at present we have good reason for fair hope of the future of the black republic. It is a beautiful country, it has many well educated, charming, cultured citizens, and the mass of the population is peaceable, hard-working and eager for the welfare of their land.

"As representative of the N. A. A. C. P., I was received with the utmost warmth and friendliness, and I have only the most cordial memories of what was a fine meeting with our brothers of the black republic of Haiti.

"What American Negroes and their friends must do is to work toward the ending of the U. S. occupation prior to the treaty expiration in 1936. American officials in Haiti, believing President Hoover cannot be re-elected, are counting upon Gov. Franklin Roosevelt of New York, who rewrote the Haitian constitution, to be our next president to delay ending the occupation. Colored citizens should be vigilant in preventing this delay."

Mr. White is writing a series of articles on Haiti for an important newspaper syndicate.

MEETS FIRST TEST

Journal & Guide Norfolk, Va. 2-7-31

President Stenio Vincent of Haiti, who won his first skirmish with American treaty authorities last week when they acceded to his demands that they recognize his order promoting three Haitian employees in a governmental department.

HAITIANS DEFEAT U. S. OFFICIALS IN FIRST REAL TEST

President Vincent Upheld On Promotion Orders

Journal & Guide

Special to Journal and Guide

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti—American treaty authorities will think twice hereafter before they refuse to acknowledge an order from President Stenio Vincent. That was apparent this week following President Vincent's successful meeting of his first test with United States officials. 2-7-31

Last week sixty workers in the Public Works Department, which is headed by Commander George A. Duncan, white, of the United States Navy, walked out when Duncan refused to promote them on orders from Haiti's latest chief executive.

Commander Duncan maintained that promotions should be made on merit and not by any other method. Last Wednesday morning, after telephone and telegraph operators had struck in sympathy, a communique from the U. S. Interior Department said that the American Legation had given formal assurance that the three commissions signed by President Vincent would be delivered. Norfolk, Va.

The communique urged the public to remain calm. President Vincent was elected last November, succeeding Acting-President Eugene Roy, who was selected after President Louis Borno, allegedly an American puppet, resigned under pressure from Haitian citizens. President Vincent was elected on an anti-American Occupation ticket and is opposed to the Occupation of his country by the United States.

President Vincent was the first regularly elected chief executive of Haiti since the American occupation began in 1916. The present incident is the first to indicate that, despite his attitude, he actually would interfere with American control.

DUVIVIER RECALLED BY ISLAND PRESIDENT

Journal & Guide 2-14-31 Pittsburgh Courier

Says Haitians Are Pursuing Policy of Peace and Prosperity, Founded Upon Liberty, Education and Labor—Hoover Replies.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26—(ANP)—Letters of credence signalizing his appointment as Haitian minister to the United States and of recall for M. Ulrich Duvivier, who has served in that capacity since last summer, were presented to President Hoover this week by Dantes Bellegarde. M. Bellegarde presented his letters with the following statement:

"The events which have occurred in Haiti during the past year lend to my mission near the government of the United States an exceptional importance. The legislative elections of Oct. 14, and the presidential election of Nov. 18, have shown clearly that the Haitian people are thoroughly aware of its national obligations, and that it deserves fully to enjoy the right to liberty and independence, which it so heroically conquered 127 years ago, thus creating, after your glorious republic, the second sovereign state of America.

"In speaking of these events, I am happy to recall the personal part which you took in their preparation, for which preparation the president and the government of the Haitian nation feel toward you the most fervent gratitude. They await, with firm confidence in the loyal friendship of the government of the United States, the realization, in the near future, of the liberation by the resumption of the essential attributes of its political and administrative autonomy.

"While the new government, an emanation of the will and aspiration of the Haitian nation, pursues, within its borders, a policy of peace and prosperity, founded upon liberty, education and labor, it aspires to collaborate, within its modest sphere, in the work of international understanding and the reapproachment of nations, of which work the United States has constituted itself the ardent protagonist throughout the world. It has, in particular, given me instructions to strive with all my strength for the consolidation and growth of Pan-American solidarity, of which your excellency, in the course of your memorable good will voyage in Latin America, has shown the vital necessity for the progress and the security of our three Americas.

"My country has given, in the past, many proofs of this spirit of solidarity. You will permit me to recall, Mr. President, that while still a French colony, Haiti sent 800 of her sons to fight for American liberty; they shed their generous blood on the battlefield of Savannah. She also opened her doors to Bolivar in exile, and extended to him aid in arms, money and men for the emancipation of the Spanish colonies in America; as the only reward for such assistance, she asked that slavery be abolished wherever the arms of the liberator might triumph.

"Collaboration in war is no longer the question now. The task in which Haiti wishes humbly to participate today is a task of peace. She wishes, with all her heart, to labor in close community with those who strive to establish among the American nations confidence and peace. Upon the solid basis of equality, friendship and mutual respect, the Pan-American union will grow in strength and authority. And this strength, this authority, will enable her to contribute effectively, together with the unions that have been or may be organized in other parts of the world, to the realization of the high ideal which is her own; peace and justice for all nations. What we want in truth is peace, justice and prosperity for all, assured by the co-operation of all; co-operation between citizens of the same nation, co-operation between social classes, co-operation between nations, co-operation between races.

"Mr. President, it is because we know that both you and your collaborators are firmly attached to this ideal that we feel a special pleasure in extending to you the sincere good wishes of the government and the people of Haiti, for your excellency's personal happiness, and the prosperity of the great republic of the United States."

President Hoover's reply was indicative of his intention to continue the co-operative policy toward Haiti which he has begun. After accepting the letters he said:

"I take great pleasure in receiving from your hands the letters whereby you are accredited as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of Haiti before the government of the United States, together with the letters of recall of your distinguished predecessor.

"You have described the legislative elections and the ensuing presidential election in Haiti as having demonstrated that the Haitian people are aware of their national obligations; and in connection with those important events you have been so good as to express the gratitude of the Haitian government and people for the part in them taken by me. It has been most gratifying to me, Mr. Minister, to learn of the successful initiation of the program recommended by the commission which I appointed to investigate affairs in the republic of Haiti, and of the recognition of their international obligations by the Haitian people. I shall be glad to have you say to your government that the government of the United States will continue to extend to it in the fullest measure its sympathetic and active co-operation in the progressive consummation of the plan recommended by that commission.

NO QUESTION as to what Dantes Bellegarde, Haitian Minister to the United States, did or did not say about the capture of Fort Riviere, or as to General Butler's use of the wicked word "hell" over the Philadelphia Elks' radio in describing that exploit, ought to delay the rapid carrying out of the recommendation of the Forbes Commission for Haitianization of the public services of Haiti and withdrawal of the occupation. The Haitian Minister, who speaks English imperfectly, was apparently a victim of misunderstanding. Certain facts about Fort Riviere are too well known. On November 18, 1915, Admiral Caperton reported to the Navy Department: "Fort Rivière captured by forces under Major Butler. All avenues of escape had been previously closed so that none escaped. Fifty-one were killed. . . . No casualties our forces." Such "warfare" looks too much like something called by an uglier name, despite General Butler's medal of honor, and Americans must remember that this action constituted but one incident in the record of General Butler and the marines in Haiti. Small wonder, in view of such memories, that the Haitians long for the ending of the occupation. It is now more than a year since the Forbes Commission finished its work, and the Haitians are reported as becoming impatient because Haitianization of the services is not getting forward. We hope that the Administration, in pursuance of its more liberal Caribbean policy, will not fail to give evidence of good faith by proceeding with all speed in the essential task of getting out of Haiti.

Race Problem - 1931

West Indies.

Why Not Sell Virgin Islands to Negroes?

"VIEWED from every point except remote naval contingencies, it was unfortunate that we ever acquired these islands." "In any event, when we paid $25,000,000 for them we acquired an effective poorhouse, comprising 90 per cent. of the population."

Such is the plaint of President Hoover about the Virgin Islands which he visited last week. Well, what is he going to do about it? "Nevertheless," he said, "having assumed the responsibility, we must do our best to assist the inhabitants."

Let us review briefly the situation in the Virgin Islands. The Islands were bought from Denmark during 1917 by President Wilson for $25,000,000, in fear that they might be used as a submarine base by Germany. At the time of purchase they were prosperous, contented and happy. And fourteen years after being under the "enlightened" and "efficient" Americans they are now "an effective poorhouse." And to maintain the sort of government there is there Uncle Sam is paying from his pockets, it is said, $500,000 a year.

How did the islands become so poor under the Americans while they were prosperous under the Danes? We are told that the Eighteenth Amendment has ruined the rum industry of the Islands and in its wake has driven away the ships that used to use their seaports as coaling stations.

Keeping these facts in mind, and remembering that more than ninety-two per cent. of the population of the Islands is Negro, why not think of a different solution from the one the President has announced, that of enduring the burden of a yearly expenditure of $500,000? Certainly the American government is not going to play philanthropist to those Islands, especially since even their naval value is extremely doubtful. Why not sell the Virgin Islands and save the money and worry, born of a futile trusteeship?

We are aware that the American government is very touchy about its prestige. But as long as prohibition rules the States the Virgin Islands will never get a chance to be self-supporting again, and again the government cannot nullify the Eighteenth Amendment without "losing face" at home. To overcome all these obstacles, The Negro World suggests that the Virgin Islands be SOLD to the INHABITANTS thereof.

We think the plan is feasible. The Islands should be made soverign and self-governing and should remain perpetually neutral, as does Switzerland, and their neutrality should be guaranteed both by the Pan-American Union and the League of Nations, thus relieving America of naval fears. As for the payment, the present inhabitants should be willing to pay a fair price on "dollar down and dollar a week" or installment plan.

What will be the result? The inhabitants of the Virgin Islands will be made to rely on SELF-HELP, and thus stimulated to special endeavor. Since they will be untrammeled by the Puritan prejudices of the Americans we are sure they will make progress. And besides the Negro population in America will be greatly interested in the fortunes of independent and self-governing Virgin Islands and thus accelerate their recovery and bring about prosperity by offering every help they can.

America should sell the Virgin Islands to the Negro inhabitants thereof as the best solution of their present plight.

Virgin Islands.

HOW DO WE JUDGE the value of our colonial possessions? There are doubtless several different ways, and of these President Hoover has given voice to one. After hurried visits to Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands he issued a statement setting forth his observations. Porto Rico he found to have been making "magnificent progress" both in government and in business. Moreover, he learned that the demand for independence had dwindled down to a feeble cry. Hence it was essential that the federal government cooperate with Porto Rico in such matters as education, health, agriculture, "and expansion of industry and markets." Thus is obedient democracy in our colonies to be rewarded, but presumably only when these colonies have industry and markets worth expanding. From this point of view the Virgin Islands find themselves in a rather unhappy position. Said Mr. Hoover: "When we paid $25,000,000 for them, we acquired an effective poorhouse, comprising 90 per cent of the population. The people cannot be self-supporting either in living or government without the discovery of new methods and resources." Clearly, we struck a bad bargain here—particularly when we remember that while Porto Rico was part of the booty of war, we had to pay hard cash for the Virgin Islands. At any rate Mr. Hoover considered it "unfortunate that we ever acquired these islands." He said we must, of course, "do our best to assist the inhabitants," but it was plain from his statement that he was not of a mind to extend to these islands that munificent measure of cooperation he promised Porto Rico. Obviously, there is little that the United States can ever hope to get out of the Virgin Islands, and therefore it is hardly worth our while to shower them with a great deal of attention either in the way of financial cooperation or sympathy.

"An Effective Poorhouse"

NOW we know why President Hoover spent only five hours in the Virgin Islands, visiting only St. Thomas. The President does not think much of the possibilities of these islands. They are a liability rather than an asset. On board the Arizona homeward bound, Mr. Hoover called the newspaper men around him and gave his impressions of both Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands and he said in part:

"The Virgin Islands may have some military value sometime. . . . In any event, when we paid $25,000,000 for them we acquired an effective poorhouse, comprising 90 per cent of the population. The people cannot be self-supporting, either in living or government, without the discovery of new methods and resources . . . Viewed from every point except remote naval contingencies, it was unfortunate that we ever acquired them. Nevertheless, having assumed the responsibility we must do our best to assist the inhabitants." 4-4-31

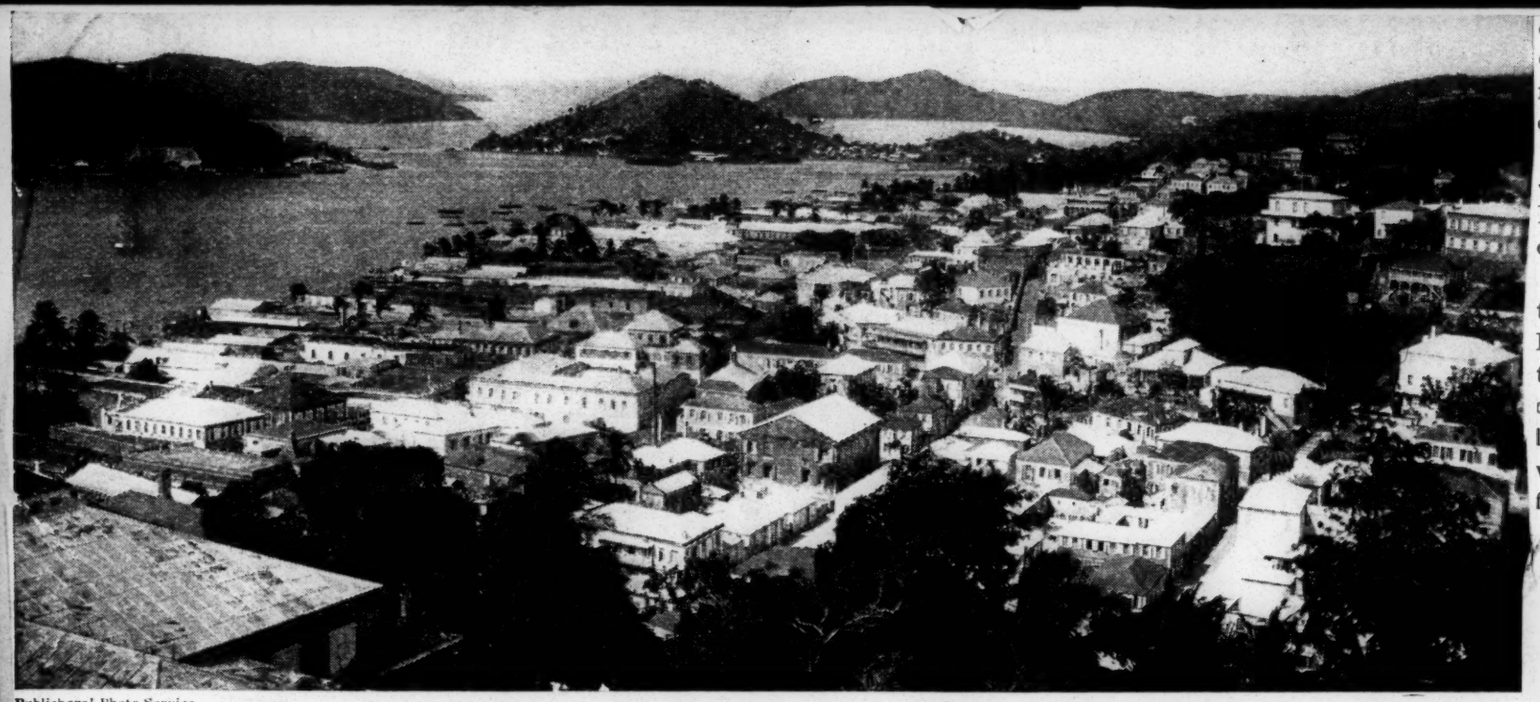
So that according to the President the only potential value is in some possible military use in the remote future. From every other point of view the Islands are a serious liability in his opinion. Well, it must be borne in mind that this country purchased this group of islands from Denmark during the second term of Mr. Wilson because there was some fear that Germany would use them as a submarine base and for their possible military value to this country during the World War. If a bad bargain was made, whose fault was it—the Islanders or the Congress? If we have made a bad bargain it is too late now to bemoan it. The obligation now rests upon this country to see that these people are rehabilitated and made worthy citizens of the country to which they belong by no choice of their own.

One thing is perfectly obvious. Belonging to the United States has set these people back. One of the first requests handed the President was that the prohibition ban be lifted. This "benevolent" gesture has just about wrecked the economic structure. The tourists have abandoned the Virgin Islands preferring the wet British and French islands; foreign steamships have likewise abandoned them because of the nuisance of having to seal their wet cargoes, and the liquor business was one of their most profitable industries. Aside from this condition, the American tariff is enforced and has just about sounded the death-knell. The sugar industry is about gone since the yield of the cane on this island is only about one-third of that per acre of Porto Rico and Cuba.

Here are a people with their greatest burdens arising out of their connection with America. How is it possible, under these circumstances to build up a self-sustaining and independent people? Considering the further fact that these Islanders are, in the main, a people whose opportunities have been limited, the task ahead is of gigantic proportions. Changes must be made effecting their whole mode of living and especially along the lines of agriculture.

In the case of Porto Rico, the President is not so hopeless. There are good reasons why he should not be. These people are well on the way to self-government, because they are in many respects already governing themselves. More than that, they receive an annual outlay from the U. S. Treasury of $7,000,000 while the Virgin Islands receives the measly sum of $500,000 for government expenses.

It is too late now for the United States government to turn back. It cut the job out and to keep faith with these people, requires that it proceed to its consummation.



Publishers' Photo Service

A New Mekka for Tourists, if Uncle Sam's Plans Succeed—A View of Charlotte Amalie, Virgin Islands.

Our $25,000,000 "Poorhouse"

TWENTY-FIVE MILLIONS FOR "an effective poorhouse." Literary Digest

Thus President Hoover pessimistically views our purchase of the Virgin Islands from Denmark in 1917.

His words of discouragement, if not despair, over prospects for the economic rehabilitation of this tiny Caribbean group, stir another lively controversy in the press. Bobbing up in the midst of it is the ever-dependable Prohibition wrangle.

"We didn't buy a poorhouse; we made one," epitomizes the retorts of editors who rebuke the President for what the Philadelphia *Record* calls "Mr. Hoover's incomprehensible taunt." But other editors agree that the Virgin Islands are indeed "a Caribbean poorhouse," and that we can only make the best of it.

Homeward bound on the battle-ship *Arizona* after his brief visit to Porto Rico and the Virgin group—recounted in our last issue—Mr. Hoover gave correspondents the statement that caused all the commotion. At St. Thomas, largest of the Virgin Islands, he had conferred with the incoming and outgoing Governors, Dr. Paul M. Pearson and Capt. Waldo Evans, U. S. N., and heard how economic woes have multiplied under American sovereignty. 4-11-31

Effects of the three-year drought and the hurricane of 1928 still are felt; the sugar industry has slumped; the Prohibition laws are blamed for ruining the rum trade and sidetracking tourists. The population, largely Negro, has fallen from about 26,000 to a little more than 20,000. New York, N.Y. Vol. 109 No. 2.

WITH these problems pressing on his mind, Mr. Hoover gave out his battle-ship statement in which he said that Porto Rico has made "magnificent progress," but as for the others:

"The Virgin Islands may have some military value some time. Opinion upon this question is much divided. In any event, when we paid $25,000,000 for them, we acquired an effective poorhouse, comprising 90 per cent. of the population.

"The people can not be self-supporting either in living or government without the discovery of new methods and resources.

"The purpose of the transfer of the administration from the naval to a civil department is to see if we can develop some form of industry or agriculture which will relieve us of the present costs and liabilities in support of the population, or the local Government from the Federal Treasury or from private charity.

"Viewed from every point except remote naval contingencies it was unfortunate that we ever acquired these islands. Nevertheless, having assumed the responsibility, we must do our best to assist the inhabitants."

THIS is an "utterly deplorable jeer, flung at the hapless people of the Virgin Islands," asserts the Philadelphia *Record*, already quoted, which demands:

"What possible good is accomplished by a proclamation nicely calculated to take the heart out of the struggling inhabitants and the American officials responsible for their welfare?"

As for the reaction in the islands themselves, dispatches say that the inhabitants resent the statement, and fear its effect on business, predicting that their credit will be ruined.

The Baltimore *Evening Sun* views the situation thus:

"Two years after we bought the islands Volsteadism knocked out the rum trade and crippled the bay-rum industry. The sugar market collapsed with them. So went three of the islanders' principal means of livelihood. Finally, ships quit coming to the harbor of St. Croix, because it is such a nuisance to have to seal up all the liquor on board; and tourists began to pass up a dry port. So the Virgin Islands became destitute. Mr. Hoover ought to explain that we did not buy a poorhouse; we made one."

However that may be, other editors stress the President's statement that "having assumed the responsibility, we must do our best to assist the inhabitants." As the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* remarks, "the country can not escape its obligation to make the best of the situation, no matter how bad, and that is exactly what the Chief Executive indicates is being done."

SEVERAL papers comment on the plans of the new Governor, Dr. Pearson, to attract tourists to the islands by opening a first-class hotel and constructing golf courses.

"The Virgin Islanders haven't got much, and apparently all they desperately want is rum and rain," comments Lemuel F. Parton of the Consolidated Press Association. "As it is apparent that neither can be supplied by President Hoover, his discouragement is understandable." In this case, says the Cleveland *News*, the President headed his own commission and wrote his own report, and "the country has confidence in his findings."

Seek To Help Virgin Islands

NEW YORK—Ashley L. Totten, president of the Virgin Islands Civic and Industrial Association, is shown welcoming Harry E. Taylor, Virgin Island commissioner of labor, to Harlem at a public meeting at Salem M. E. Church. The association, together with other groups of former is- and residents, is working on a plan to give new life to the Virgin Island industries and agriculture. Journal and Guard 12-5-31

Race Problems - 1931

Virgin Islands

West Indies.

NAVAL CONTROL OF VIRGIN ISLES ENDED JUNE 30

27 Officers, 9 Nurses, 92 Enlisted Men, All White, Return to U.S.

100 MARINES, TOO

Hoover's Poorhouse Gets Civil Rule.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Naval control of the Virgin Islands officially ended with the close of the fiscal year June 30, the Navy Department announced last Thursday. Civil government was placed in operation by transfer of the administration of the islands from the Navy Department to the Interior Department. Paul M. Pearson, white, is the first civiliar governor.

The Navy Department was informed by dispatch from navy personne at St. Thomas of the closing of th naval station at that place and th transfer of naval property to the gov ernor as authorized by the executiv order of President Hoover on April 2

Radio personnel to operate th Navy radio station will remain at St Thomas, a chief radioman in charg of the station having been assigned additional duty as caretaker of the Navy Yard there. Of the naval personnel there will remain temporarily until replaced by the civilian government three doctors, three nurses and three pharmacist's mates.

Provision for withdrawing Navy nurses has already been planned During the Navy's administration 6 natives were graduated from the course of training carried on by naval medical personnel, and there are now employed in the municipal hospitals of the islands 21 graduate nurses and 33 student nurses.

The withdrawal of Navy material and personnel has been effected gradually since the announcement in February that the administration of the Virgin Islands would be transferred from the Navy Department to the Interior Department.

At the time of the announcement of transfer, naval personnel stationed in the islands numbered 27 officers, including 10 medical officers and one dental officer, 9 nurses, and 92 enlisted men. Aboard the "Grebe," station vessel at that time, 3 officers and 48 enlisted men. Marine personnel numbered 7 officers and 93 enlisted men.

The "Grebe" was relieved in March as station ship by the "Umpqua," ocean tug. The "Umpqua" was withdrawn from the islands and is proceeding to the Navy Yard at Charleston, S.C.

People Petitioned

The people of the Virgin Islands sought to have the naval administration continued because they thought that their withdrawal would further impoverish the islands. A survey of the islands was made by the Bureau of Efficiency for the purpose of ascertaining what could be done to improve the economic conditions of the islands.

Improvements

The program of the civilian government provides for the improvement of hotel accommodations, the further extension of the work being done by the agricultural experiment station, the further development and extension of education with respect to vocational training, the provision of funds to aid the people in securing homesteads, the remodeling of the poor farm of St. Croix, and the possible improvement of the bay oil industry through study and investigation to determine whether or not better processes of production may be developed.

Poor House

President Hoover visited the islands in April and declared that the United States had acquired a poor-house when it purchased them from Denmark in 1917 for $25,000,000. Less than 5 per cent of the population of the islands is white.

A MOST WORTHY APPEAL.

Constitution

If the far-seeing and responsible citizens of Atlanta will give $45,000 to Clark University and Gammon Theological Seminary, notable institutions of the city for the mental and spiritual education of negroes, the board of education of the Methodist Episcopal church will add twice that sum to a much-needed fund for the better operation of those schools.

It ought not to be a strenuous task to obtain that $45,000 from our Christian and philanthropic citizens. Those schools of high order and purposes have been with us for now nearly fifty years. They were founded by devout and hopeful Christian men to train leaders in education and religious living for the suddenly freed and materially incompetent negro part of our common population. They have been kept active and growing in plant and power for half a century without asking a dollar of help from the white people of the community.

The record of these schools, their strong beneficient influence upon the intellectual and moral life of our negro citizenship, is worthy of the fullest appreciation, even gratitude, of our entire population. They have adhered steadily to their program of improving the mental power, the social purity, and the spiritual aspirations of our colored people; and in that eminently worthy work they have succeeded beyond the most sanguine hopes of their founders.

Clark University has trained a long procession of negro teachers and professional and business leaders, whose influence has been strongly felt in raising the ideals and practices of those to whom they have given capable service. But especially has Gammon Theological seminary proved its value to the religious life and racial morale of the negro people of the city and the regions of the state and south.

For the earlier seventeen years of its life Gammon Seminary had at its head a man of high Christian culture, a sound heart, a consecrated conservative ambition and an attractive diplomatic personality. He was the man who is now Bishop Wilbur P. Thirkield, of the Methodist Episcopal church. He needs no introduction to our people. During his long residence here as head of the Gammon school he won the confidence and esteem of the whole city, and was a welcome speaker in its pulpits and on its civic platforms. It is he who sponsors the appeal to Atlantans to contribute $45,000 to a needed fund for the betterment of the Clark University institution, of which Gammon is the foremost school.

These educational plants have brought the expenditure of millions of dollars in Atlanta, have done much to insure racial peace and cordial relations within the community, and our people can make scarcely any better investment than the aid they may give to the future better work of the Clark and Gammon schools.

PLIGHT OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS.

New York Times
7-26-31

To the Editor of The New York Times:

The depression in the Virgin Islands of the United States is appalling. The main industry has been sugar, now hardly being manufactured. The cultivation of this industry has been depleted more than fifty per cent with no prospect of ever returning to its former state of prosperity. The rum industry, which is a by-product of sugar cane, is a question of the past, prohibition having completely eliminated the possibility of its manufacture. There being no means yet known by which another industry may take the place of sugar, and in consideration of the scarcity of money, the islanders are suffering from a deplorable condition.

These islanders for centuries enjoyed prosperity from time to time under Danish régime. There were poor crops caused by drought, which in effect reduced the earning power of the workers, thereby causing slow seasons. But at no time were the islands as they are today, even though they are a part of the richest country in the world. The Danish State felt it a duty to assert its interest in the industrial life of the islands. Capitalists were encouraged to invest millions in the sugar cane, an industry which compensated satisfactorily in the absence of drought, as may be gleaned from the profit made by the Bethlehem Sugar Factory of more than a million dollars in the year 1920.

The Danes showed a lack of interest in the cultivation of this industry under the American régime, and soon began an exodus for their homeland. The various sugar corporations advertised their interests for sale at a sacrifice, but, finding no bidders in the market with whom business could be done, determined upon the closure of their factories, thereby killing the industry and automatically throwing the population of workers out of employment. The once blooming agricultural island of St. Croix has thus been brought to face a situation that hardly could have been foreseen by the most timely observer.

The question now is, What will America do to stimulate the industrial life of the Virgin Islands? Surely by virtue of her vast resources, geographical proximity and sameness of language there should be an assurance of hope for the Virgin Islanders. The one great ambition of Virgin Islanders is, by their joint effort and cooperative activities with the government of the United States, to make this group of islands self-supporting. To this end the Virgin Islanders in the City of New York are enthusiastically agreed and "The Virgin Islands Civic and Industrial Association" has been formed. The primary purpose of this association is to bring the resident Virgin Islanders together in a united effort to find some form of permanent relief for the economic depression in the Virgin Islands.

Among the minor industries in the islands are potatoes, onions, yams, cassava, tamarinds, guavas, vanilla, &c., yet there must be a major industry if the islands are to prosper. The association extends an invitation to all Americans who may be willing to join its membership or offer helpful suggestions on behalf of its purpose. The Virgin Islands need constructive help of the great America in order that they may be restored to prosperity. Suggestions or communications may be forwarded to A. C. Pedro, Executive Secretary, 115 West 135th Street New York City.

RALPH J. BOUGH.

New York, June 24, 1931.

VIRGIN ISLANDS DISSATISFIED WITH NEW U. S. RULE

Atlanta Journal
7-19-31

Fail To Feel Any Real Aid In Change In System Of Government. Are Unable To Grasp Plans Of Government

Something of the plight of the 19,000 colored inhabitants of the Virgin Islands can be gleaned from the rather intimate story of Robert B. Smith a newspaper writer who

VIRGIN ISLES ONE VAST RED LIGHT DIST.—PEARSON

Afro-American

64 Per Cent of All Children Born are Illegitimate. 12-12-31

Baltimore Md.

ONE-ROOM HOMES

Sanitation Poor and Privacy Impossible.

By LOUIS R. LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Loose morals and collapse of the sugar industry are blamed chiefly for the hopelessly bad economic condition of the Virgin Islands by Governor Paul M. Pearson in his annual report to President Hoover.

The naval government of the islands was changed to a civil administration under the Interior Department last March. The transfer was made for the purpose of undertaking a rehabilitation program which would remedy the "desperate" economic condition of the Virgin Islands, help its citizens to earn a livelihood, and gradually decrease the annual deficit which the islands had incurred and which Congress each year has been forced to make up.

Governor Pearson painted a gloomy picture of conditions in the Virgin Islands. He pointed out that their economic decline began as far back as 1867 under Danish rule and has continued progressively ever since.

In discussing loose morals in the Virgin Islands, he stated:

"The economic status of the Virgin Islands has been, and will continue to be very seriously affected by the standard of morality which produces an abnormal increase of population without the proper assumption of responsibility for that increase or provision for its employment.

"Promiscuity among married and unmarried men and women, and among boys and girls, is far too grave to pass unnoticed or unmentioned. This situation has existed so long and has become so common-place that it is accepted locally with little notice, or remonstrance, or attempt at curtailment."

With a view to improving moral conditions and arousing public sentiment, a welfare commission has been organized. It is composed of clergymen of all denominations.

Governor Pearson also noted that for most of the humbler people no regular family life exists. "One room is commonly the space available for a family, however large," he stated. "Under these circumstances, sanitary conditions are wretched and privacy is impossible. Marital relations are very irregular and illegitimacy is common. In St. Croix, the rate is 64 per cent, in St. Thomas 53 per cent illegitimacy.

"The death rate is abnormally high, being about three times that of the United States. In St. Croix it exceeds the birth rate. Infant mortality, due largely to malnutrition and gastro-intestinal diseases, plays a conspicuous part in this high death rate.

"Emigration has taken from the islands its most productive men and women. The age group which emigrates is from 15 to 45 years.

"Much of the improvement that should be expected from children attending the schools is lost from the fact that many of these children return to homes the condition of which falls far short of the so-called American standard.

"The effects of a slavery and semi-slavery culture are readily observable in the necessary paternalism of government and the widespread dependence on government by all classes.

"Family life among a large proportion of the people is disorganized, chaotic, or nonexistent, and no orderly procedure has been supplied to take the place of family life for great numbers of illegitimate children.

"The dominant industries demand the services of only the lower ranks of labor and yearly the supply of labor becomes more precarious and inefficient. There are few opportunities for the higher ranks of labor and this tends increasingly to emigrate. Outside of work in the dominant industries, labor offers neither regularity nor rewards, and nowhere are there incentives to ambition or to improved standards of living among people.

"Four years ago there were three sugar factories on St. Croix with a grinding capacity of more than 1,200 tons a day. Now there is only one operating factory of 300 tons capacity. Cane acreage and cane labor have been reduced in about the same proportion. Low rainfall of St. Croix makes it almost impossible to profitably compete in the sugar market with the vastly increased acreage of sugar lands through the world which give from two to four times the cane production per acre."

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visited the country recently. His story follows:

By Robert R. Smith

St. Thomas, Virgin Islands— A revolution in government was in process as I arrived here a few days ago. The last of the Naval personnel sailed June 12 on a U. S. man-of-war, to be replaced by a civil administration under the Department of the Interior. The revolution, however, is still here, and continues to be fanned by the pages of seven miniature daily newspapers in the two islands of St. Thomas and St. Croix, containing a population of about 20,000 people, nine-tenths colored.

I had come to this "potential poor house," so abruptly brought to the attention of the country by President Hoover, for a period of peace and quietude. Fate would not have it that way. There is no rest here now for the weary American. Not only do the natives plague him for an explanation of the President's discovery of poverty here, but they are further confused over the war going on between Herbert D. Brown, who worked out the new scheme of government, and Gov. Pearson (a Chautauqua lecturer), who was suggested by Brown to the President to carry out the details of the plan.

Brown Held Ideal Man

It was just too bad that Mr. Brown could not have seen his way clear to accept the governorship for a year or two at least, as the President suggested. He had the good will and cooperation of the people here, the backing of the appropriate committees of Congress and support of the administration. The fatal error of judgment, however, Mr. Brown admits, was in the accidental selection of the governor. It seems that Dr. Pearson had been out of employment for some time, the Chautauqua circuits having shrunken during the recent depression and Mr. Brown took him on as an investigator in the Bureau of Efficiency, and sent him out to look for several specially qualified people who would be useful, at a modest compensation, to assist in the rehabilitation of these islands.

How it happened that within about 60 days Dr. Pearson's name went to the Senate for confirmation as governor can likely only be told by Herbert Brown or Herbert Hoover This, however, might be said, that after he was appointed the doctor developed some unsuspected personal characteristics, in addition to the fact that he had evidently been keeping in the background his own ideas as to how the Virgin Islands should be governed, regardless of the U. S. Bureau of Efficiency. At least he said he was not now asking advice of Mr. Brown when addressing a meeting of the local press (all colored) which he invited me to attend.

Budget Not Understood

At this meeting the governor went over in considerable detail his explanation of the controversy, but said he must not be quoted without his o. k. The governor wound up by announcing that so far as he and the Virgin Islands were concerned, Mr. Brown was "through," with considerable emphasis on the "through."

Ebert K. Burlew, administrative assistant to Secretary Wilbur, has been here straightening out the budget approved by Congress, but evidently not understood or quite satisfactory to the two Colonial Councils or Parliaments of the two principal islands, St. Thomas and St. Croix. These councils have a total membership of 33, 28 colored and 5 white. These legislative assemblies take themselves right seriously and surround their deliberations with a great deal of dignity. As a concession to advancing civilized ideas, the Council recently passed an act abolishing capital punishment. Gov. Pearson attends these meetings, enters into the discussion, and generally gets the worst of it.

As a further concession to public opinion, the governor appointed a 70-year-old feeble colored man as prohibition officer for the islands, displacing Maj. Guggenheim, of the Marine Corps. This might be considered a very logical appointment, as Will Rogers when he alighted here for a few minutes from an airplane several weeks ago to get a drink, said that the people of the islands his full permission to import, sell and drink all the liquor they wanted, and that he would see to it that the Constitution of the United States would be set aside so far as they were concerned. The governor evidently took him at his word.

Willing To Take Charge

Like all other island possessions of the United States, these people are willing to take the bit in their teeth, make their own laws, contract obligations and spend the money so long as Uncle Sam will furnish it, which he has been doing here at the rate of about half million dollars annually. For the coming year the amount has been increased to $750,000, with the distinct understanding that some effort would be made to place the islands on a self-supporting basis. This is what Mr. Brown started out to do, and was evidently making encouraging progress when this little internal revolution broke out. It was suggested to me by an old Danish resident here that the United States should pay the Dainsh government $25,000,000 more, with the understanding that Denmark take the islands back.

Race Problem-1931

Virgin Islands.

W. Indies.

Gov. Pearson Reports on Virgin Islands' Progress

WASHINGTON, Nov. 30 (ANP).—In his annual report to the Secretary of the Interior, Paul M. Pearson, governor of the Virgin Islands, cites the fact that he had been in office but three months when the fiscal year closed and was but started on the program of rehabilitation. He enumerated the steps taken to that end as follows:

In replacing Navy personnel of the former administration, more than 40 per cent of the positions were filled by native Virgin Islanders.

The cattlemen of St. Croix, who had surplus stock and few sales except at unprofitable competitive prices, have been organized into a co-operative, which has now secured a regular market at a fair price.

Handcraft co-operatives for basketry and needlework among the women have been organized, with some 200 women given work and orders secured in the United States for the output.

A charcoal co-operative for St. John has been organized.

Garden plots for 2,490 people have been secured, the seed provided, and planting begun in St. Croix.

In the newly erected potting shed in St. Thomas more than 70,000 trees have been potted, and planting is under way both in St. Thomas and in St. Croix.

Dr. W. W. Skinner of the Department of Agriculture, completed a study of the bay-tree and the bay-oil industry and of the growing of insecticide plants.

Two scholarships of $500 each have been secured for teachers to study in the United States under pledge of returning to the Virgin Islands school system.

Three playgrounds have been organized and playground equipment secured by a donation from the Edwin Gould Foundation.

Outstanding factor in the island depression, according to Governor Pearson, is the loose moral standards of the islanders, which permit them to have children without benefit of clergy. To ameliorate this condition an interdenominational welfare commission of clergymen has been set up.

Teaching Virgin Islanders Raise Cattle and Vegetables

Women Do Fine Fancy Work, but Output is Not Steady or Standardized. Crops Grow there While it is Winter in U.S.

WASHINGTON, D.C.—A definite plan of economic rehabilitation for the Virgin Islands has been put into effect, according to Charles F. Knox, Jr., of the Commerce Department, in an article in the current issue of "Commerce," the organ of that department. He says:

"Bunker coal imports, almost wholly from the United States, have increased substantially since 1927, and during the last three years have been valued at about $600,000 annually.

Raise Cattle

"In the spring of 1931, the newly organized Bureau of Industry on the island government was successful in forming a co-operative marketing associationg among the cattlemen, the object being to further promote exports to Porto Rico. The total value of cattle exprts has increased from $30,981 in the fiscal year 1924-25, to $85,057 in the fiscal year 1929-30.

"There are 12,262 head of cattle in the islands, of which 8,391 are on St. Croix, 2,278 on St. Thomas, and 1,583 on St. John. St. Croix has pasturage adequate to sustain a large increase in the number of cattle, and purebred animals are being introduced to improve the quality and size of the herds.

"The Porto Rican market offers a steady and convenient outlet and under the new cattlemen's co-operative it is expected that exports will show a steady gain.

Charcoal for Fuel

"In the Virgin Islands charcoal is the principal fuel used for cooking purposes, and relatively large quantities are produced and consumed. The work incident to cutting the trees charring the wood and transporting the charcoal from one island to another engages the services of quite a few people.

"The Island of St. John produces practically all the charcoal used, and from there it is transported to St Thomas and St. Croix by small boats. The insular bureau of industry has succeeded in getting the charcoal producers to form a co-operative organization which will promote sales in both the domestic market and the neighboring islands.

Handicraft

"One of the most promising of recent developments in the organization formed to direct and market the handicraft products of several hundred girls and women in St. Thomas. The women of this island have always produced fancy goods, particularly needlework and laces, of high quality, and beautiful baskets and novelties of woven fibers.

"The difficulty heretofore has been in maintaining a standard quality of work, and in guaranteeing steady production. With the new co-operative organization performing these regulatory functions, the needlework and handicraft industries should become one of the most important on the islands.

"An export market for certain of the products has already been found, and if the tourist traffic increases it is expected that no particular difficulty will be experienced in selling the output.

Truck Gardens

"In addition to the development of the industries already mentioned, efforts are being made to speed up the program of agricultural diversification which was started some years ago. With the aid of the St. Croix agent of the Department of Agriculture, vegetable crops are being introduced with a view of producing high-grade vegetables to be sold in northern markets during the winter season.

Long Staple Cotton

"In 1921, St. Croix exported 31,000 pounds of long staple cotton. The pink boll worm, however, attacked the crops and for the last three years no cotton has been produced. Intensive work to eradicate this pest is at last showing results, and within a few years St. Croix will again produce long staple cotton.

"The introduction of various kinds of citrus fruit has proven that fruit culture is entirely possible in the islands, and every effort is being made to have farmers set out fruit trees with the prospect of exporting the products to northern markets."

Race Problem — 1931

West Indies.

Virgin Islands.

Rambling Ruminations

By J. A. ROGERS

PARIS.

PRESIDENT HOOVER'S alleged statement that the United States made a very bad bargain in buying the Virgin Islands, since they have no value and have brought no return for the heavy price paid for them, is being much criticised by the Danish newspapers.

When America bought the islands, say the Danes, the islands were flourishishing. But from the moment the Americans became the owners they began to fall into ruin. St. Thomas, during our time, was an important market and center of West Indian commerce.

J. A. Rogers.

The Americans have allowed St. Thomas to die. The port of St. Thomas, situated as it is on an important sea route, was one of the first ports of the Antilles. Many ships came there. Today its calm waters, sheltered by monstrous rocks, rarely sees one. We gave America a very fine capital; she has allowed it to die.

And the arguments to prove it are solid, says Le Depeche Coloniale. The Virgin Islands had two principal sources of wealth—rum and sugar. The sugar cane plantations have been killed by the big American producers, while rum has been a victim of prohibition.

"It is not the first time," it adds, "that certain good souls in the United States regret the heavy bargain by which on Jan. 17, 1917, the isles of St. Thomas, St. Jean and St. Croix passed into American hands for the sum of $25,000,000, which at so much an acre was a heavy price, even for Uncle Sam with his pockets lined with gold.

"For 250 years the archipelago had remained Danish. In 1865 the American government, then desirous of getting a foothold in the West Indies, began negotiations with the Danes. The bargaining lasted fifty years, and finally the United States bought the islands at a figure very much higher than it paid for the Philippines, twenty years earlier.

"It is true that even at this price the Americans can flatter themselves at having also their Gibraltar, because St. Thomas, a strategic position of the first order, is well called 'the Gibraltar of the American Mediterranean.'"

When Royalty Becomes Humble

Class and color snobbery were given a severe jolt when Alphonso XIII, King of Spain before it became a republic last Tuesday, his wife, Queen Victoria, daughter of King George V, assisted by the grandees of the court, performed the annual Holy Week ceremony of washing the feet of beggars. The poorest of the poor had been picked up off the streets of Madrid without regard to color, with the result that there were two Negroes among them.

The ceremony took place in the grand ballroom of the Bourbon palace in the presence of the assembled court and the entire diplomatic staff, a resplendent sight in jewels and glittering uniforms.

The King pulled an apron over his full dress Admiral's uniform and the Queen another over her gown of gold lace with its emerald velvet train, while the jewels sparkled in her crown. Princes and dukes passed the silver basins and the towels to Their Majesties, who knelt, sponged foot after foot, wiping them carefully, until all had been washed.

After all the feet had been scrubbed, these and other beggars were given a banquet at which there were twenty-five items on the menu. It being Holy Week, no meat was served, but eight kinds of fish.

At this feast the King served as chief waiter with the Queen, the other members of the royal family and the nobility under him. The King showed rare skill as a waiter, laughed and jested, the whole dinner being served in high good humor. One prince, magnificently clad, dropped a plate that the King had handed him, and this caused a roar of laughter from the diplomats. As the latter looked hungry, the King passed them a plate of dried raisins. The King served so rapidly that he led all the other waiters by two plates by the time the cheese was served.

The gorgeousness of the service made most of the beggars lose their appetites. The gold knives, forks and dishes embarrassed them, and some, dropping these, pitched in with the tools to which they were best accustomed. So that they would remain filled for the rest of the day, the beggars were given baskets on leaving.

The blind beggars regretted keenly that they had been served by their King and Queen without being able to see them.

Spain, it will be recalled, was ruled for five centuries by the Moors, a Negro and Negroid people, until driven back into Africa. The finest monuments and old buildings in Spain today are Moorish relics. The people of the extreme south of Spain still show their Negro descent, while those of the north are white, being mostly descendants of the Goths. These whites and blacks mixed freely. Modern Negro slavery began in Spain in 1442, and hundreds of thousands of Negroes were brought there until 1773, most of whom have been absorbed into the population.

ATLANTA, GA.
JOURNAL
APR 8 - 1931

Our Unblessed Isles

THE VIRGIN ISLANDS, which have found a place in the news through President Hoover's remarks, upon his recent visit there, "What a poorhouse!" were discovered by Columbus in 1494. So amazed was the great mariner at the seeming number of them (a hundred there really are, all told) that he feared he could not find enough saints' names for them; wherefore he assigned them to the patronage of the eleven thousand martyred virgins of St. Ursula. Only three of the islands, however, are noteworthy—St. Thomas, St. Croix and St. John. On the first mentioned is the capital city, of the same name, and the principal port, which has one of the finer harbors of the West Indies. It was their strategic importance at the gateway to the Caribbean that prompted the United States to purchase them from Denmark in the spring of 1917, when it was suspected that they might fall into Germany's hands and become a war menace. The price was twenty-five million dollars, to which have been added millions more for necessary improvements; and their present maintenance cost to the federal treasury is about five hundred thousand a year.

Did we pay too dearly for this latest addition to our insular empire? Are they more of an economic burden than a naval asset? President Hoover thinks yes. His judgment, though emphatic, was formed on a five hours' acquaintance. Going ashore at St. Thomas from the battleship *Arizona* he saw, for the most part, black and impassive faces, and he knew from previous study of statistics that the islands industry and trade, along with the population, were declining. Their rum business, once of major importance, was destroyed by prohibition. Drought and hurricane laid heavy hands on their agriculture. According to the census of 1930, the inhabitants, ninety-five per cent of whom are Negro, numbered approximately twenty-two thousand, a decrease of some four thousand since 1917.

One of the newspaper men who accompanied the President on his West Indian tour, Richard V. Ouhalan, of the New York Times, gives this glimpse of what the party saw upon going ashore at St. Thomas: "A short ride up a sharply ascending narrow road brought President Hoover to Government House, the residence of Governor Pearson, a fine old mansion overlooking the harbor. Below and above it, and on each side, were other attractive buildings, mostly residences, their facades of yellow and pink, some with outside galleries, and nearly all of them having bright red roofs. About them hovered a suggestion of the siesta, of an easy life in a soft clime. The breath of romance was in the air. But it was not romance that dominated President Hoover's visualization of St. Thomas as typical of this entire group of islands in the five hours he spent there. Cold, hard facts were uppermost in his mind's eye. On the principle that God helps those who help themselves, he saw little chance of Divine aid for the Virgin Islanders."

There is at least one man, however, who regards the future hopefully. Herbert D. Brown, chief of the United States Bureau of Efficiency, now on his third visit to the Islands, believes that they can be made a credit to "American colonial administrative service." His plans, for the execution of which Congress already has appropriated one hundred and forty-one million dollars, include divers agrarian reforms. Among these are "the division of the land into small tracts and the establishment of a homesteading system, by which these tracts will be owned by the natives, who will be encouraged to grow marketable crops and thus become self-supporting." The Presidential view, however, seems to be that the Islanders are "congenital wage earners," and that "when wages cease to flow, through lack of ships to coal and through lack of work in the sugar fields, for example, they make no effort to utilize their own resources and thus to create income."

Nevertheless, the experiments will be continued, at least for a while. The Grand Hotel at St. Thomas is to be renovated, in hopes of attracting tourists, who can reach that port by steamer from New York in four days and who will find much that is inviting in the now tranquil haunts of seventeenth-century buccaneers. Burden though the Islands be, we doubtless shall keep them; and who knows but that their possession may yet prove valuable in a naval crisis?

Virgin Islanders Resent 'Poorhouse' Remark; Bitterly Assail Hoover, Talk of Migrating

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ST. THOMAS, Virgin Islands, April 7.—Around the street corners here are heard only deprecatory remarks relative to President Hoover's classification of this possession as a "poorhouse."

To these The St. Thomas Mail has added its voice, saying:

"When Denmark transferred these West Indian possessions to the United States they certainly did not constitute a poorhouse. America wanted the islands for more than seventy-five years, and when she obtained her desire she did not find them a poorhouse, but she actually proceeded to make them so by the application of stupid laws unsuited to their well-being.

"Any American insultingly alluding to the Virgin Islands today as a poorhouse can only appear devoid of decency, even though that individual be the President of the United States.

"President Hoover did not meet the noisy demonstration here which was accorded him by the Porto Ricans. Their demonstration was in keeping with the traditional Latin spirit and could not be expected of a people who have derived their culture through contact with Anglo-Saxons and other less demonstrative peoples of Northern Europe. Nevertheless, our welcome to President Hoover was both loyal and dignified.

"In the Spanish-American War, although the Virgin Islands were under the sceptre of the Danish King, they were 100 per cent American. American warships were gladly welcomed when they ran to our ports for coal and to cable to Washington information of their belligerent activities.

"Surely this sympathy of a people is worth more than $25,000,000 in gold! Surely it should be sufficient to save us from the President's insult!

"Our people did not walk into America's arms for charity. They desired primarily to be drawn together in a circle of friendship.

"The rôle America is destined to carry on unfortunately is being held in abeyance through the narrowness of the Americans' concept of the rights of other peoples. This narrowness has been brought forcibly before the minds of our people, but may the day never dawn when the inhabitants of the Virgin Islands will look on America in the same manner as do the people of Mexico and other Latin-American countries."

The people here are earnestly contemplating emigrating and abandoning the islands.

VIRGIN ISLAND OPERETTAS.

When President Hoover selected Dr Paul M. Pearson, a Pennsylvania educator and Chautauqua leader, to replace the naval authorities as the first civil governor of the Virgin Islands, some measures of relief were expected to be started to rehabilitate what the President had bluntly styled "an effective poorhouse." Not that this poverty stricken condition of the islands was due to any fault of the natives, but rather to the decline of the former industries due to prohibition and other causes. The extension of prohibition to this territory besides destroying the production of Santa Cruz rum, for a while interferred with the making of bay rum, but the latter industry is reported to have revived with the use of denatured alcohol.

But according to charges made by the chief of the Bureau of Efficiency at Washington, who recommended Dr. Pearson's appointment, the new civil governor has gone about his duties in a manner calculated to confound all critics. It is alleged that Governor Pearson has exceeded his authority by creating high-salaried positions and filling them with friends from his home town. What particularly aroused the ire of the efficiency chief was the employment of a director of public entertainment at $4,800 a year, "to present Gilbert and Sullivan operettas for destitute natives." This appointment of a man to direct operettas in a community struggling to buy bread was pronounced absurd by the efficiency head, who declared himself particularly out of sympathy with Governor Pearson's action. It was claimed that such high priced positions were not authorized by Congress and there was no need for bringing friends from the home town to fill them.

The creation of good jobs for his friends from Pennsylvania must be attributed to a very human yearning on the part of the new governor for the society of his home folks. It probably did not occur to him that the offices he created might have been filled to greater advantage by the employment of educated and competent natives, familiar with the needs and conditions of the islands. As to the creation of the post of director of public entertainment, to present Gilbert and Sullivan operettas, that was not solely to amuse the native community, but to attract tourist trade from the United States. Governor Pearson is said to believe that the natural advantages of the islands should make them a vacation resort for Americans, despite the restrictions due to prohibition. But few people agree with him there, as even Americans who are dry at home relax when on vacation.

It may be that Governor Pearson has in mind the creation of a vacation resort on the Chautauqua plan, with a "feast of reason and a flow of soul" or unfermented grape juice, but that does not seem to jibe with the operatic performance of "H. M. S. Pinafore" on a vessel in the harbor at St. Thomas. If the islands are going to bid for the tourist trade, it would seem that they must have relief from prohibition enforcement to compete with Cuba and Bermuda. Porto Rico which in its desire to become thoroughly Americanized, adopted local prohibition before the Eighteenth amendment went into effect, now appeals for relief from the enforcement act. Tropical climates seem to require the use of stimulants, but rarely to the point of excess, except among those visiting Americans who have not achieved control of their appetites.

Governor Pearson's appointment of a director of public entertainment may have been somewhat premature, but his idea of making the Virgin Islands a vacation resort might prove feasible under proper conditions. His creation of new jobs and filling them with friends from home was a tactical error, as he would have done better to avail himself of the talent found among the natives.